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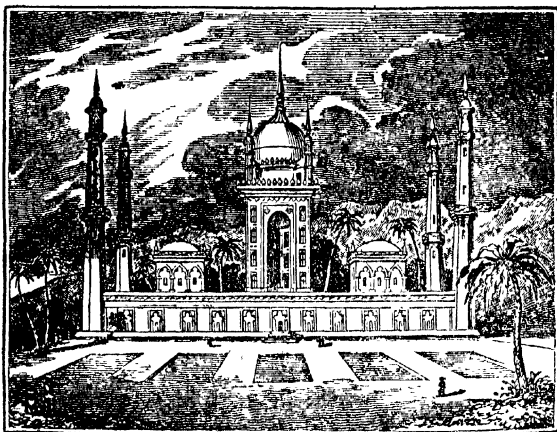
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# THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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PROCEEDINGS BEFORE HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL, IN RELATION TO THE PETITION OF SIR JOHN PETER GRANT.\*

FROM the time when we first announced the misunderstanding between the Governor and Council of Bombay and the Judges of the King's Court, until the termination of the late proceedings before his Majesty's Privy Council, we have deemed it more becoming to observe a respectful silence, than to hazard any judgment on a question, involving considerations of so much difficulty and importance. That we were at first shocked and alarmed at the intelligence, of what seemed to bear the character of an attempt, by the threat of armed resistance, to intimidate and overawe the Bench, we freely acknowledge. We do not affect to disguise a feeling of partiality to that 'second priesthood, whose duty it is to minister in the temple of Justice,' who seldom miss the right road by mistake, and have no temptation to depart from it by design, when the conscientious exercise of their exalted functions has been impeded by an arbitrary exertion of military power, but we owe it to the Government of Bombay to avow our more mature conviction, that however exceptionable may have been the mode by which they judged proper to effect their purpose—and most exceptionable we believe it to have been—however doubtful the policy of limiting a jurisdiction, the undue extension of which was the subject of their protest, they have not, in fact, misconstrued the charter by which the Supreme Court was constituted, and that in the matters of *Moro Ragonath and Bappoo Gunness*, their case, as a *point of law*, is completely established. Much as we regret this unfortunate collision between authorities, emanating from the same source, and bound in their several departments to have the same object of order, and good government in view—willingly as we assent to the opinion of the Chief Justice of Calcutta, that so long as the sovereign power of India is in the hands of the Company, it is in the worst taste to

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consider its servants and the King's, as conflicting authorities; yet as this misfortune has already occurred, and the disputes arising from it have been judicially considered and decided, we are bound to acknowledge that the decree of the Privy Council appears to us to be fully borne out by the arguments of the Company's counsel, and that without the influence of considerations of political expediency, the points at issue have been decided according to the true intent and meaning of the charter by which the Bombay Judicature was established, and the Acts of Parliament on which it depends. The question, be it observed, as discussed before the Privy Council, was one of mere law, from which all views of public policy or personal conduct were carefully excluded. Of these, the latter were reserved, and justly, as we think, for the cognizance of the existing authorities; the former, for the consideration and judgment of Parliament; and the Privy Council, as the Lord Chancellor observed, had no object in assembling, but to ascertain the jurisdiction of the Court of Bombay.

The respective litigants being confined to this comparatively narrow range, we too might stand excused, if we sought for an apology to avoid the much larger problem of Indian policy, which the solution of the legal doubt can only for a short time defer; but we cannot refrain from expressing our astonishment and regret, that Sir John Malcolm and his council should have so far forgotten the respect and reverence due to the Judicial character, as to pen the haughty mandate which they transmitted to the Supreme Court—a message we confidently assert, which in the cool, deliberate intimation of determined resistance, is not surpassed by any specimen of insolent dictation, which the history of outraged law and justice has yet had occasion to attest. They had no right to beard the King's Judges in the capricious assumption of a power, to *them*, at least, not committed, of interpreting the Charter and the Act of Parliament; as well might they have marched a file of soldiers into the Court, to plot its discredit and degradation by the violent interruption of process issued after solemn argument at the bar: if remonstrance and expostulation were vain, it was their duty to have been 'aiding and assisting' to the judges in the particular instance, reserving themselves, when the argument of the advocate-general was overruled, their appeal to the authorities at home. Nothing surely could be more ill-judged than to court the scandal and disgrace of contest at Bombay, when the matter might have been calmly and dispassionately settled at Whitehall. The inconvenience to Mr. Ragonath or Pandurang Ramchunder of a journey from Poonah to the Presidency, sinks into insignificance when compared with the confusion which the affront to the King's Majesty in the person of his Judge, the unexplained decision of the Privy Council, and the recent indiscretion of Sir John Grant in closing the Court must inevitably produce. The Governor should have known that the usefulness of legal, and indeed of all other authority, is gone

When it ceases to be maintained in credit and in honour. And if the Judge it is but justice to say, that with the exception of some Jewish asperity of remark which might have been as well avoided, nothing was presented to their lordships which did not indicate a firmness and constancy of character, which a wise government could prize and honour, and a familiarity with the law and history of our constitution, from which an erroneous construction of an ambiguous statute no more detracts, than occasional mis-directions.

Nisi Prius can disparage the learning and integrity of the English Bench. Sir John Grant was placed, by the death of his senior colleagues, in a situation of great embarrassment and responsibility. It was safer to adhere strictly to the path suggested, with a strong conviction of propriety, than to expose himself to censure by discretionary deviation from it. So long as he pursued that course, he remained in a position the respectability of which no disapproval of the government at home could possibly impair. We sincerely regret that he should have furnished an excuse, by his subsequent proceedings, for the unseemly slight which would appear to have been intended, by the promotion of Mr. Dewar to the Chief Justiceship of Bombay.

In order to the correct apprehension of the precise points of difference between the Governor and Judges of Bombay, it will be useful to give a short sketch of the history of the king's courts in India, and of the charters by which their authority is ascertained. The first of these, granted to the East India Company by Charles II., in 1661, gave to the Governor and Council of all the Company's establishments, an absolute jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over all its servants, to be exercised according to the laws of England. This provision, with some trifling modifications, continued in force until the reign of George IV., when A. D., 1826, the Directors presented to the King, that there was great want at Madras, Calcutta, Fort William, and Bombay, of a proper and competent authority for the more speedy and effectual administration of justice in civil causes, and for the trying and punishing of capital and other criminal offences and misdemeanours.

The object of this representation was to obtain permission to establish Mayor's Courts at the three Presidencies; and in compliance with its prayer, his Majesty granted letters patent to the Mayor and Aldermen of the several factories, constituting them a Court of Record, to determine all civil suits and actions between party and party, with an appeal to the local governments, which were by the same letters patent likewise constituted Courts of Record, and in all cases involving sums less than one thousand pagodas, of final adjudication. In cases of which the matters in dispute exceeded that amount, further appeals were authorised to the King in council. The Mayor's courts were at the same time empowered to grant probates of wills and letters of administration



in cases of intestacy; and the government courts were further constituted courts of Oyer and Terminer, and required to hold quarterly sessions, for the trial of all offences except high-treason.

On the restoration of Madras, which had been captured in 1746 by the French, the charter granted to the Company was (1753) surrendered, and a new one granted to them by letters patent which empowered them to establish a Court of Requests for the determination of causes of action, not exceeding five pagodas, and invested the Court of Directors with the power of making by laws, rules and ordinances, for the good government and regulation of the several Courts of Judicature established in India.

In this state, things remained until the year 1772, when during the administration of Lord North, the affairs of the East India Company came under the consideration of parliament. A knowledge of the events of this period appears to us particularly useful in elucidating the points recently discussed in the Privy Council, because in the succeeding year, 1773, the Supreme Court of Bengal, on which the other two are modelled, was first established. It is admitted that if the charter by which the court at Calcutta was established did not authorise its judges to issue writs of *Habeas Corpus*, and the circumstances in which the court of Bombay has asserted that power, that the construction put upon the charter by the Governor and Council was right, and that the Court has exceeded its jurisdiction. Among the measures devised at this period for correcting the abuses, and giving vigour to the conduct of the Company's affairs, was the introduction of a new system of jurisprudence, by which their Native subjects might be protected from the excesses of their servants, the security of liberty and property established, and the misconduct of their agents too removed from the seat of supreme power, to be awe'd by its supervision, corrected and restrained. For this purpose, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Sullivan, a Director of the Company, the object of which was to engraft on the Regulating Act, then under consideration, a scheme for the administration of justice in India, the principal feature of which was the establishment of a Supreme Court of Judicature, with civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction at Calcutta, with an appeal in the first instance to the Bengal government, and thence to the King in Council. This bill having been lost on a division, and a committee appointed to inquire into the nature and state of the East India Company, and of their affairs in the East Indies, nothing further was done in the matter, until, in 1773, the Company being compelled to apply to parliament for pecuniary assistance, added their petition an assurance that they would forthwith consider, and propose such regulations as might appear proper and essential to the due administration of justice in India. In conformity with this intention, the Court of Proprietors came to various resolutions, which a petition to parliament was afterwards founded, and led

to bring in a bill to carry its suggestions into effect. As motion was made on the very day when leave was given to Lord North to introduce a bill for 'establishing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company in India and in Europe, which afterwards passed into a law, it could be unnecessary to refer to any part of the Company's petition, were it not that it was expressly proposed by it to introduce the protection of *Habeas Corpus* into India.

As far as can be collected from the debates on the Bengal Judiciary Bills in 1773 and 1781, the chief objection on the part of Ministers to the arrangements proposed by Mr. Sullivan, was the power vested by his bill in the Company, of nominating the Judges of the Court. This right was indeed controlled by a provision that their appointment should be subject to the approval of the Lord Chancellor and the three Chief Justices for the time being; but this limitation by no means satisfied the opponents of the bill, who insisted that the privilege of appointing Judges was the alienable prerogative of the Crown,—a position which they maintained rather on the ground of abstract principle, than by considerations of political expediency. 'Lord North's bill passed the House of Commons by an immense majority, and the petition against it, preferred by the Company to the Lords, represented, among other allegations, that "the material effects of preventing oppressions in India, by establishing a respectable court of justice at the spot, must be defeated by the bill, since the persons who might be supposed to commit such oppressions were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Court, and consequently left without restraint; and further, that the most effectual provision, of all others, to prevent oppressions, which was recommended by the Company, viz. that of the *Habeas Corpus*, whereby men might know what crime they were accused, and by whom imprisoned, was omitted, by which means all the tyranny of a double government, without responsibility any where, would be entailed on the inhabitants.'" No trace of any intention to defer to their wishes in this respect can be discovered in the Act of Parliament or the Charter; and surely the history of the bill precludes alike the supposition of implied enactment or unintentional omission. It can never be intended, after a bill to introduce the *Habeas Corpus* into India, is rejected on that account by Parliament, and another on the next day introduced, against which the Company, on the ground of its omission, protested, that it was the intention of the Legislature, in 1773, to confer on the Supreme Court at Fort William the jurisdiction now claimed by the Judges of Bombay. If the original Charter will not bear this construction, neither does that of Bombay; for in the 7th section of the Act (4 Geo. IV. c. 71) on which it is founded, it is expressly enacted, that the Supreme Court of Judicature thereby established, shall consist of the like number of persons, with full power to exercise such civil, criminal,

admiralty, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, both as to Natives and British subjects, and to be invested with such powers and authorities, privileges and immunities, for the better administration of the same, and subject to the same limitations, restrictions, and control, within the said town and island of Bombay and the limits thereof, and the territories subordinate thereto and within the territories which now are or hereafter may be subject to or dependent on the said government of Bombay as the said supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, by virtue of any law now in force, and unrepealed doth consist of, is invested with, or subject to, within the said Fort William, or the places subject to, or dependent on, the government thereof.'

'But,' says Mr. Denman, 'the writ of *Habeas Corpus* is expressly given to the Supreme Court of Calcutta, by the letters patent of the 13th Geo. III; they conferred upon that Court "such jurisdiction and authority as our Justices of the Court of King's Bench have and may lawfully exercise, within that part of Great Britain called England, as far as circumstances will admit."' The writs of *Habeas Corpus* issued under that power do not appear to have been questioned in any manner which could raise a doubt as to their authority.

Let us see how far this statement of Mr. Denman is supported by the facts. In pursuance of the authority vested in him by Lord North's Act (13 Geo. III.), his Majesty, on the 26th of March 1774 granted a Charter, by which a Supreme Court was erected, to consist of a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges. This Court was declared to be a Court of Law, a Court of Equity, of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, an Ecclesiastical Court, and a Court of Admiralty; but there was no clause from which an intention could be inferred to invest it with that portion of the authority of the Court of King's Bench, which is exercised by issuing mandatory writs, to prevent defects of justice, to control inferior Courts, or protect the liberty of the subject, unless such power was given by a provision which has been copied in the Bombay Charter, viz., 'that the said Chief Justice and the Puisne Judges shall, severally and respectively, be and they are and every of them, hereby appointed to be Justices and Conservators of the Peace, and Coroners within and throughout the said province, district, and countries of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and every part thereof, and to have such jurisdiction and authority as our Justices of our Court of King's Bench have and may lawfully exercise within that part of Great Britain called England, by the common law thereof.' On this section Sir John Peter Grant and his counsel contend, that the power of issuing the prerogative writs of the Crown was conferred upon the Supreme Court of Fort William. The Company, on the other hand, asserts that the words on which that construction is sought to be raised must be read '*secundum subjectam materiam*,' in a much more limited acceptation; and that as the Judges of the Court of King's

each are *virtute officii*, severally and respectively, Justices and Conservators of the Peace, and Coroners, throughout the realm of England, it was meant only to confer on the Judges of the Supreme Court of Fort William, the same ample commission in the provinces, subject to the Presidency of Bengal. Of this latter opinion we confess ourselves to be; that the Charter was so understood by the East India Company, is clear from their petition to the House of Lords; and we think Mr. Denman mistaken in supposing that the occurrences in Bengal, between 1773 and 1781, and the proceedings arising out of them, were of a nature to rebut the strong presumption thence raised, that it was not the intention of the Legislature to introduce the protection of *Habeas Corpus* into India.

To us, indeed, the history of the contest between Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey, seems strongly corroborative of the recent decision of the Privy Council; and as less allusion was made to it in the arguments of Serjeant Bosanquet and Serjeant Anker, than might be expected from its obvious bearing on the question, and the strong reliance placed upon it on the other side, it may be excused for referring to it somewhat at length.

On the 28th March, 1774, the newly-appointed Judges of the Supreme Court, Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Chambers, Mr. Justice Le Maistre, and Mr. Justice Hyde, took leave of the Court of Directors, and 'availed themselves of that opportunity to assure the Court, that they would use their utmost endeavours to render their appointment serviceable to the Company.' To what extent they respected this engagement, or found themselves able to redeem it, may be judged from the early rupture which occurred between them and the authorities in India. Scarcely were they seated at Calcutta, when they claimed a right to inquire into the proceedings of the Courts of Dewannee Adawlut, which, in conformity with the usage of their Mohammedan predecessors, the management of their revenue, and the administration of civil justice, were entrusted by the Company. It is not necessary for us to detail the cruelties perpetrated at this time against defaulting Zemindars and other debtors to the Company and by them on their subordinates, or the excesses of the provincial courts. Suffice it to say, that they were of a nature to justify, in numerous instances, the interference of the Supreme Court, had its jurisdiction not been limited by the Charter; and perhaps, upon the whole, it may be doubted whether the evils arising from too rigid adherence to the principles of English law, in contempt of the feelings, customs, and prejudices of the Natives, were not fully counterbalanced by the protection occasionally afforded to the victims of fiscal rapacity. However that may have been, the demands claimed by the Court were at length denied by the Government; and after various amicable attempts to arrange the matters in dispute, the Governor-General and his Council determined not to execute the process of the Court, and encouraged

resistance to it by a public notice which they gave, that it had exceeded its jurisdiction.\*

It appears, from the report of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons, to inquire into the circumstances of this dispute, that the Directors of the East India Company, on the 19th of November, 1777, sent a letter to Lord Viscount Weymouth, the secretary of state, in which they complain,

1. That the Court had extended its jurisdiction to persons to whom it does not appear to have been the intention of the King and Parliament to submit to its jurisdiction.

2. That it has taken cognizance of matters, both originally and pending the suit, the exclusive cognizance of which they conceive it to have been the intention of the King and Parliament to leave to other Courts.

3. That it has claimed a right of demanding evidence, and of inspecting records, which they conceive it had no right to demand or inspect.

4. That the Judges consider the Criminal Law of England as of force and binding upon the Natives of Bengal, though utterly repugnant to the principles of justice.

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\* The notice issued by the Governor-General was as follows:—

‘Be it known to all Zemindars, Chowdrees, and Talookdars, in the provinces or suburbs of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

‘Whereas representations have been received from many of the Zemindars, Chowdries, and Talookdars of these provinces, by the Governor-General and Supreme Council at Fort William, that summonses, warrants, and other process of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, have been served upon them by the sheriff’s officers, requiring or compelling them to appear before the Judges of the said Supreme Court, and give in answers to complaints or suits instituted against them, Notice is hereby given to the Zemindars, Chowdries, and Talookdars, of the province aforesaid, “That not being subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, (except in cases hereafter specified), they shall not (in case of any summons, warrant, or other process of the said Supreme Court, being served upon them by the sheriff or his officers), appear nor plead, nor do nor suffer any action which may amount on their part to a recognition of the authority of the judicature extending to themselves.”’

‘The cases where the Zemindars, Chowdries, and Talookdars are, common with all the inhabitants of these provinces, subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and must pay obedience to its process, are as follows:—

‘1. Where the parties sued shall, at the time when the debt or cause of action shall have arisen, have been employed by, or shall have been directed or indirectly in the service of the Company, or of any of his Majesty’s subjects.

‘2. Where the party sued shall have entered into any contract or agreement in writing with any of his Majesty’s subjects, and the cause of action shall exceed the sum of five hundred current rupees; and where the party shall have agreed in the same contract, that, in case of dispute, the matter should be heard and determined in the Supreme Court.’

it to the laws and customs by which they have formerly been governed.

Under each of these heads, the Directors of the East India Company stated a variety of facts, and added arguments on the consequences likely to result from the jurisdiction assumed and exercised by the Supreme Court of Judicature. Of these, the committee of 81 select, for detailed observation, the Patna cause, the Deccan case, the Cossijurah cause, and the proceedings against Rajah Indcomar for forgery; conceiving them to be best calculated to elucidate the principles by which the proceedings of Sir Elijah Impey and his colleagues had been governed.

It is not necessary for us to follow them through the voluminous narrative of the above-mentioned events, which, though they may be fully consulted to illustrate that part of the history of the Supreme Courts, which is comprised between the years 1773 and 1781, are, most of them, cases in which writs of mesne process, issued by the Court, had been obstructed at the instigation, or with the connivance, of the Governor and Council. The cases which more immediately bear on the present inquiry, are those of Sudder al huc Cawn and Scroop Chund, respecting which the Committee report as follows:—

Your Committee find that the Supreme Court of Judicature have exercised jurisdiction over the Naib Subah, or Nabob's Deputy, in the three provinces. The Naib Subah is an officer who holds his pointment from the Nabob of Bengal; he presides in a court composed of various persons skilled in the Mohammedan laws, which court superintends the whole criminal jurisdiction of the three provinces; the provincial officers of criminal jurisdiction receive their appointments from him, and make a monthly report of the proceedings of their respective courts to him; and no capital sentence can be carried into execution, until such sentence is confirmed by the Naib Subah, or the Nabob himself. Your Committee observe, that, in a minute made by the Governor-General on the 9th March, 1780, he states, that Sudder al huc Cawn, the late Naib Subah of these provinces, had a writ of *Habeas Corpus* served upon him, in his durbar or court, by a sheriff's officer, in the month of January, 1779. That Sudder al huc Cawn, being apprehensive of doing an act which might be construed an acknowledgment of his subjection to the jurisdiction of the Court, and at the same time cautious to avoid offence, desired the officer to leave the writ on a chair in his presence. The officer, on his return, made affidavit of the fact, and such a colouring of it as induced the Judges to regard it as a result offered to their authority, and immediately to order an attachment to issue against him. The Governor-General further states, that, fortunately, the execution of the writ was stayed, by an affidavit of the commissioner of law-suits, which afforded him time to use his influence for preventing it ultimately from taking effect;

and that he was alarmed for the consequences which would follow from such an outrage, so publicly offered to the person of the man in whose hands was placed the whole criminal jurisdiction of the provinces, if permitted, and which could only be prevented by means which he dreaded as much. The Governor-General adds, that he prevailed upon Sudder al huc Cawn to write a letter of concession to the Chief Justice. The Supreme Court ordered that the writ of attachment should not issue out of the office of the Clerk of the Crown, until the first day of the next term, or until further orders. The Governor-General concludes with remarking, that the writ was never afterwards enforced or noticed, but remained impending as a terror over the head of the Naib Nizam until the day of his death; and he believes that it exists even to the day he wrote that minute. Your Committee find some strong observations on the proceedings of the Supreme Court against Sudder al huc Cawn, in the letter of the Governor-General and Council to the Court of Directors, of the 25th of January, 1780.

Scroop Chund was committed into custody by the Provincial Chief and Council of Dacca, for an arrear of revenue alleged to have been due from him to the Company, as Malzamim or surety for the rents of a district, called Deccan Savagepore; and also for a considerable balance of cash alleged to be paid into his hands, as cazanchy or treasurer of the revenues of that provincial division. The former claim he disputed; the latter he acknowledged to be just, but refused to discharge. The reasons for this refusal not appearing satisfactory to the provincial council, they continued their restraint upon Scroop Chund, declaring, in their letter to the Governor-General and Council, dated August 26, 1777, that as that was the first instance they had experienced of resistance to the orders of Government, and had been made by a person holding one of the principal offices under that council, the release of Scroop Chund, after his public defiance of their authority, would render nugatory any future exertions of the powers vested in them for obtaining payment of the Company's revenues; and Scroop Chund, after a personal examination before the provincial council, on the subject of both claims, was declared by them to be dismissed from his post of treasurer, as unworthy the trust he held.

And your Committee find that an order had been given at this time by Mr. Justice Hyde, with a rule to show cause why a writ of *Habeas Corpus* should not issue to the provincial council to produce the body of Scroop Chund; and the justice, not being satisfied with the reasons exhibited to him by the Company's attorney, who applied to him for that purpose, ordered a writ of *Habeas Corpus*; in consequence of which Scroop Chund was delivered up by the Provincial Council. When the return to the writ of *Habeas Corpus* came to be argued before the Court, on the 19th of September, 1777, the counsel for Scroop Chund moved to quash his own writ for informality,

which was granted, and an amended writ was served in court upon the Nazir, or officer of the provincial court, in whose custody he had been; and the counsel for the Company asked for a longer term to make a return thereto: "Because the Governor-General and Council considered this business in so very serious a light, and a thing of such consequence to the Company's revenues and collections in the country at large, and in the district of Dacca in particular, that they wished to have the highest authority possible; either to confirm them in the exercise of their jurisdiction, or to abolish that jurisdiction entirely, and by that means effectually put a stop to the collections." But no longer time was granted than the following day; and it was declared by Mr. Justice Le Maistre, senior judge then on the bench, that Scroop Chund appeared to have been confined with a severity not usually practised upon prisoners for debt, so that he could not eat, or perform the ceremonies of his religion; and the Court could not, without injustice, refuse an immediate return to the writ. However, it appears that the allegation of unusual severity, in the confinement of the prisoner, was denied by the other party, and their exculpation from this charge was supported by affidavits of the officers of the Khalsa (or exchequer), supposed to be particularly conversant in the ancient usages and customs of the country government.

'And it appears, by a letter from the Company's attorney, that the return was argued in court the ensuing day, being the 20th of September, 1777; that the Company's counsel moved for a longer term, complaining of the shortness of the time allowed, being only twenty-four hours from the serving of the writ, that inquiries might be made into circumstances which were judged dubious, and answers might be received from Dacca, to points it was absolutely necessary to ascertain, which, from the distance of that place, your Committee understood would require at least six days; and offered that Scroop Chund should, in the mean time, be permitted to go out on bail twice in the day to eat; and that the said motion was not granted by the Court; that then the Company's counsel proposed to give the prisoner enlargement upon bail, so that he should not leave the settlement, but that "the two judges present would not accede to any terms, unless a total release was given to the prisoner, without restraint or confinement to any place; and the security to be given was, that he should appear and pay any sum of money which any competent court of judicature should adjudge to be due to the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies." The attorney would not acquiesce in this kind of release, nor to a bail-piece so worded, as thinking it "either entirely nugatory, or liable to many litigations, with regard to the opinion of the judges present as to the competency of the Court which might decide hereafter on this matter;" and thereupon Scroop Chund was discharged.'

We have been thus particular in the statement of these two cases,



in which the authority of the Supreme Court of Bengal to issue writs of *Habeas Corpus* was asserted and opposed, because we find in the argument of Messrs. Denman and Alderson, an attempt to infer from the silence of the 21st of Geo. III. on the subject, a parliamentary recognition of that right. 'These writs of *Habeas Corpus*,' says the latter learned gentleman, 'were all moved for between the 13th and 21st of Geo. III. Your Lordships would therefore have expected to find in the 21st Geo. III. some limitation of the power which had been exercised, if it was not intended to continue it; but there is no such limitation, and the power remained precisely the same in those respects. The Legislature limited it, in some respects, but not in this; which is a strong parliamentary recognition of the power in the Supreme Court of Calcutta to issue those writs. In the Court of Madras the same has existed; his Majesty therefore was advised to give his royal assent to the act constituting the Supreme Court of Bombay, after the other two Courts had exercised this jurisdiction from the year 1775 up to the 4th of Geo. IV., and then a similar power is to be given to the new Court constituted, and it is to have all the powers of the Court of Calcutta and Madras. It is a strong confirmation of our view, therefore, when I shew that from the origin of this jurisdiction the government of India, with Mr. Warren Hastings at its head, seems to have taken the same view of the question.'

There is just enough of truth in this ingenious statement of Mr. Alderson, to give colour to the conclusion attempted to be drawn from it. That colour, however, will be found to fade very sensibly on closer inspection, and disappears altogether when the facts are carefully considered. It is true, undoubtedly, that writs of *Habeas Corpus* were granted by the Supreme Court between 1773 and 1781; it is also true that Warren Hastings made returns to some of them, under an impression that they were legally issued; and Mr. Alderson might have added, that one of the objects of the 21st Geo. III., as appears from the 28th section, was to indemnify the said Warren Hastings and his Council for resistance to writs duly issued by the Supreme Court. It is not, however, true that the power of the Supreme Court to issue these writs has never been questioned, or that it was exercised in Bengal until the date of the Charter for Bombay. That its exercise previous to the 21st Geo. III. was a matter of complaint and remonstrance on the part of the Company, is clear from the cases of Scroop Chund and Sudder al huc Cawn, and satisfactory reasons for the omission of an express provision upon the subject may be found, without being driven to the inference at which Mr. Alderson would wish us to arrive. The Committee on whose report the bill was drawn up, state that they had applied themselves in examining the matter of the petitions referred to them, to the general administration; 1st, of Civil Justice; 2dly, of Criminal Justice; 3dly, of Justice

in Revenue matters, or cases which arose from obligations contracted on account of the revenue. Now, under one of these three heads all the cases of *Habeas Corpus* very appropriately range, and the enactments of the 21st Geo. III. are sufficiently large to prevent the recurrence of the inconveniences which the issuing of those writs had at that time occasioned. By the 8th section of that Act it was enacted, that the Supreme Court should not have any jurisdiction in matters concerning the revenue; by the 9th, that no person should be subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court on account of his being a landholder, or farmer of land; and by the 10th, persons in the service of the Company, or any British subjects were exempted from its jurisdiction in cases of inheritance or succession to lands and in matters of dealing or contract between parties, 'except in actions for wrongs or trespasses, and in any civil suit by agreement between the parties in writing, to submit the same to the decision of the Supreme Court.' Now these enactments embraced all cases of the same character as those which had at that time been disputed between the Governor-General and the Supreme Court. Besides, the question came before Parliament on petition from the Directors of the East India Company, and they probably were reluctant to propose, as *distinct* matter of complaint, the exertion of an authority, which only seven years before had been declared by them essential for the protection of the Natives. That Warren Hastings at first admitted and Sir Elijah Impey always maintained, the power of the Supreme Court, under the 13th Geo. III., to issue writs of *Habeas Corpus*, is perfectly clear; but it is also indisputable that the East India Company, in 1773, were of opinion that it conferred no such power; and the debates in Parliament, on the Regulating Act of 1781, prove beyond doubt that that act was designed to take it away if it then existed.\*

In the Commons, Mr. Dempster, a member of the Committee, strongly protested against the injustice of denying the writ of *Habeas Corpus* to the Natives of India, and contrasted their comparatively free condition under the 13th of Geo. III., as interpreted by Sir Elijah Impey, with the utter helplessness and subjection to which they were reduced by the Bill before the House. Mr. Burke replied to Mr. Dempster, that however much we might value the privileges secured to us by a free constitution, the Natives were much more attached to their own laws and customs; that it was impolitic to frame regulations for an ignorant and superstitious people on the model of the institutions of a civilized state, and that the inhabitants of India preferred tyranny and insecurity after their own fashion, to any protection which the laws of England could extend. Lord Radnor, in the House of Lords, entered his protest against the Bill, in terms which leave no doubt of the understanding of their Lordships.†

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\* Parliamentary History of England, vol. xxii. p. 631.

† The Bill to explain and amend so much of an Act made in the 13th of

In the construction of a statute, in the vagueness of which the legislators of 1773 and 1781 seem to have paid much more attention to their own convenience than to that of generations then to come, this general understanding is the only ~~case~~ <sup>key</sup> to a correct interpretation, and unless there be cases which ~~imply~~ <sup>impegn</sup> the conclusion, we think there can be no doubt that the Bengal Judicature Bill did not confer the power of issuing writs of *Habeas Corpus* on the Supreme Court of Calcutta. Now when Mr. Alderson states that these writs have been issued without impeachment from 1781 until now, is it not singular that he cites no case to support his position? If precedents exist, why are they not adduced? The case of Wright, Newenham, and Mendy Ali Khaun,\* before Lord Chief Justice Grey, was a case of contempt;† and besides it was in evidence that the Newab had a house of business ~~within~~ <sup>in</sup> the ditch. In *Rex v. Kistnama Naick*, 2 Madras cases, 251, and *Rex v. Miller*, *ib.* 249, the parties were clearly within the jurisdiction of the Court, and though in the action for assault and false imprisonment brought by Zeibsen Nissa Begum against the Azeem al Dowlah Behader, 2 Madras cases, 130, it was held that the Azeem al Dowlah being a sovereign prince, was as such *constructively* exempt from the authority of the Court, yet it did not follow that the ladies whom he detained were not entitled to its protection. They were clearly within the jurisdiction, being resident at Madras, and they were accordingly brought up by *Habeas Corpus*, and discharged. These are the only

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his present Majesty, entitled 'An Act for the better Management of the Affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in England,' as relates to the administration of justice in Bengal, and for the relief of certain persons imprisoned at Calcutta in Bengal, under a judgment of the Supreme Court of Judicature; and also for indemnifying the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, and all officers who have acted under their orders, or authority, in the undue resistance made to the process of the Supreme Court, ~~was~~ passed. Upon which the following protest was entered;—

‘Dissentient,

‘Because this Bill, instead of preserving that impartiality which characterises all just legislation, enacts that a power of oppression which is ~~consequently~~ <sup>consequently</sup> so great and dangerous that it shall not be tolerated with respect to the life, the limb, the liberty, or even the property of any British-born subject, who has but a temporary and voluntary residence in Hindoostan, shall yet subsist against the poor, the friendless, the plundered Native, the natural and necessary inhabitant of that country, with all its terrors, without limitation and with scarce an appearance of responsibility. Because, the giving power without responsibility can be justified in my opinion by no possible situation of affairs. The abuse of official power and the outrages committed in ~~pur~~ <sup>pursuit</sup> of wealth in India, have been observed in this country with an indifference which does no credit to our government. We shall not, I imagine, acquire any credit by extending that authority, much less by annexing impunity to its abuse.

Signed,

\* Oriental Herald, vol. xxii. p. 119.

RADNOR.’

† See the cases of Lord Leigh, in Bacon's Abridgment; and of Lord Ferrers, 1 Burr. 631.

cases referred to by Mr. Justice Grant in his speech of the 29th of September, and believing them to be all distinguishable, we are entitled to retort the argument of his counsel, and to infer from the absence of all precedents since 1781, the alleged excess of jurisdiction. We have already stated that the powers of the Bombay Court are, by the express provision of the 4th Geo. IV. c. 71, made co-extensive with those of the Court of Calcutta. There is nothing in the letters patent founded upon that act extending the authority which it empowered his Majesty to grant. By these, his Majesty is pleased 'to direct that there shall be within the settlement of Bombay a Court of Record, which shall be called the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay, and that the same shall consist of certain judges who are there mentioned, and that the said Chief Justice and the ~~Puisne~~ Judges shall be severally and respectively, and they are all and every of them thereby appointed to be Justices and Conservators of the Peace and Coroners within and throughout the Settlement of Bombay, and the limits thereof, and the factories subordinate thereto, and all the territories which now are, or hereafter may be, subject to or dependent upon the Government of Bombay aforesaid, and to have such jurisdiction and authority as his Majesty's Court of King's Bench have and may lawfully exercise within that part of Great Britain called England, as far as circumstances will admit. And we do further direct, ordain and appoint, that the jurisdiction, powers and authorities, of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay, shall extend to all such persons as have been hitherto described and distinguished in our charters for Bombay, by the appellation of British subjects, who shall reside within any of the factories subject or dependent upon the Government of Bombay: and that the said Court shall be competent and effectual, and shall have full power and authority to hear and determine all suits and actions whatsoever against any of our said subjects, arising in territories subject to or dependent upon, or which hereafter may be subject to or dependent upon, the same Government, or against any person or persons who at the time when the cause of action shall have arisen shall have been employed by, or shall have been directly or indirectly in the service of, the said United Company, or any of the subjects of us, our heirs and successors.

Whether the course pursued by Sir John Malcolm and his council were dictated by good taste and wisdom, is a very different question, from the legality of the power asserted by the Court. However extravagant may be the pretensions of a judge, it is the duty of the executive power to treat his character and office with respect. Very unlike the conduct of Sir John Malcolm was that of Warren Hastings, in similar circumstances. He sent no letter to the judges; couched in terms of insolent dictation, to prohibit in vague and indefinite language the exercise of their authority, 'however legal they might deem it'; thus assuming to himself the functions of a Court of appeal, and a power to repel, on suggestions of political expediency,

the Charter and the Act of Parliament. Warren Hastings, with all his faults, preserved throughout his misunderstanding with Sir Elijah Impey, the appearance, at least, of deference for his functions and station. It was not until matters had arrived at a point very far indeed beyond that, to which any inconvenience to Pandorang Ramchunder, or the Gaoler of Tannah, were at all likely to lead, that he gave notice, not that he would resist, but that he would not assist the execution of the process of the Court. Unlike Mr. Dewar, who, in the case of Bappoo Gunness, refused to amend the return of a writ, which, if amended, would have satisfied the scruples of the Court, when the Advocate General of that day was consulted on the measures to be pursued to prevent the dangers apprehended from the proceedings of the Supreme Court, he requested, in a matter of so much delicacy, time to consider of his opinion, and finally advised the comparatively gentle course which was ultimately adopted. At Mr. Dewar's indiscretion, in this respect, we cannot adequately express our surprise, and, upon the whole, it strikes us very forcibly that, to his precipitancy, and that of the Governor, who acted under his advice, are mainly attributable any evils which may result from the degradation of the Supreme Court of Bombay, by the notoriety of the resistance offered to its decrees, and the undue countenance such resistance must receive in a country where free discussion is a crime, from the manner in which the point of law has been decided in the Cockpit. A knowledge of the public and private characters of such men as Sir John Peter Grant, and Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers, might have suggested to Sir John Malcolm a mode of expostulation very different from that which he imprudently selected. The articles of war are not the guides of judicial discretion, and though neglect of orders be very criminal in a soldier, obedience to them would, in most cases, be unpardonable in a judge.

It was our intention, when we commenced this paper, to have concluded with an examination of the minute of Sir John Malcolm, in which he explains the motives of the course pursued by him in the cases of Moro Ragonath and Bappoo Gunness.

This minute will probably be found in another part of the present volume, and from it our readers will be in a condition to judge how far he is innocent of the confusion (unnecessarily, as we think,) occasioned at Bombay. That we differ *toto calo* from the gallant governor, as to the comparative advantages of responsible and irresponsible authority, it is hardly necessary to aver; and we are much mistaken if the picture sketched by him, of the condition of the provinces subject to his Presidency, have not an effect very dissimilar to that which it is intended to produce. It is due to the distinguished statesman, who succeeded Sir John Malcolm in the government of Bombay, to say, that the measures of his administration tended very much to alleviate that depressing sense of humiliation, by which the wanton character of our tyranny in other parts of India has broken

the spirit and wasted the energies of the Natives. Mr. Elphinstone had the discrimination to perceive, and the resolution to act upon his conviction, that the languor and indifference which invariably characterise a subdued and enervated people, are the most insurmountable of all obstacles to any scheme of comprehensive improvement. His mind was not formed to contemplate the degradation of illustrious lineage, and the crumbling of exalted fortune, with the calm philosophy of his cold successor. Knowing that it is much easier to control the turbulence of undaunted strength, than to brace the sinews of docile debility, he wisely determined to maintain the dignity and honour of the ancient families to whose representatives the inhabitants of Western India were accustomed to look up with respect and reverence: he caused justice to be administered in the vernacular language of the country, and was careful that all innovations should be conducted with a due regard to the manners and prejudices of the people. Sir John Malcolm would do well to emulate Mr. Elphinstone in these respects, and to ascertain to what extent the principles of English justice are compatible with such portions of Native usages and revenue institutions, as it may be deemed expedient or necessary to preserve. The inestimable advantages of Trial by Jury, that great bulwark of British rights and liberties—thanks to Sir Alexander Johnstone—are already felt and acknowledged in Ceylon. The exertions of Colonel Briggs have familiarised it to the people of Candeish, under the mask of their own Punchayet. If the rulers of India were sincerely anxious to provide an effective security for their Native subjects against the known oppressions of their Adawlut system, and the possible excesses of the infant striplings who are drafted from Hertford to the Buildings, and thence to the Mofussil, they would have little difficulty in discovering a disguise for the *Habeas Corpus*; for sure we are, that when due means are taken to render the object and office of that writ correctly appreciated, that its protection will be eagerly sought, and the name of him who shall introduce it gratefully remembered.

We shall take an early opportunity of reverting to the minute of Sir John Malcolm, and of discussing those maxims of Indian policy which the habits of forty years' service, under a despotic government, have furnished him with courage to proclaim. Our principal object in this article, was to disclaim all participation in a suspicion which we have found very prevalent, that the Privy Council had been actuated in their decision on the petition of Sir John Grant, by motives of supposed expediency. Such a rumour is of a nature to smother the hopes of that extensive reform, which is confidently said to be in the contemplation of ministers. We deem it, therefore, our duty to discountenance, to the utmost of our ability, so injurious a notion; and to avow our conscientious conviction, that the points at issue were justly and impartially decided.

## THE DYING CHRISTIAN TO HIS SON.

MY SON, I long'd to see thy face  
 Nor have I asked in vain ;  
 And dear, to me, this last embrace,  
 Though feebly I may strain  
 Thee to my heart—for thou art dear ;  
 And oft the kind, paternal tear  
 Would flow, and urged by many a fear,  
 We might not meet again.

Thou left'st me !—dreams of glory fired  
 Thy youthful breast ;—and Fame  
 In dazzling panoply attired,  
 With her deep clarion came ;  
 Thou wert her votary, till fled  
 Her rainbow hues,—and Truth instead,  
 Mildly and sweet, broke round thy head—  
 A beauteous, heavenly flame.

But oh ! Ambition's hellish hand  
 Rebellion's sceptre raised ;  
 Foremost amongst that guilty band,  
 Thou, a dread meteor blazed ;  
 Lighting their fell, unhallowed course  
 That onwards held impetuous force ;—  
 (As whirls the cataract from its source),  
 And your firm foes, amazed,  
 Beheld the devastating wreck,  
 The conflict's dreadful sway,  
 The fiery fiends they could not check,  
 Cleaving their murderous way ;—  
 They, who 'gainst faction bold had striven,  
 Exiles from families were driven,  
 To others—the galling yoke was given,  
 'Twas death to disobey.

Thou weep'st ; tears of pride will spring  
 From hundred breasts like thine,—  
 Affection's drops, fast issuing,  
 Can only come from mine.  
 But oh ! to Heaven address thy prayer,  
 That He who made thee yet may spare—  
 And would'st thou find acceptance there,  
 A Saviour's mercies shine.

## UTILITARIAN CONTROVERSY.\*

THE ink was scarcely dry with which we had deprecated the false tactic of allowing slight differences to interfere with a general political union of all those parties which we have classed under the name of Liberals, when an extraordinary elucidation of our position was afforded us by 'The Edinburgh Review,' in an article professing to be an examination of Mr. Mill's *Essays on Government*; but really, and not unavowedly, an attack upon the Utilitarian or Benthamite party. The running title 'Utilitarian Logic and Politics,' was sufficient to indicate the spirit in which the review was penned, even to those who, deterred by the title, took no pains to examine its contents; while those who read the article must shortly have been convinced that no ordinary quantum of inveteracy had dictated the production. We regret this exceedingly, for it lowers, in our estimation, a work which we have been long accustomed to consider most highly. It was the leading organ of a great party—it is in danger of becoming the trumpeter of a petty faction, of a small knot of aristocrats and their literary retainers, who feel their self-importance lowered by the wider range which their rivals have taken in the great work of reform. Numerous petty attacks, in verse and prose, had long indicated this feeling of the coteries; but no direct onslaught was hazarded, till the unregulated zeal of a recruit induced the juvenile reviewer to step from the ranks, and offer a direct challenge; his young comrades cheered his advance, and mistook the dust which he raised about him, and the parade and flourish of his arms, for proofs of vigour and omens of victory; the elders did not forbid the combat, would have rejoiced in the defeat of their adversary, but were prepared to disavow the enterprise should it prove abortive.

This has been the case; and as 'nothing is more amusing or instructive than to observe the manner in which people, who think themselves wiser than all the rest of the world, fall into snares which the simple good sense of their neighbours detects and avoids,' the young champion of ultra whiggism has by this time learnt, that a very secondary opponent has sufficed to put him down; he has miscalculated his strength, and has fallen into the trap laid for him by his own vanity: we hope that he will profit by the lesson; and when, on some future occasion, as he promises, he may attempt to do justice to the other six *Essays* of Mr. Mill, let him remember how imperfectly he executed his duty as to the first, and that also, when the number of years during which the *Treatise of Government* had stood before the public, sanctioned by the

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\* 'Essays on Government, Jurisprudence, the Liberty of the Press, Prisons and Prison Discipline, Colonies, the Law of Nations, and Education. By James Mill, Esq., Author of the History of British India.'



approval of older and wiser heads than his own, might have enabled him to take a more dispassionate view of its merits, and to have passed before he ventured so summary a condemnation of its imputed errors.

We are the more inclined to believe that this author will profit by experience, as he appears to have been accustomed to the task of self-examination ; and though he has mistaken his own shadow for the portrait of another, we may entertain a hope that when he has discovered the optical delusion he will recognise the picture, as others assuredly will do. Changing a very few words, his description of the Utilitarians will serve for the hangers on of the Whig aristocracy. We have been, for some time past, inclined to believe, that these people, whom some '*(themselves included)*' regard as the lights of the world, and others '*(the ultra Tories)*' as incarnate demons, are in general ordinary men, with narrow understandings, and little information. The contempt which they express for '*severe reasoning*,' is evidently the contempt of ignorance. We apprehend that many of them are persons, who having read little or nothing, are delighted to be rescued from the sense of their own inferiority by some teacher, who assures them that the studies which they have neglected are of no value, puts five or six phrases into their mouths, lends them an old number of '*The Edinburgh Review*,' and, in a month, transforms them into *Statesmen*. 'Mingled with these smatterers, whose attainments just suffice to elevate them from the insignificance of dunces to the dignity of bores, and to spread dismay among their pious aunts and grandmothers, there are, we well know, many well-meaning men ; but whose reading and meditation have been almost exclusively confined to one class of subjects ; and who, consequently, though they possess much valuable knowledge respecting those subjects, are by no means so well qualified to judge of a great system, as if they had taken a more enlarged view of *the nature and habits of mankind*.'

These latter words we have substituted for '*literature and society*,' as, in the other place, we have put '*severe reasoning*' for '*elegant literature*.' Our classic is, no doubt, indignant, that the works of statists and philosophers should have been preferred to lyrics or tragedians ; he would have given up Herodotus for Anacreon, and may not have passed the age when he may have estimated '*Little's Poems*' as the finest production of human intellect. The Utilitarians have formed another standard, they treat as ornament what he treats as substance ; in their fears that the elegances of rhetoric may mislead the common mass of mankind, they may have sought to depreciate eloquence beyond its real merit ; and have, without doubt, for the most part, adopted a dry and severe style of writing, which deters the general reader from the perusal of their works. *In vitium ducit culpæ fuga !* but it is as little true, that the greater number of utilitarians are ignorant of polite and

classic literature, as it would be to say that the Edinburgh Reviewers had never learnt the first principles of logic ; they do not pour forth the contents of their satchel, like the overgrown school-boys of the House of Commons and Debating Societies ; but they put the wrought metal to its proper use, without displaying a specimen of the ore, or naming the mine from which they had obtained it. This constitutes the difference between the finished scholar and the pedant, between the substantial use of literature and its employment as an ornament, between the Utilitarian and his reviewer.

The sneer about society, for as a sneer it is taken, and as we believe intended, is of a similar character. Few, if any, of the aristocracy have as yet joined the Utilitarians ; they have no cabinet at Kensington, no coterie in Berkeley Square ; their head quarters is in the Birdcage Walk, and the Morning Post never announces the splendour of their conversazioni ; their leader has passed the age of all the flirtations, and when his followers do join the giddy throng, they bear no mark upon their foreheads, no colour in their garments, no shibboleth in their language, no gesture in their greetings, to distinguish them as members of the brotherhood : the reviewer affects to believe that Utilitarians never mix in society, because he hears no one talk Benthamese in the little circle which he is pleased to call the world ; yet, if he will look around him, or, which will be better, will apply to those who have better means of information, he will find men deeply tinctured with this forbidding lore, mixing with the gayest, and being the gayest of the gay. Perhaps we may take occasion to demonstrate the *utility* of pleasure, and teach our author the severest studies are compatible with the most gentlemanly deportment, that a scholar need not be a clown, a philosopher a bore, or an Utilitarian the terror of his grandmother.

We admit the utility of mixing in society, collecting the opinions of men, and women also, comparing our own strength with the vigour of other minds, and in a sort of mental gymnastics, bringing a new set of ideas into action after the manner in which muscular force is developed by Professor Clias and his athletic brethren. But we do not make a business of jumping or tumbling, nor of showing antics in a drawing-room for the amusement of the blues. And when our study is of as abstruse a subject as the principles of government, we will still seek our information in the nature of man, 'when first in woods the noble savage ran,' and not in the general masquerade of society.

Against this, however, the reviewer protests most vehemently : according to his view, we are not to look for rules of law and government in the habits and passions of mankind ; but in the feelings of lords, and gentlemen of the bedchamber, in the benevolence of kings, and the forbearance of ministers. He specially quarrels with Mr. Mill, for assuming certain propensities of human nature,

and from these premises deducing sythetically the whole science of politics. These principles, as we take it, are the original desires of acquiring and retaining; barring, always, the first theological quarrel, touching sacrifice, which was the origin of religious persecution, we suspect that the antediluvian want of game laws first suggested the necessity of government; and that to secure the spoil of the hunter was its end and object: notions of personal violence, except as relating to the attack and defence of property, were reserved to a future state of society; and therefore we cannot think our essayist so wrong, as the reviewer and his friend in the Kensington stage would have him, when he simplifies the vulgar description of the purposes of government, and, reverting to first principles, makes the protection of property include the protection of persons. 'He first assumes, justly enough, that the end of government is to increase to the utmost the pleasures, and diminish to the utmost the pains, which men derive from each other; he then proceeds to show, with great form, (as the reviewer tells us), that the greatest possible happiness of society is attained by insuring to every man the greatest possible quantity of the produce of his labour;' or, we would add, to take no more from him, whether in cash or freedom, than is necessary to constitute a joint stock fund of treasure and power, for the security of his remaining possessions, real, personal, or moral. Now this does not suit the views of absolutists or aristocrats: what we contend to be inherent in the many, they assume to be the birthright of a few; we say that every man is entitled to as much happiness as can consist with the happiness of others; they claim the mass of enjoyment to themselves, as absorbing bodies, and think the world well off that they can comfort themselves in the 'superfluity, radiated or reflected from their sacred persons. In France, under the old monarchy, the priests and nobles had succeeded, to an astonishing degree, in the inculcation of this doctrine; and it was not until the progress of education induced the mere people to inquire, whether it would not be better to have their happiness at first hand, than wait its scanty and daily decreasing dole from the assumed reservoirs of the blessings of providence, that its truth was called in question. Our own progress in this knowledge has been slower, because we have not yet been instructed by that pinching tutor, necessity.

We give all credit to our aristocracy; they are, for the most part, moderate in their demands on our veneration, they make no direct drains upon our purses, and allow us full immunity of person; but in return they ask of us very large surrenders of our judgment to their hereditary wisdom; they require that prostration of mind, which, according to the Archbishop of Canterbury, constitutes the essence of Christianity, and view, as the best part of our faith, that portion of the Catechism, interpolated by the church, which implies a command to order ourselves lowly and

reverently to all our betters (meaning themselves) and the precept of obedience to governors, teachers, spiritual pastors, and masters. These things duly observed, and the vote for the county, city, or borough duly given in obedience to his lord, the English tenant experiences little direct exaction; he enables his master to draw upon the public purse for the provision of younger sons, brothers and nephews, through the influence of his seats in parliament; but he does not immediately feel the effect of his subserviency.

But this is in the end bad economy; it may be convenient to the agricultural, but it is injurious to the trading, manufacturing, and commercial interests; and as these have now become the preponderating bodies in point of wealth and numbers, they are entitled, according to the Utilitarian principles of government, to demand a change from that mode of rule which was instituted for, and adapted to, other and very different times. The constitution of the Barons was formed when the relations of lord and vassal, owners and cultivators of land, constituted the leading interests of the great mass of society: that state of things is gone; but the rule founded on it, remains; it is the object of the aristocracy to preserve the ancient institutions from all charge; it is the interest of the greatest number to effect a reform, and adapt their government to present circumstances.

To a certain degree the Whigs were, and we will believe are, willing to assist the people; but their leaders are of the 'order;' and wherever they suspect an intention of trenching on their hereditary privileges, they will insidiously thwart, if they do not openly oppose, the popular interest. This is the cause of their hostility to the Utilitarian principle; and this is the secret of the article in 'The Edinburgh Review.'

Mr. Mill contends, that in an aristocracy, the few being invested with the powers of government, can take the objects of their desires from the people, and acting on the desire of acquisition, will plunder the many, who are subjected to their political strength. In the fact he is right, the history of France, previous to the revolution, was an example; the present state of Spain, Portugal, Naples, and other despotic governments, shows it to this day: in his reasoning, also, we believe him to be correct; we see the principle acting on children every day, and all the authorities, with which we are acquainted, have referred the same motives of action to the infancy of the human race. But against this natural desire, the essayist of the Edinburgh sets up the acquired feeling of respect for opinion, and the kind disposition of well constituted minds. He asks, with an air of great triumph, why may not the same kind feeling which induces a man to love, comfort, and cherish his wife, prevent a king, or an Aristocracy, from grinding the people to the very utmost of their power?

'If Mr. Mill,' he says, 'will examine why it is that women are

better treated in England than in Persia, he may perhaps find out, in the course of his enquiries, why it is that the Danes are better governed than the subjects of Caligula.'

It is very possible that such enquiry might elucidate the subject ; but not for the cause relied on by the Edinburgh.

Admitting that a man treats his wife well, 'because, if he loves her, he has pleasure in seeing her pleased ; and because, even if he dislikes her, he is unwilling that the whole neighbourhood should cry shame on his meanness and ill-nature.' Yet is it equally certain that he would treat her equally well, if *not seeing* her, the reflexion of her pleasure did not constitute his comfort ; if *not hearing* the cries of the neighbourhood, he took no shame in his meanness and ill-nature. This will not be the operation of a well-regulated mind ; but it is the nature of many, and more especially of the higher orders, who act on the impulse of their feelings, not on the conviction of their reason : when they *see* the distresses of the people, they may be willing to relieve them ; but they are slow to open their eyes, and prefer the indolent luxury of keeping them closed. The man and his wife have an identity of interest, daily and hourly excited, unity of feeling is essential to their comfort ; but the first lesson taught to a king, the first flattery whispered to a lordling, is that they have nothing in common with the people ; the very fiction of royal and noble blood implies that they and the vulgar are animated by different principles of vitality ; the court chaplain dare not tell them that they are of the same clay ; the embalmer endeavours to defend them from the common sentence of corruption. The king does not hear the cry of shame, he is shut up in his gynœceum, surrounded by his courtiers, lulled by his ministers ; it is long indeed before the clamour of the people can pierce the walls of the palace ! If he goes forth men put on their holiday clothes, and meet him with smiling faces ; he is not permitted to view the nakedness of the land ; and even those whose interest it is that he should know the truth, join in the conventional politeness of imposing a delusion upon him.

George the Fourth, for instance, visited Ireland ; and there were many who hoped that his personal inspection, and the known kindness of his disposition, when operated upon through the medium of his sympathies, would have induced some important amelioration in the condition of that wretched country ; but that good-natured people would not allow him, the opportunity of exerting his benevolence ; they put themselves in masquerade, and, like a fanished stroller playing Father Paul, simulated plenty.

The fancied analogy between private families and governments, as now constituted, fails in this, that the feeling of immediate identity of interest operates in the one directly ; in the other, a common interest may exist, but it is remote, and does not operate on those who see a present good to themselves, and only a contingent and

remote evil to others, in the objects of their desires. If the Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, or Yeomen of the Guard, perchance sees the bed of a poor man sold for taxes, his feelings of pity may be excited; and it would be rather too much to require him to calculate what fraction of the distress was occasioned by the splendor of his train, or the magnitude of his salary. To the aristocracy, these and similar sinecures are a present and tangible good; to the poor they are a remote evil: the noble pensioner takes no shame to himself, individually, for a calamity which cannot be traced to his own person; but if the greater number possessed political power, they would take care that useless expenditure did not reduce their quantum of property, and through their property the means of happiness.

In the abstract, therefore, Mr. Mill is right, in attributing the evil of an aristocracy to the desire of all men to obtain the means of pleasure; practically he is wrong, if, as a point of practice, he has stated that this plunder will be carried to the extreme, implied by his reviewer. The nobles never take all; a Turkish Pasha does not devour the seed corn; theory might lead to this result, but, in politics as in science, there are disturbing influences, which always prevent the exact accomplishment of a principle. He is unfortunate, too, in the term swallow up; he ought to have used the less heroic word, 'nibble away': it is not at a gulp that kings and nobles devour a people, as people devour an oyster, but by slow and almost imperceptible degrees; like a thieving housemaid stealing her mistress's tea, or her master's brandy: she does not pounce upon the pound of Twining at one fell swoop, nor guzzle the Cogniac at one huge draught; but she pilfers the tea by the dram, and the dram by the sup; the real owners, meanwhile, have the apparent use of the articles, and it is only when they find them consumed, in an unusually short space of time, and that too sometimes not till after repeated experiences, that they begin to suspect that their servant is not quite as honest as she ought to be; or that the monarch and his court are not quite as tender of the people's pockets, as the occasional speeches to parliament, edicts, or proclamations, may have appeared to indicate.

All governments know that there is a point beyond which the forbearance of the multitude cannot be relied upon, and that when numerical and physical strength is resorted to, political power must fail; they know, too, that the appearance of moderation is necessary, in order to blind the multitude, and have invented an infinity of fine sayings, to delude the vulgar into a belief that ministers never pick the pockets of the people, except for their own good. The doctrines of the Utilitarians would unmask such delusions, and the sophistry of the aristocratic part of the Whigs must ever be joined to the Church, and the Tories, to perpetuate the delusion. This certainly is not the avowed purpose of the article in the *Edin-*

burgh ; but as we have imputed a motive to it, or, which amounts to the same thing, have shown the evident tendency of the act, we must do the writer the justice of quoting his own words, though we dispute his conclusions.

‘ Our readers can scarcely mistake our object in writing this article. They will not suspect us of any disposition to advocate the cause of absolute monarchy, or of any *narrow* form of oligarchy, or to exaggerate the evils of popular governments. Our object at present is, not so much to attack or defend any particular system of polity, as to expose the vices of a kind of reasoning utterly unfit for moral and political discussions—of a kind of reasoning, which may be so readily turned to purposes of falsehood, that it ought to receive no quarter, even when by accident it may be employed on the side of truth.’

This latter passage is passing strange ; but that which follows far surpasses it.

‘ Our objection to the essay of Mr. Mill is fundamental. We believe that it is utterly impossible to deduce the science of government from the principles of human nature.’

And then the reviewer proceeds to argue, that because there are in the world misers and prodigals, cut-throats and philanthropists, heroes and cowards, and as ‘ each of these men has no doubt acted from self-interest,’ we gain nothing by this, except the pleasure, if it be one, of multiplying useless words. We, on the contrary, gain from this the means, in our theory of government, of making a man’s supposed self-interest comport with the general welfare of society. The law against perpetuities discourages the incipient hoarder ; the fear of a jail checks the spendthrift ; the dread of the gallows has prevented murder ; and the horror of being drummed out of a regiment has made men stand, who would have preferred running away. Occasional cowards, cut-throats, and profligates, are the exceptions, not the rule of human nature ; and the rationale of their actions is, that they have sacrificed their permanent self-interest to an immediate, real or fancied, convenience.

We have not space, however, to enter into the logical disquisition on modes of reasoning ; we will get at the truth, when and how we can ; not following those blind judges, who mistake the means for the end, and check discovery by rules of evidence ; nor yet those equally blind guides of the schools, analytical, synthetical, logical, or mathematical, who conclude that they have attained the objects of an art, when they have only learnt the names and handling of their tools, without having put their learning to any practical purpose. We must return to the political bearing of the article ; or rather to that part of it which we take to be the vindication of the aristocracy.

The author does not advocate any *narrow* form of oligarchy ;

not a dozen, nor twenty-four, nor perhaps a hundred, unless he had the selection; but his expression does imply that he advocates some oligarchy, and it is of this that we accuse him. He would subject the many to the government of a few, and that few will have a constant tendency to reduce their own ranks, till their number shall be limited to a very narrow oligarchy. We advocate the government of many; and though we admit that all cannot govern, we would make the multitude as great as will consist with the necessary energy, unity of action, and other faculties requisite for the conduct of public affairs. Excluding none from representation, coercing none in their choice, but making the number of representatives too numerous for the *management* of a ministry, and the period of service too short for the corruptive fermentation to which unstirred masses of perishable material must ever be liable. We will allow the influence of learning, public service, private character, individual benevolence: we cannot exclude, perhaps we would not exclude, the incidental influence of wealth; but we would guard against its direct application in the form of bribery, and denounce its agency when made to operate on the fears of the people.

We, too, will give the '*bonne bouche* of wisdom,' with which our reviewer makes himself merry.

Mr. Mill says, 'the opinions of that class of the people who are below the middle rank, are formed, and their minds are directed, by that intelligent, that virtuous rank, who come the most immediately in contact with them; who are in the constant habit of intimate communication with them; to whom they fly for advice and assistance in all their numerous difficulties; upon whom they feel an immediate and daily dependence in health and in sickness, in infancy and in old age; to whom their children look up as models for their imitation; whose opinions they hear daily repeated, and account it their honour to adopt. There can be no doubt that the middle rank, which gives to science, to art, and to legislation itself, their most distinguished ornaments, and is the chief source of all that has exalted and refined human nature, is that portion of the community of which, if the basis of representation were ever so far extended, the opinion would ultimately decide. Of the people beneath them, a vast majority would be seen to be guided by their advice and example.'

But, says the reviewer, 'if the interest of the middle rank be identical with that of the people, why should not the powers of government be intrusted to that rank? If the powers of government were intrusted to that rank, there would evidently be an aristocracy of wealth; and to constitute an aristocracy of wealth, though it were a very numerous one, would, according to Mr. Mill, leave the community without protection, and exposed to all the evils of unbridled power.'

Now, has Mr. Mill said one word, in the passage quoted, of an



aristocracy of wealth? He speaks of a virtuous middle rank; the critic is thinking of gentlemen in carriages. Wealth, no doubt, will rise in that middle rank, and with wealth its corruptions, pride and the love of power. Of the few who have so risen above the level of society, some will then have lost caste, as a virtuous and intelligent rank; but their places will be supplied by others, whose interests are identical with those of the multitude; who will not use their power to the destruction of the many, and who will shield the people from that aristocracy, whether of birth or wealth, which deems its privileges inconsistent with the enjoyment of the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

Here we quit the subject, referring such of our readers as wish to peruse it, to a very able, though unequally written, article, which appeared in the Westminster, as an avowed answer to 'The Edinburgh Review.' It is now printed separately, and is well worthy of the notice which at this moment we have not space to give it.

#### WRITTEN ON THE CONTEMPLATION OF DEATH.

THE Sun is descending, descending to rest,  
Where night's gloomy shadows repose;  
And Nature is lending the purest, the best,  
Of sympathy's tears as he goes.

But I am pursuing, pursuing the flight,  
Of Day's gaudy king to the tomb;  
With no mother strewing soft sympathy's light  
To scatter, or brighten the gloom.

I feel my heart fading, my sickly life shrink,  
From chilling mortality's clasp;  
I see the terrific, the shadowy brink,  
That watches Existence's gasp.

Alas! when the tide of my bosom hath flowed,  
So guiltily, how can I dare,  
To lift up an eye, to my Judge, to my God,  
Or breathe in Life's twilight a prayer.

Holy Angel of Pity, O strew on my head,  
Repentance's ashes, that Heaven  
In mercy may visit my gloomy death-bed,  
Ere rest to my Spirit be given.

With tokens of mercy, my parting soul cheer,  
Ere Life shall have stolen away;  
That th' woes which have traced all my wanderings here,  
May stretch not beyond my Death-day.

D. C.

LECTURES ON PALESTINE—BIBLICAL CRITICISM—AND SCRIPTURAL  
ILLUSTRATIONS.

No. I.

THE following article is the commencement of a series, which has been presented to Mr. Buckingham, by a highly respectable family in Scotland, for the purpose of consecutive and continuous publication in 'THE ORIENTAL HERALD,' until completed. The present number of the series is chiefly introductory; but the remainder will follow up the several branches of the subject in detail. Mr. Buckingham conceives that he sufficiently evinces his own estimation of their value and importance, by giving them an immediate place in these pages: and all that he deems it necessary to add to this by way of preface, is to give the following brief sketch of their author and his qualifications.

The late Rev. John Leech belonged to the United Secession Church of Scotland; and was thirty years pastor of the congregation at Largs, Ayrshire, in connection with that body. In 1821, he removed to Glasgow; and was till the end of 1822 (when he died), engaged in lecturing to the Students of Theology and others, on Biblical Literature, and Sacred Criticism, in the Divinity Hall of the Secession Church in that city.

Several courses of lectures were delivered by this gentleman during these two years, to numerous and highly respectable audiences, composed, not only of the Students of Theology, but many of the leading people of the city and neighbourhood, amongst whom were clergymen and other literary characters, whose constant attendance may be considered a proof of the estimation in which the lectures were held.

The course of lectures on Sacred Criticism, which it is now proposed for the first time to publish in 'The Oriental Herald,' was the last and most valuable which Mr. Leech composed; having been prepared purposely for, and delivered almost exclusively to, the students in attendance at the hall in the autumn session of 1822. The approbation and respect with which this last course was marked, from a crowded auditory composed chiefly of students in the more advanced and matured stages, attest their value. A continuation, or rather a renewal, of the course was called for; and when about to gratify the request, in the ardour of hope, in the apparent bloom of health, this respected individual was suddenly called away from life and literary labour, in November of that year.

Almost immediately after this the publication of the lectures was called for, but the fear of detracting from the literary and critical reputation, which the author enjoyed when living, has hitherto operated with his family, to prevent them from hazarding this

reputation by giving them up to criticism, which scarcely spares the imperfections even of a posthumous publication.

Now, however, that so powerful and general an interest has been awakened in the subject, the opportunity seems especially to present itself as favourable for that purpose ; and they are therefore accordingly presented for the impartial judgment of the world.

#### SACRED CRITICISM.

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THE Artist who exhibits a fine painting, or an ingenious piece of mechanism, does not think it necessary, nor would it be proper, to conduct his visitors from the exhibition gallery to the workshop, in order to display all the colourings, implements, and manipulations that were employed to bring the picture or piece of mechanism to the state of perfection in which they appear. It is quite sufficient, for all the purposes of taste or ingenuity, if he exhibits the results of his labour and skill in all the excellence and attractions of a matured and finished composition. But if he propose to teach another to make a similar specimen of art, it is necessary he should make him acquainted with all the implements and processes requisite to be employed—he will begin by inculcating the principles of the art—he will teach him the properties of light and shade, instruct him to distinguish the movements, and analyse the intricacies of mechanism, and show him in what manner the whole design has been and may be accomplished.

Thus it is in a popular discourse. It is not necessary that a public instructor should enumerate the various steps and processes by which he has arrived at certain conclusions, or by which he has satisfied himself of the justice and propriety of the sentiments which he delivers ; and it is only in peculiar instances that it is for the ends of edification, to detail the whole of the arguments which might be adduced in proof of their propriety. In general cases, it is sufficient if the results of the whole, expressed in language clear, concise, and accurate, commend itself to every honest and candid man's conscience in the sight of God. But the case is very different, if his intention is to satisfy his own mind with regard to points of doubtful disputation ; to direct the candid inquirer how his inquiries may be conducted to a successful termination ; to convince the sceptic, to silence the scoffer, or refute the gainsayer. In order to attain these objects, the public instructor must himself enter on the path of inquiry, he must endeavour to conduct others over it ; and whilst his own inquiries terminate in conviction, it ought to be his aim to unfold the evidences which led to this conclusion—to impress his convictions on the minds of those whom he addresses, and thus to present to their understandings, and to their faith, the same solid foundation on which his own rests. Such, then, are some of the objects which the critical study of the Scriptures contemplates, and such the methods which it prepares for their attainment.

SACRED CRITICISM has the Holy Scriptures for its peculiar pro-

vince—a department the most important, and which, if cultivated with sobriety, integrity, and diligence, will yield an abundant harvest of precious fruits. It is a common mistake to suppose that criticism consists merely in *censuring* the writings that are submitted to its ordeal. The origin of this mistake is deeply seated in the nature of man. Every thing human is imperfect, and if impartially examined, faults will be discovered and ought to be censured. The spirit that is in us lusteth to envy, and most minds are more prone to detect and to expose blemishes, than to point out the beauties and excellencies that are to be found in the compositions that are submitted to their review; and I will add, that the same principle in our fallen nature renders the severity of criticism more acceptable to the bulk of readers than commendation, however well merited; as if a pleasure were felt in seeing the brightest geniuses brought down to their own level. The motto of a very popular work is an illustration of the remark ‘*Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur* ;’ but the converse of this proposition is equally true in criticism as well as in law, ‘the judge is justly blamed when the innocent is condemned.’ The tribunal of Literature ought to be as impartial as the tribunal of the Laws. It is the business of the Judge in both cases to collect evidence, to weigh it with equity, and to pronounce sentence thereon with impartiality. Praise or censure, if indiscriminate, are equally dishonourable to the critic.

The qualifications which are necessary to constitute a good critic are chiefly the following—an accurate and extensive knowledge of the original languages, without which he is incapable of examining the evidences upon which he is called to decide; a supreme love of truth, that he may not be biassed to give a partial judgment; undaunted courage, to avow his convictions, whatever they may be; and above all, that deep and heartfelt reverence for the authority of God, which will lead him to seek the knowledge of the Divine will that he may do it; for if we receive not the truth in the love of it that we may be saved, we are in danger of yielding to strong delusions to believe a lie. Faith and a good conscience are inseparable. If any man is willing to *do* the will of God, he shall *know* the doctrine of Christ that it is of God.

The object of sacred criticism is twofold:—First, to determine what are the words of inspiration, and secondly, to determine the doctrines which these words were intended to convey. The German Philologists have restricted the meaning of the term to the former of these objects, viz., to the collection of MSS., ancient versions, and quotations of the Scriptures, in the writings of the ancient Fathers,—to a minute study of the ancient mode of writing, the genius of the ancient languages, and other subsidiary studies, from which to discover whence various readings have arisen; to distinguish what is spurious from what is genuine, and thereby to procure a precise and accurate version of the words of inspiration. In

this ample field there have been many labourers ; and though all have not been equally qualified, yet most of them have been useful. The diligence, the acuteness, the persevering labours, and the rigid rules to which they have subjected themselves, must appear incredible to those, who have never directed their attention to the subject.

The other object of Sacred Criticism has been distinguished by the name of Hermeneutics, or rules of interpretation. This branch of sacred literature has employed a much greater number of learned men than the former, and yet it has not been so successfully cultivated. It is the chief business of the Christian minister, to give the sense, and make the people of his charge understand the meaning of the Scripture ; and from that source, the doctrines, and duties, the instructions, admonitions, exhortations, and directions delivered to their people, must be drawn. And in proportion as Sermons are evidently drawn from this pure source, their salutary influence will be great and apparent. These two objects of Sacred Criticism are distinct, and it is proper that they should be distinguished ; yet they are both to be included under the same general name as requiring similar talents, and employing similar means, in order to the attainment of the same grand end. In both, then, it is a fact to be ascertained, evidence to be examined, and a conclusion to be drawn ; in both a reverence and a love of truth, and a determination to subject our understandings and consciences to the authority of God, must predominate.

Some well meaning, but weak-minded people, are ready, however, to doubt the propriety of these studies, because it is admitted that all that is necessary to salvation, may be learned from any of the translations, even of the most defective copies ; and that, therefore, all this critical labour is useless, or at least, unnecessary. The truth of the premises may be admitted, whilst the legitimacy of the inference attempted to be deduced from them is denied. Milk is the natural food of babes, and by milk alone human life will be sustained ; but will it, therefore, on this account be asserted that strong men ought not to labour to procure more solid food, and that it is not useful or proper to seek for any thing either for the body or the soul, but what is absolutely necessary to support mere existence. Milk is proper for babes, and strong meat is equally proper for men of full age, who have their senses exercised to discern good and evil.

There is another class of Christians who, deeply sensible of the necessity and importance of divine teaching, declaim against human learning as unnecessary. They have ever in their mouths the remark of a pious minister to a conceited scholar, ‘ Sir, unsanctified learning has done much hurt to the Church of God.’ Admitted ; the observation is just ; but what then,—is it not equally true that sanctified learning has done much good. Who ever heard of sanctified ignorance ? That ignorance is the mother of devotion is a

maxim of the Church of Rome ; and such as adopt this article of her creed, are approximating in heart to her communion.

The Apostles were not learned men, if we except the Apostle Paul, and probably the Evangelist Luke. They were not learned when first called to the offices which they afterwards occupied in the Christian church, but they enjoyed the personal tuition of the Saviour, and after his ascension they were endowed with the Spirit from on high. Apollos was a learned man, in the true sense of that term ; he was an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures ; and thereby qualified to water the churches which Paul had planted. It is true that God gave the increase, and that Paul and Apollos were nothing without his agency accompanying their labours. But increase is not to be expected where the seed has not been sown ; for, whilst the blessing of the Lord maketh rich, and addeth no sorrow, it is the hand, not of the sluggard, but of the diligent, upon which that blessing can be rationally expected,

Where, or by what manner, the knowledge requisite to the sacred critic, has been acquired, is not important ; but that it be possessed is absolutely necessary. Some men imagine themselves possessed of a peculiar *tact*, by which they are enabled to decide upon all subjects, without the labour of investigation. Their presumption is not proportioned to the measure of their knowledge, but to the want of it. There is no royal road to this branch of learning more than any other ; the man whose pride or indolence will not allow him to study, must be content to remain ignorant, and silent contempt is the best refutation of his assumed consequence.

Some are alarmed for consequences ; many learned men have erred from the faith, and some have studied the Scriptures with no other view than to pervert them. Evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived : there have been many unruly and vain talkers in every age, whose mouth must be stopped from subverting whole families, by teaching things which they ought not for filthy lucre's sake. But how shall their mouths be stopped and their deceit exposed, if there are not others more learned and more honest, to detect their errors and expose their ignorance.

This much may suffice as a defence of sacred criticism, when attacked by the ignorant, the timid, the indolent, or the unskilful professor of Christianity, whatever may be the sources of their mistaken opposition. There is another view of the subject which is calculated not only to disarm their objections and remove their scruples, but which ought to produce in their minds the most favourable impressions of its character and utility. The diligent study of the sacred Scriptures, and the wise use of every help which Providence has brought within our reach to enable us to ascertain the genuine words of inspiration, and to discover the meaning and design of the whole, is a duty enjoined by Christ and

his Apostles, in language that is clear and forcible—‘Search the Scriptures’—“*epéuvate*”—a metaphor borrowed from the miner, who digs into the bowels of the earth in search of gems, or of the precious metals. If the passage is translated indicatively, Christ here approves the practice; if imperatively, he enjoins the duty; whilst he blames for their want of success, those whose wicked passions prevented their discovery of the truth. The Scriptures are the field in which the treasure, the pearl of inestimable price, is hid, and no expence of time or of labour is too great to procure it.

In perfect accordance with the command of their Divine Master, was the uniform conduct of his Apostles and first ministers. Some well meant but weak attempts to compose the history of the life and doctrines of Christ, gave occasion to Luke to compose his Gospel. The Bereans are commended for their critical spirit. They did not reject the Gospel because it contradicted their preconceived opinions, nor did they take the gospel message upon trust, even although delivered by an inspired Apostle, but ‘searched the Scriptures daily to see whether these things were so’ or not; and finding upon examination the truth to be as Paul had stated it, they received it with all readiness of mind.

Paul, in his first epistle to the Thessalonians, a people among whom there were many implicit unbelievers, and at a time when comparatively few were in danger of being implicit believers, exhorts them in the first place not to despise prophesying, but to attend with diligence to the instructions of inspired teachers; but lest, on the other hand, they should receive indiscriminately every pretence to inspiration, he adds, ‘Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.’ There are three remarks connected with this passage of great importance.

First. The word ‘prove’ *δοκιμαζατε* is a metaphor borrowed from the use of the Lydian stone in ancient times, by which it was customary to ascertain the purity of the precious metals. The moral of the metaphor, therefore, is obvious—if we really love the truth, as well as we love money, we will be at equal pains to ascertain what is genuine, and to detect what is spurious. It is on this principle that the paraphrase of Cyril derives force and meaning—‘Be ye skilful money changers.’

Secondly. We are commanded to prove all, but not to hold fast all, but that only which upon trial is proved to be good. There is as much danger in holding fast *too much* as in holding *too little*, our object must be the *truth*, the *whole* truth, and *nothing but* the truth. By rejecting any part of the truth as it is in Jesus, we are in danger, upon the same principle, of rejecting the rest; because we thereby take away part of the foundation upon which our belief must rest; and, on the other hand, by receiving what is false along with what is true, the effect will be to neutralize the truth to that extent, or render it pernicious. The Church of Rome, by receiving

the apocryphal Scriptures along with those which are genuine, has formed a system of absurdity, which Scripture and reason unite in condemning.

Thirdly. Almost all critics are agreed that this Epistle is the first part of the sacred canon of the New Testament that was written. From internal evidence it appears that it was written from Athens, while Paul was upon his first visit to Europe; and the greater part of his Epistles we know, were not written until his imprisonment at Rome. This circumstance accounts for the command at the conclusion, 'I charge thee that this Epistle be read to all the holy brethren'—thereby placing it upon the same footing as the writings of Moses and the Prophets, which were read in the Jewish synagogue, every Sabbath-day; and the charge with regard to the first book of the New Testament, infers its application to the whole volume. The conclusion is not less natural, that, proving all things, and holding fast that which is good, is binding upon all churches at all times.

That this caution was not unnecessary, even in these early times, is evident from his Second Epistle to the same church; from the second chapter it appears, that not only were false doctrines taught and false reports spread, but even writings forged in the Apostle's name. 'Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.' And to prevent the like danger in future, he gives a criterion by which they might infallibly determine his genuine letters: in writing he generally employed an amanuensis, but he added the salutation in his own hand-writing, 'The salutation of Paul, with mine own hand, which is the token in every Epistle, so I write.' We cannot doubt that the other Apostles, and apostolic men, were equally careful to ascertain and determine their genuine writings.

In perfect accordance with Paul, Peter exhorts the Christians to whom he wrote, 'Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, with meekness'—to tell them, not merely *what* they hoped, but *why* they hoped. In the beginning of his Second Epistle, he gives them a summary of the arguments by which the truth of the Gospel is proved; and in the beginning of the second chapter he assigns a valid reason for all this care and caution; 'there were false prophets among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who shall privily bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction.'

The beloved disciple, who survived after all the rest were dead, in his First Epistle, makes sacred criticism a christian duty. 'Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits.' That by spirits



he means pretenders to inspiration, is evident from the reason which he adds, 'For many false prophets are gone out into the world.' And in order to enable them to perform this duty, he gives them several important rules for detecting false pretenders to inspiration, 'Hereby know ye the spirit of God; every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God, and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God; and this is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come, and even now already is it in the world; he that knoweth God heareth us, he that is not of God heareth not us; hereby know we the spirit of truth and the spirit of error.'

In fine, the solemn words with which the inspired canon of the New Testament closes, prohibiting under the most awful sanctions, to add or to subtract a single word from the Inspired Volume, have no doubt had a powerful influence upon the mind of Christians to preserve the Scriptures pure and entire, and to transmit them to us in a state of such correctness, as has not been equalled with regard to any other book of equal antiquity. If then, you are satisfied that it is the will of God that you should study the Scriptures with a critical view, in order to determine clearly and accurately their meaning, no additional motive is necessary to produce the acquiescence of a pious mind: but there are yet further considerations which will co-operate with this motive in leading you more cheerfully to engage in this study.

First. You might perhaps be surprised if I should first of all characterise this study as pleasant as well as profitable—calculated to expand and strengthen the mind, and improve the intellectual faculties—and yet this is most certainly the case. The subject may be, and often has been treated in a dry, uninteresting, and repulsive manner; but it is capable of being treated quite otherwise. The elements of this, as of every other science, may indeed seem repulsive at first, yet the constant reference to topics of primary importance and interest, will beguile the tedium, and gradually inure our minds to that wholesome discipline, which it is calculated to produce. The study of the mathematics, for example, is usually esteemed the driest of the studies, yet it is capable of eliciting a very high degree of pleasure, and even enthusiasm, and its effects are most salutary in future life. Richard Cumberland, in the memoirs of his own life, has well remarked, that if our young men were taught, in early youth, that accuracy of thought and precision of language which the study of geometry requires, we should not be annoyed with that irrelevant argument, and idle declamation, which we are accustomed to meet with in most companies. It may be said, with equal truth, that if students of theology were early inured to the critical study of language, as the vehicle of thought, we should have fewer words of learned length and sound, and a

richer store of sentiment in their sermons—and, whilst they studied to express their thoughts in the best manner and in the most becoming language, they would labour much more to store their own minds, and enrich those of their auditors with useful and important truth. If there have been men who have devoted the best of their lives to the emendation and illustration of the ancient classics, if others have derived the highest pleasure from studying the antiquities of their own country, surely the Christian must feel his highest delight in the study of the sacred Scriptures, from which he must derive the knowledge of all that is best worthy of his acquaintance.

Secondly. The study is highly important in a religious point of view. If the critic and philologist have by their researches and illustrations of the ancient classics, thereby smoothed the path of learning, and facilitated the progress of others, how much more important must be the labours of the Christian student, who has corrected the mistakes of transcribers, translators, and expounders of the word of God. The merit of biblical critics is the greater, inasmuch as for many years they were traduced, persecuted, and treated as the enemies of religion, when they were performing the most essential service they could possibly have rendered in support of our most holy religion. So strong was the current of popular prejudice against these useful labourers, that even the great and good Dr. Owen opposed the publication of 'Walton's Polyglot;' the opposition of Whitley to Mill and Kennicott appears, at this day, foolish and preposterous. It is a well known fact that Bengellius commenced the study under the influence of serious doubts with regard to the purity and authenticity of the sacred Scriptures; as he proceeded, all his doubts vanished, and he became, not only a firm believer, but a correct, concise, and useful expositor of the New Testament. The most extensive and correct revision of the New Testament is also the latest. The undertaking was hailed with triumph by the Unitarians, many of whom contributed liberally to defray the expence of the work; and what has been the result? Only three texts, usually quoted in proof of the divinity of Christ, have been rendered doubtful, whilst all the rest have been established as a rock of adamant to defy every hostile attack. Griesbach himself has declared that the result of all his inquiries has been to establish him more firmly in the belief of that doctrine, and the other doctrines connected with it. It is true, that divine faith is the fruit of divine teaching, but surely it is delightful when the faith of the Christian is still more confirmed by the researches of the scholar.

Thirdly. The critical study of the Scriptures, which is so useful to the Christian, is essential to the Christian minister. For one, who is acquainted with the Scriptures in a translation only, to pretend to teach others, is an anomaly which is hardly to be found in

any other science; and to arrive at the knowledge of truth from the labours of others only, he must take his information upon trust. His preaching will resemble the description of a foreign country taken from books, while the man who has studied for himself speaks with the confidence of one who has himself visited the scenes which he describes.

Fourthly. The circumstances of the times in which we live renders this study peculiarly important. It is one of the signs of the times that 'many are running to and fro, and knowledge is increased.' The operations of Bible and Missionary Societies are very extensive, embracing the most distant regions, and people of all languages, and kindreds, and tribes. Translation is thus rendered necessary, and unless these translations are made directly from the original, the spirit and meaning of the original are in danger of being lost or perverted. No two languages have words exactly synonymous; and in proportion to the number of media through which the original has to be transfused, will be the difficulty of producing an accurate and faithful translation. No language, at least, can in all cases express the precise meaning of all the words in any other language. When, for example, the New Testament was first translated into Gaelic, the words 'water of life' were literally rendered, but they conveyed a very different meaning from what **was** intended. The Baptist Missionaries, in their first translation **of** the gospel, anxious to express their peculiar persuasion with regard to the manner of baptism, used the phrase, 'John' was drowning at Enon because there was much water there.' I remember to have heard a lay preacher remark, upon our Saviour's words, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour,' 'that sinners must first feel the pangs of the new birth, before they are warranted to come to Christ.' Such blunders cannot happen when both languages are well understood.

Though none of you should ever be employed in the business of translation, your attention may be called to the translations of others. The Unitarian translation, entitled an improved, but in fact a mutilated version, might have done essential injury to the cause of genuine Christianity, had there not been Christians possessed of sufficient learning and critical knowledge to detect and expose the fraud.

Among the enemies of our most holy faith, there have been men of learning. Such men as Geddez, Rosenmuller, Wakefield, and Belsham, have laboured hard to torture the Scriptures to make them speak a language congenial to their own pre-conceived sentiments; and the knowledge of the sources of their mistakes is necessary to confute their errors, and vindicate the honour of the sacred Scriptures; it is not violent declamation, but solid and sober reasoning, by which we must put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. A cheap collection of spurious writings, forged in the early

ages of Christianity, and rejected by the unanimous consent of all Christians in the countries in which they were first brought to light, have lately been attempted to be obtruded on the world as genuine, for the two-fold purpose of persuading the ignorant and illiterate that Christians have attempted to conceal these writings, to keep the world in ignorance; and further, to bring the sacred writers into contempt, under the idea that they had left writings to the world, of which every man of common sense would be ashamed to be thought the author.

Upon the whole, it may be remarked that the critical study of the Scriptures which produced correct editions, faithful translations, and judicious expositions of the sacred oracles, and which thus generated a spirit of diligent and universal inquiry throughout the greater part of Europe, tended, perhaps, more than any other single cause to usher in, and to bring about the reformation—in so much so, that it became a common saying, ‘the *Bible*, the *Bible alone* is the religion of Protestants.’ The increasing attention that is now paid to the study of the Scriptures in the original languages, and their translation into almost every known language, is doubtless the dawn of a still more glorious era, which shall shine more and more resplendent until the perfect day.

Having considered the nature, the object, and importance of Sacred Criticism, it may now be proper to take a brief historical view of the subject.

The first notices which we have, are short, but peculiarly important. During the reigns of the latter kings of Judah, idolatry prevailed, the Scriptures were neglected, and the knowledge of them in danger of being lost. In the reign of the good king Josiah, a reformation of religion was accompanied by a reparation of the temple. In the course of a preparatory process for repairing the temple, Hilkiah found the book of the law—the autograph of Moses himself, which had been deposited, beside the ark, in the most holy place. Of this discovery, we have an account, 2 Chron. xxxiv. v. 15—22; and this discovery afforded infallible means for correcting mistakes, which must inevitably have crept into the copies in ordinary circulation. That this was not merely a copy, but the *identical copy*, written by Moses, must appear evident from the sensation which it excited in the mind of the king, and the effect which it had in stimulating the begun Reformation.

We cannot doubt that the pious king, and Hilkiah the priest, and Shaphan the scribe, availed themselves of this important discovery, to correct the copies in common use, and to write new ones according to the divine original; so that ‘the afflicted and poor people, who were left in the land, as well as the more opulent, who were carried away captive in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, possessed correct copies of the law of Moses. From the 9th of Daniel, we are sure that Daniel possessed a copy, not only of the law, but

of the Sacred Writings subsequent to it, and even of the prophetic writings of Jeremiah, his cotemporary ;—from the 29th chapter of which he understood, that at the end of seventy years, the Lord had prepared to restore his people to their own land. And if a *courtier* of the Chaldean monarch possessed a correct copy of the divine revelation, it cannot be doubted, that Ezra, a *priest*, and a wise *scribe*, possessed an accurate copy of them also. Whether, as is not improbable, he possessed the autograph of Moses or not, it is certain he *had* a copy, and was as divinely inspired to judge of its accuracy as Moses himself was. It is the constant and uniform tradition of the Jews, from the earliest times, that he changed the antiquated names of places, in the writings of Moses, for others that were more modern, and added some notes for explaining what was obscure : and that he was the author of the character and death of Moses, contained in the last chapter of Deuteronomy. This circumstance answers the objection of those who have questioned the genuineness of these books, from ignorance or inattention to the subject. Ezra being, as well as Moses, divinely inspired, the additions which he has made are equally worthy of credit with the original writings of the author. He composed also the summary of Jewish history, contained in the Books of Chronicles ; and, in corroboration of this tradition, you will observe that the two last verses of the Second Book of Chronicles are identically the same with the two first verses of the book which bears his name, which was also written by him, and carries on the history of his own times.

Another very important labour was performed by Ezra, during these troublous times, in which the city and temple were re-built ; and that was, the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the Chaldaic dialect, which, after the captivity in Babylon, was the vernacular language of the Jews. Of this important labour, we have a short account, Neh. viii. v. 1—8. The priests and Levites were associated with Ezra in this pious labour ; the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, were afterwards added ; and all these added together composed, what are called the men of the great synagogue, by whom the canon of the Old Testament was completed.

At this time, the worship of the synagogue was instituted. A copy of the law and the prophets was written out for each of them ; and these books were read in their synagogues every Sabbath day, in Hebrew, to such as understood Hebrew ; in Chaldaic, to such as were better acquainted with that language ; and, soon afterwards, in Greek, to the Jews in Egypt and the West, who had come to use that language. Such was the origin of the Targums, or Chaldaic version, and of the Septuagint, or Greek translation of the Old Testament.

The early\* translation of the Scriptures into so many different languages, and their extensive diffusion among people dispersed throughout distant countries, from Babylon and Persia, to Egypt

and Rome, betwixt whom intercourse was unfrequent, rendered collusion impossible, and secured the Scriptures from corruption, until the appearance of the great Prophet of the Church ; that they were, in fact, preserved pure and entire, until the commencement of the Christian era, is infallibly proved by this consideration, that He who was ' faithful as a son over his own house,' and who reproved the Jews with merited severity for many crimes, and particularly for their ignorance of the Scriptures, and for ' taking away the key of knowledge,' by neglecting to explain them, or neutralizing their influence by adding their traditions and corrupt glosses, never so much as insinuates that they had been guilty of vitiating the Scriptures themselves.

From the commencement of the Gospel era, until the end of the first century, there was one or more of the Apostles in every country, to watch over the purity of this accredited rule of faith ; and the mutual jealousy of Jews and Christians, and of the different sects in each, opposed an insuperable barrier to the wilful and successful vitiation of the Sacred Volume from that time to the present.

After the death of the Apostles and other inspired men, it is natural to suppose that involuntary mistakes in transcribing and translating from the Divine originals might take place ; and we have indubitable evidence that such mistakes, in many, if not ~~all~~ the apographs, *did* in fact take place. To discover and to ~~correct~~ these is an important province of Sacred Criticism. ~~Before~~ the end of the second century of the Christian era, such mistakes ~~did~~ occur ; and even during the Apostolic age attempts were made, and often repeated afterwards, to obtrude spurious writings upon the world. But the Apostles, while they lived, and all the churches after their decease, were at due pains to examine these, and to reject all such as could not be traced to an Apostle, or to an apostolic man. And while the autographs of their genuine productions were preserved, the task was an easy one. We find, in fact, that during the three first centuries, there was an entire uniformity of opinion upon this subject among all the churches.

The Council of Nice did not *decree*, as some have ignorantly or dishonestly asserted, what books were to be received as the rule of faith, but only *declared* what books the churches had unanimously agreed to acknowledge as such ; and these are the identical books which are still acknowledged as the authentic books of the New Testament.

But with regard to the Greek translation of the Old Testament the case was different. Most of the copies differed from one another, and all of them varied from the Hebrew original ; inso-much that Christians disputing with Jews, were frequently silenced by the remarks of their opponents, and that frequently the passages which the Christians quoted from the Greek, and which to them appeared convincing, were yet rejected by the Jews, as not

being agreeable to the original. Aquila, a Jew, had made a new translation in the Greek, much nearer the style and language of the original. Two other translations were executed by Christians into the same language; the one, a free translation, by Symachus, the other more literal, by Theodotin. All these were different from each other, and, in many instances, the difference was very important.

At this time Origen, a native of Egypt, a very learned man, and one of the few Christians acquainted with Hebrew, in order to remove the evil, undertook the Herculean task of revising the several copies of the Scriptures so translated, and composed a work of great importance, which he called the Hexapla-sixfold, as the work consisted of six columns, exhibiting collaterally as many different copies, or versions, of the sacred writings. These several translations he compared with the Hebrew original, and marked every important difference. Wherever he found a word redundant in the septuagint, he marked it with an obelisk, or cross, the algebraic sign for addition; and where he found a word defective, he supplied it from some of the other Greek translations, and prefixed to it a minus, the algebraic sign for subtraction; and all these alterations he enclosed in brackets, thereby pointing out the precise extent of the corrections which he had made. This was a work of prodigious labour. Twenty-eight years of unabated exertion were employed in this work; and from this immense labour, so long continued, he obtained the appellation of Adamantinus, signifying that he was indefatigable.

This work of Origen is now lost, with the exception of some extracts, which are preserved in the writings of Eusebius, and others of the ancient fathers. The work itself was destroyed by fire, in the library of Cæsarea, where Origen had deposited it, and where he afterwards died. The few scattered remains of it have been collected by Montfaçon—a writer not inferior to Origen himself in industry, and far superior to him in critical acumen. They were published at Paris in 1714.

At the end of the third, and beginning of the fourth century, similar works were undertaken by Lucian, a Presbyter of Antioch, and Hesychus, a bishop of Egypt; the production of the latter was the revision, or, as we would call it, the edition, which was used by the Eastern churches; and the former was the authorised version, which Constantine commanded to be used throughout the whole extent of the Greek empire, from Antioch to Constantinople.

The next great work of criticism was the revision of the Hebrew Scriptures, by the learned Jews of Tiberias, who collated the copies of the Hebrew Scriptures, procured from the different countries into which they had been long scattered, and marked their variations under the names of *Keri* and *Ketib*—the former signifying what *ought* to be read, the latter what *was* written in the copies

that were commonly used. To give an example, in Isaiah ix. v. 3. our translators follow the Ketib, and translate the passage thus, 'Thou hast increased the nation, and not increased the joy;' but they give us the Keri in the margin thus, 'Thou hast increased the nation, and increased their joy.' And that this is the correct reading is evident from the connection, 'They joy before thee as the joy of harvest, and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil.' These variations are not numerous, but are very important, and serve to prove the accuracy of the Masorites. They are printed along with most editions of the Hebrew Bible; and in many late editions many of them have been judiciously taken into the text. In addition to this revision of the text, they numbered the greater and smaller divisions of the Bible, and enumerated even the letters of which they are composed. They marked every variety in the manner of writing, such as the letters written in a larger or smaller character, as intimating something which the copyist thought worthy of observation, and particularly suspended letters, that is, letters written above the usual line; of which we have a striking example in the Book of Judges, xviii. v. 30, in which the name of Manasseh is written with the *nun* suspended, expressing a well-founded suspicion that this letter had been introduced, in order to disguise what appears to be the truth, namely, that Jonathan was not the son of Manasseh, but a descendant of Moses. To all their labours they added the points and accents. These are not *our* punctuations, intended to distinguish the clauses and sentences of a discourse, but like the marks invented by Kenrick, Walker, and other orthoepists, to ascertain and fix the pronunciation, and thereby to denote the sense in which they understood the Scriptures. The whole collection of these remarks is called the Masora, the tradition; which they also dignify with the epithet '*the hedge of the Law*,' because they supposed it must effectually prevent any future change or corruption. With what success this device has been attended, we shall afterwards have occasion to examine. In the mean time some idea of the Masora may be formed, from a similar calculation, with regard to our translation, published by an anonymous writer in the last century, as follows:

Books in the Old Testament	39,	New Testament	27,	Total	66	
Chapters,	-	-	929,	-	260,	1,189
Verses	-	23,214,	-	7,959,	31,173	
Words,	-	592,439,	-	181,253,	773,692	
Letters,	-	2,728,800,	-	838,380,	3,566,480	

Middle Book of Old Test. Proverbs; New Test. II Thess.

..... Chapter..... Job xxix; ——— Rom. xiii. & xiv.

..... Verse, II Chron. xx. v. 17 & 18; ——— Acts xvii. v. 17.

Least verse I Chron. i. v. 1; ——— John xi. v. 35.

Such may serve as a short specimen of the over-weening care which the Masorites took to preserve the integrity of the sacred text; a precaution which enabled them to detect a mistake, but



which contained in itself no principle, by the application of which, mistakes, if discovered, could be rectified.

The next great critical work was that of Jerome. A Latin version, from the Greek, of the Old and New Testament, was made in the beginning of the second century, and quoted by Tertullian before the close of it. But before the end of the fourth century the variations of copies, whether accidental or designed, were so numerous that Augustine, in a letter to Jerome, says of this version, 'tam varia in diversis codicibus, ut vix tolerare possit.' A variety of sects had begun to depart from the faith; and, like the modern Unitarians, each endeavoured to accommodate his version to his peculiar sentiments. Whilst Augustine and Jerome agreed in the necessity of a new and more correct version, Damasius, the Bishop of Rome, solicited Jerome to undertake the task. No one, in that age, was better qualified.

In correcting the Latin version of the New Testament, he every where compared it with the original. In correcting the Old Testament, which was a translation from the Septuagint, he went to Cæsarea, and consulted the Hexapla of Origen. But whatever were the defects or excellencies of this first attempt is now of no importance. His translation of the Psalms, embodied in the Roman Missal, and from thence translated into the Prayer Book of the Church of England, and his translation of the Book of Job, are the only parts that now remain. The rest was lost, as he informs us, by the hand of one to whose care he had committed it.

The loss sustained by this treachery, served only to stimulate him to fresh and more important exertions. For the purpose of acquiring a more perfect knowledge of the Hebrew, he undertook a journey into Palestine, in the course of which he had an opportunity of examining the country; of visiting the scenes described in sacred Scripture; of conversing with the learned Jews, who had a seminary of learning at Tiberias of Galilee; and thus enjoyed superior advantages for the execution of the task which he had undertaken. His new translation was published early in the fifth century. But, such is the slow progress of improvement, that two whole centuries elapsed, before it was generally received; and even then, its reception was owing to the authority of Gregory the Great, rather than to a conviction of its own intrinsic excellence. Such was the hatred entertained against the Jews, the prevailing ignorance of Hebrew, and attachment to things as they were, that even Augustine, who agreed with Jerome as to the necessity of correcting the Latin, inveighed bitterly against a translation immediately from the Hebrew, as if the measure had been hostile to Christianity itself. From similar instances, in every age, Christians ought to learn the danger and folly of indulging groundless prejudices, and the criminality of opposing useful and necessary reformation.

After the general reception of Jerome's new version, our attention is again called to the East, to the Syrian Churches. For their use

a translation had been made, before the end of the apostolic age, which still remains as the authorised version. Transcripts of this version have been brought from the East Indies, in our days, by Claudius Buchanan. This was called the *peshito*, or ancient version, in order to distinguish it from the *Philoxenian*, so called from Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis, under whose auspices it was made, in the sixth century. It is a very literal version, and this constitutes its highest excellence. To render it still more close, it was collated in Egypt with Greek MSS.: obvious mistakes were corrected, and various readings marked. A copy of this MS., with the Greek variations, is in the Bodleian Library; and an edition has been printed by Dr. White, the Hebrew professor in Oxford, with short and useful notes.

This closes the history of sacred literature in the East. Soon after the middle of the seventh century, the era of the Arabs commenced. The Jews of Tiberias were dispersed; the Christians, subjected to the Barbarians, Saracens, and Turks, sunk into a state of slavery and ignorance, in which they have continued ever since. Whether the present struggle of the Greeks to regain their liberty shall be successful, time must determine; but certainly it is 'a consummation devoutly to be wished for,' and sooner or later will be realized.

In returning to the West, the prospect is almost as gloomy. When Antichrist was seated upon the throne, the Roman 'world wondered' after him; willing to indulge their native indolence, they neglected the study of the Scriptures, and found that it suited their inclinations much better to listen to the living oracles of the Bishop of Rome, than to investigate the sense of Scripture for themselves. Occupied with new objects of worship, and an endless round of pompous and ever increasing ceremonies; more concerned about the form and splendour of their vestments, than the cultivation of their minds; and caring infinitely less for the salvation of the people, than for the augmentation of their own emolument, and the extension of their power, it is not wonderful that the Scriptures were neglected by those, whose office and duty it was to have studied and expounded them. It deserves rather to be acknowledged with adoring admiration, for the care of that providence, that in such circumstances, preserved in such purity, and transmitted to us in such safety, the sacred repositories of divine truth.

Amidst the universal gloom, which overspread what have been emphatically called the *dark ages*, a faint ray of light occasionally meets our eye. Alcuin, secretary to Charlemagne, 'La Franc, Archbishop of Canterbury, John Wickliff, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and a few others, occasionally, as stars, whose light is rendered more brilliant by contrast with the darkness which every where surrounds them.

The learned Jews of Tiberias, who settled among the Moors in Spain, produced a race of scholars, forming a bright constellation. Suffice it to say, that Aben Ezra, Moses Mainionides, and David Kimch, Spanish Jews, laid the foundation of that Hebrew learning, in the twelfth century, which in about two centuries afterwards, spread through the greater part of Germany, and was at length extended to this country.

Reuclin, or Capnio, a man of learning, and of high rank, was the first among Christians, to revive the study of the Hebrew, by precept and by example; and above all by the circumstance, that the Hebrew Bible was the first, or at least one of the earliest printed books, thereby rendered easily accessible to all who wished to study it. The taste of Capnio soon became fashionable. The revival of Greek learning, about the same time, and by the same means, contributed to the same end. The catholic clergy were alarmed, (as well they might) at the danger which threatened them; for Luther began the Reformation in Germany, before Capnio died.

The sixteenth century opens a new and bright era in the history of Sacred Criticism. At this period, the Greek Testament was the chief object of study. The first complete copy that was printed was the Complutensian, at Alcalá, in Spain, under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo. He assembled a number of the most distinguished Hebrew and Greek scholars, and spared no expense in the collection of MSS. But as these are not particularly described, we cannot ascertain their comparative value otherwise than from the work itself; and from this internal evidence, it appears, either that they were all modern, or what amounts to the same thing, that the authority of modern MSS. has been preferred. This edition, though an expensive one, is chiefly deserving notice on account of the influence it had upon succeeding editions.

The next was the edition of Erasmus, for which he was possessed of four imperfect MSS., by means of which he corrected several errors of the Complutensian. The most valuable help which he had, was a MS. of Theophylact, with his Commentary on the Evangelists, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles. He had likewise occasional recourse to Origen, Chrysostom, and Cyril.

The next, and most celebrated edition, is that of Robert Stephens, a learned printer at Paris, son-in-law to Colineus, a learned collator of Greek MSS., and father to the still more learned Henry Stephens, the author of the Greek Thesaurus, and a copious Lexicon of the Greek language, which is still a standard work. His folio edition was printed in 1550.

Soon afterwards, a new edition, by Beza, the friend of Calvin, appeared. He possessed two of the most ancient MSS. of the New Testament, the Cambridge and Clammontane. He had also the advantage of the Syriac version, with the Latin translation of Tre-

mellius. An elegant copy of this work, with about fifty corrections, was published by Elzener. This is what is called the *textus receptus*, or common edition, and was printed in 1624. In this situation matters continued for nearly a century; and little was done in prosecution of this study, with the exception of Walton's Polyglot, Curcellin's edition of the Greek Testament in 1657—58, and Dr. Fell's, in 1675. But these labours consisted chiefly in the collection of various readings, from MSS. and versions; they terminated, not so much in emendation, as in procuring materials for that purpose.

In the beginning of the last century, Dr. John Mill, fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, was selected for the purpose of enlarging and combining the existing materials. He collected from all the Greek MSS. to which he had access; copied and enlarged former collections; made a copious collection from the quotations of the Greek Testament, in the writings of the Fathers, from the Oriental and other versions; the whole, it is calculated, amounting to thirty thousand. The design of this important labour was misunderstood. An alarm was created, as if the Scriptures were thus rendered uncertain. Whitley, the commentator, and the champion of Arminianism, attacked Mill's edition with the greatest fury, in a treatise entitled, '*Examen Variantium Lectionum, Joannis Millii*;' in which he seems to take for granted, that what is once printed, acquires such importance that it ought never to be altered. His predictions of the danger which would result to our religion, from the labours of Mill, proved as false as they were unfounded. Anthony Collins, however, in a discourse upon free-thinking, took hold of Whitley's rash assertions, and from them endeavoured to prove that Divine Revelation is uncertain and precarious. The following year, the ignorance of Whitley, in writing upon a subject which he did not understand, and the sophistry of Collins, founded upon the same principles, were most triumphantly refuted, and just chastisement administered to both by Dr. Bentley, under the name of Philolutherus, Leipsensis. This spiritual exposé is the clearest, the most accurate, and the most convincing refutation of ignorance and sophistry that I have ever seen, and may be profitably read by every man who is desirous of forming correct notions of Biblical criticism.

The editions of Sndolf, Kuster, Gerard of Maestricht, Dr. Edward Wills, and others, which followed soon after, continued to increase the number of various readings; but emendations were either sparingly, or not at all admitted into the text. The first serious attempt to apply these various readings to their proper use, was that of Bengelius, a Professor in the University of Zubingen, in Swabia. In 1734, he published a quarto edition of the Greek Testament, with an introduction, and critical apparatus. But such were the prejudices of the age, that he imposed upon himself a law, that he should not change a single syllable, except upon the authority of a printed edition; and to this rule he rigidly adhered, until he came to the Apocalypse, where he found it necessary to deviate

from it. But to compensate for this he placed the readings, which he preferred, in the margin, and classed them according to their value, by means of Greek numerals.

This edition, however, was soon after superseded by that of Wetstein (in 1757-58), a man of profound research, and of unwearyed labour, and which he exercised under many discouraging circumstances. He collected new materials, like Mill, but, like him, made no alterations. He only proposed them, and inserted them betwixt the text and the various readings. In some cases he noticed the conjectures of others, but never proposed any of his own. That he was influenced by a predilection for the readings that were favorable to the doctrines of the remonstrants, is evident from his notes; but still, to do him justice, if he were mistaken in his judgments, he only proposed alterations, but did not introduce them into the text. Bower, a learned printer in London, published an edition, in which Wetstein's proposed alterations were inserted into the text; and it is this edition which was published in 1763, that frequently goes under the name of Wetstein's.

I shall now advert to the more important labours of Griesbach, Professor of Divinity at Lena, in Saxony. From the year 1771, he has been known as a learned and accurate scholar; and in the year 1777, he published a cheap edition of the Greek Testament, accompanied with a Synopsis of various readings, for the sake of those who could not afford to purchase Wetstein's folios. In the meantime the stock of materials had been increasing, by the labours of Mathei, Alter, and Birch. Mathei, at Moscow, had access to Greek MSS., which had not hitherto been examined; Alter, at Vienna, had access to some Greek and Slavonian MSS.; whilst Birch, and his associates, were sent by the King of Denmark into Spain and Italy, to examine the MSS. in the libraries there, from which copious extracts were made. In the meantime correct copies of some of the most important MSS. were published; materials were thus collected; and all that was wanting was one properly qualified to compare, arrange, and apply them to their proper use.

From the specimens of ability and critical sagacity, which Griesbach had already discovered, every eye was turned to him, as the person best qualified for this important office. His object in the revision of his second edition, was not so much to number, as to weigh and estimate the value of his materials. It might reasonably be expected he found that MSS. and versions, that have been published in the same country, have a resemblance to one another. He has, therefore, divided his authorities into families, or tribes; and he decides, not so much according to the number of individuals, as according to what he calls the different recensions. This was a principle suggested by Bengelius, and recognised by all modern critics. But here there arises a question of great importance; has this distribution of authorities been judiciously made? That Griesbach has honestly and conscientiously employed the materials in his hands,

none have denied ; that his distinction has been perfectly accurate, some have doubted. Dr. Lawrence, in particular, has suggested such considerations as are calculated, if not to persuade us that he is mistaken, at least to make us doubt the propriety of giving up the common reading of one or two passages. The Bishop of St. Asaph, in a small pamphlet recently published, has convinced the greater part of English critics that the passage I John, v. 5, 7, is, after all, a genuine part of that Epistle. Whatever be the merits of the few corrections which Griesbach has introduced, no man has called his integrity in question ; his edition upon the whole is the most correct that has ever been published ; and as all the known sources of emendation have already been exhausted, a few years more will, in all probability, terminate for ever the very possibility of further dispute.

In the meantime it may be observed as a conclusion of what has been said ; first, that the number of the various readings which have called for the labours of the sacred critic, need occasion no alarm in our minds, when we consider the minuteness with which these sources of various readings have been examined. It is a very moderate calculation to say, that in nine instances out of ten, these various readings originate out of the different mode of spelling the same word in different countries, and in different parts of the same country. In a collation of the New Testament, the most minute differences form a most conspicuous part of the critical apparatus ; and such variations, if thrown out of the account, will reduce by nine tenths the whole amount of the apparent discrepancies. Of this remainder, nine tenths produce no material difference in the sense ; a change of tense, of person, or of number, in the same word, being all the difference ; while the general sentiment under one, and all, of these forms and inflections, remains the same. Yet, to a man who reverences the word of God, it is of importance to know the very words of the spirit of God, in preference to a synonyme, which human folly, or human pride, may have substituted in its stead ; it is gratifying for him to know, that by far the greater number of the imagined discrepancies, in the different versions and translations of the sacred volume, have tended only to illustrate the accuracy, or to point out the beauty of passages, which, before their collation, were undiscovered or not understood ; and that the more close the investigation, the more rigid the comparison of versions and translations, the more abundant and convincing is the evidence of the divine origin of the Sacred Scriptures. To be convinced that the foundation of our faith is settled upon an immoveable basis, is no small matter, that the more it is examined the more fully it is accredited ; and that the sources from which enemies hoped, and timid friends feared, the overthrow of our most holy faith, have only tended to establish it the more firmly.

## TO A LADY ON THE DEATH OF HER DAUGHTER.

TAKE comfort Lady, for your eyes  
 In sorrow must not roll ;  
 O let the language of the skies,  
 Speak music to your soul.  
 'Twas *Love* thy daughter's knell did ring,  
 By *Love* thy bosom hath been riven ;  
 For on Redeeming Love's light wing  
       Her Spirit rose to Heaven.

Yet thou wilt on her grassy tomb,  
 A mother's sorrow shower ;  
 For ne'er did summer in its bloom,  
 Smile on so fair a flower.  
 Sweet twilight shall with thee weep there ;  
 Thy sighs shall swell the nightwind's song ;  
 And yet (methinks) thou wilt not wear  
       The willow garland long.

Thou weep'st, and could I weep,—one source  
 Our tears would only claim ;  
 For in my soul, what *motive's* force  
 Could e'er be like her name.  
 And yet, stern Fate refused to give  
 My pleading heart, this boon of bliss ;  
 " Upon thy daughter's lip of love,  
       To print a parting kiss."

Tho' Faith assures,—Her Eyes' love-beams  
 May Angel-breasts now thrill ;  
 Tho' joy immortal near thee seems,  
 Thy heart is weeping still.  
 To dry these blood-red tears, or cast  
 One soothing drop, upon thy woe ;  
 Dear Lady, O *I feel* how fast  
       My Life-stream now would flow.

D. M. CORKINDALE.

## TRADE WITH INDIA.

"Numbers," said Sir Andrew Freeport, "are so much the measure of every thing that is valuable, that it is not possible to demonstrate the success of any action, or the prudence of any undertaking, without them. When I have any returns from abroad, I can tell to a shilling, by the help of numbers, the profit or loss by my adventure; but I ought also to be able to show that I had reason for making it, either from my own experience, or from that of other people."—SPECTATOR, No. 174.

*To the Editor of 'The Edinburgh Observer.'*

Edinburgh, 8th July, 1829.

SIR,—The interest so generally excited as to the renewal or limitation of the East India Company's charter, induces me to send to you the inclosed states of our trade with China and the East, for the last year, ending 5th January, 1829. These, and the accompanying references are either transcribed or made up from the official returns presented to Parliament, and are not likely to be yet generally known to the public.

The attention which Mr. Buckingham's lectures have excited elsewhere, and the intended delivery of them in our own deliberative city, will, I trust, secure from your readers the perusal of an array of figures, not usually inviting; but, which, like a weighty balance at the credit side of a profit and loss account, proves the most cogent, although the most silent stimulus to our daily routine of business, or to fresh schemes of enterprise and exertion.

The following is the state of last year's shipping and imports, which I shall follow up with a comparison of our previous limited trade.

## SHIPPING.

	Ships. Tonnage.	
'Cleared out from Great Britain to the East Indies* (in the year ending 5th January, 1829),	192	80,537
'Entered inwards from the E. Indies - - -	153	64,436
(Signed) "T. E. WILLUGHBY, Reg. Gen.		
'Office of Reg. Gen. of Shipping, Custom-House, London, 22d April, 1829.		

## IMPORTS.

Valuation of the produce of the East Indies and China, imported into, and exported from Britain, (during the same period) according to the prices at the East India Company's sales.

Produce of India imported - - -	£6,923,908
Re-exported from Great Britain - - -	2,727,689
Remaining for home consumption - - -	£4,196,219

\* 'Ships outwards to China are included in the Indian trade.'—Parl. Pap. No. 178, vol. 23, 1821.



Produce of China imported	-	-	-	-	£4,296,668
Re-exported from Great Britain	-	-	-	-	91,661

Remaining for home consumption	-	-	-	-	£4,205,007
Total importation from India and China	-	-	-	-	£11,220,570
Total re-exportation from Great Britain	-	-	-	-	2,819,358

Produce of both countries remaining for home consumption. - - - - - £9,401,226

Of these amounts there are imported:

By the East India Company - - - - - £5,576,905

By the Free Trade (including privilege trade,) - - - - - 5,643,671

The value of the leading articles imported are: £11,220,576

	By East India Company.	Free Trade and others.
Coffee	£65	£153,366
Cotton, free goods	142,498	161,295
Cotton wool	20,587	585,774
Indigo	629,689	1,94,702
Pepper	-	80,376
Rice	-	105,215
Saltpetre	43,865	196,821
Silk, raw	910,389	368,279
Ditto, manufactured	51,430	136,558
Sugar	131,582	718,787
Tea	3,646,800	206,567

The quantities of these articles, with the particulars of cotton goods and silk manufactures, I shall send you for future insertion.

#### DUTIES.

Amount of duties on goods imported from the East Indies and China together, with the Mauritius, 1828-9.

On Coffee, at 9d. per lb., B. P., other East India places, 1s.	-	-	-	-	£36,522
Indigo, 3d., B. P., otherwise 4d.	-	-	-	-	36,808
Pepper, 1s., B. P., other East Indian, 1s. 2d.	-	-	-	-	95,689
Sugar, unrefined, 1l. 17s. per cwt. India B. P.	-	-	-	-	506,127
Tea, about cent. per cent.	-	-	-	-	3,448,814
28 Items enumerated, besides other articles	-	-	-	-	197,167

Averaging 45 per cent. on the landing cost in

England - - - - - £4,321,127

The particulars are dated from 'Custom House, London, 25th April, 1829,' and signed

WILLIAM IRVING,

Inspector General of Imports and Exports.

While the amount of our imports are thus upwards of eleven millions sterling, that of our exports to the East is considerably below six millions sterling; but, before entering on the latter, I have some numerical references to make, which seem requisite to the due appreciation of the former.

It appears by these official accounts that the amount of goods imported by the free trade, including the fraction of the privilege trade, was (omitting fractional parts of 100*l.*) £5,643,600

For which the real value of their export from Great

Britain was, free on board	-	-	-	-	4,085,400
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Were we able to classify the countries distinctly, the exports of the free trade to India, would probably be found balanced by value for value.

The imports of the Company from both countries

were	-	-	-	-	£5,576,900
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But as their import of tea was	-	3,646,800			
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It reduces their Indian trade to	-	-	-	-	£1,930,100
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We cannot identify all the other descriptions of Chinese merchandise, but in exchange for this three and a half millions for tea, the total exports of the Company (as well as of their privileged trade) was only - - - - - £863,400

We are told that the Chinese will take almost nothing but gold in payment; this looks extremely apocryphal, for we question greatly whether the chartered merchants of London are not beat out of the Chinese market by more enterprising competitors, as they seem to be out of the Indian trade by our own free traders. But let that pass. When the tea dealers of the celestial empire find that they have now a thousand buyers to transact with instead of one, and on a thousand different terms, I leave any chapman to decide whether it will not soon accord with their inclination to *niffer* produce for produce. Nor is it problematical whether the Hong merchants do not find it more advantageous to traffic with English gold for the European and American articles brought into their markets; for, by the 'official report presented to Congress, of the commerce and navigation of the United States, for the year 1827,' the amount of American imports from China, according to the value there, viz. in China, was 3,617,130 dollars; their exports being\* 8,864,400 dollars, or £869,400 sterling, a sum equal to our own, although their shipping import is only one fourth the landing value of our's.

Let us now compare, with the present times, the state of matters previous to the limited opening of our trade with Hindostan.

By a return to Parliament, of the commerce of Great Britain,

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\* See P. P. (American Tariff,) No. 578, vol. 19, 1828, page 245.

† P. P. No. 281, 'Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 16th June, 1812, page 21.'

from the years 1805 to 1810, inclusive,† we find that the official value of our imports from the whole of Asia, give an average of - - - - - £4,529,800

By another Parliamentary return preparatory to the renewal of the Company's charter,\* we find the real value, during the same period, brings out an average

For ' Indian goods,' -	-	£4,263,200	
For ' China goods,' of	-	3,973,000	8,237,300

And this is as fair a specimen as we can fix on from the year 1792 downwards.

Whether, during these years, the Continental system abroad, with blockades and orders in council at home, narrowed our market and lessened the capability of our importations; or, whether our command of the seas, and our almost exclusive trade from Europe to the Eastern world, should have kept out all competitors, we pretend not to say; there is now, however, a prodigious preponderance in favour of free trade. But there are several circumstances which ought to be taken into account, in making a fair estimate. Thus, independent of the waste occasioned by war, it is reckoned that the population of England, Scotland, and Wales, has increased nearly 30 per cent. in the course of the last eighteen or twenty years, while the increase on our general† imports is now 35 per cent., as is evidenced by the Government or official valuation,‡ the rate of which continues the same throughout; yet though our Asiatic trade has been doubtless a considerable cause, we shall reckon it only among the effects, and consider that it was in a great degree the accompaniment of our general mercantile increase.

To make an accurate comparison it should have been taken into account, on the other hand, that before 1811, the real valuation of our trade from India, was to the official, or Government valuation, as 82 is to 45, or as 182 to 100 (see the above), the relative difference of the former is now much lessened; yet, as the official valuations of our Eastern trade are not now detached from the general mass, we are not enabled to place alongside of each other those financial valuations of present and future times; but, to a certain extent of accuracy, we can compare the actual amounts of value. On these we now find such a depreciation as to make a difference of at least twenty-five per cent. on their former values; thus tea is estimated before 1811, at 3s. 3d. per lb., which now brings only 2s. 5d. to 2s. 10d. exclusive of duty; saltpetre was then 65s. per cwt., and now 25s.;—sugar, at 40s., now at 30s.;—cotton wool, formerly at 10d.

\* P. P. No. 192 vol. 8, 1812, page 21.

† P. P. No. 281, 1812.

‡ P. P. No. 101, 1828-9. (Finance account.)

now at 5*d.*, and so on,—indigo being almost the only article of improvement. The comparison will then stand nearly thus :—

Actual average value of imports from India and China, (inclusive of 35 per cent increase for the general trade of Britain,) for six years, 1805 to 1810 . . .		£11,120,200
Less difference of prices since 1810, 25 per cent.		2,780,050
		<hr/>
Viz. Average of Imports from India, and from China, for six years, 1805 to 1810 . . . . .		£8,237,200
35 Per cent. thereon for general increase of Bri- tish Trade . . . . .		2,883,000
		<hr/>
		£11,120,200 *
Estimate of Indian trade by the averages of for- mer years . . . . .		£8,340,150
Actual value of ditto for 1828-9 . . . . .		£11,220,500

being an increase in the course of 15 years, of 35 per cent. for India alone, over and above the general increase of the empire; or just double that of our ordinary trade in three-fourths of the time, and for which the Company's maritime revenues must have been 70 per cent. the better of England.

What farther extension of commerce, and of cutom-house revenue, may not then be expected from a free intercourse with China? To this it will be replied :—‘ Aye, but the Company have been at the sole expense of protecting your commerce to their detriment.’ To which our rejoinder is,—‘ That it is evident their trade had the same advantage; it is equally evident that the commercial enterprise of individuals has directed itself more successfully than the respectable and honourable Directors assembling in Leadenhall-Street have been able to do; the benefit of detaching legislation and traffic is thus exhibited in the solid argument of pounds, shillings, and pence,—an argument of which even the Company's maritime revenues must have been fifty-five per cent. the better.’ The following is a state of

#### THE EXPORTS.

Value of the produce of the United Kingdom, exported by the East India Company, in the year ending 5th January, 1829 :—

Merchandise for sale - - -	£636,441
Stores - - -	462,369
	<hr/>
	£1,091,810

(E. E.)

(Signed)

T. S. CABELL,

Deputy Accountant-General.

*East India House, 22d April, 1829.*

\* See P. Pr. No. 281. Printed 16th June, 1812.

Declared value of all goods exported to the East Indies and China, (together with the Mauritius) in the year ending 5th January, 1829.	
By the East India Company	£1,126,926
By free trade (including privilege trade,)	4,085,426

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£1,222,352

(Signed) WILLIAM IRVING,  
Insp. Gen. of Impts. and Expts.

*Inspector General's office,*  
*Custom-House, London,*  
*25th April, 1829.* }

The official value of the imports into Great Britain, during the six years 1805, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, as made up for a Parliamen- tary paper, No. 281, ordered to be printed in 1812, amounts in	
toto to	£192,573,090
Giving an annual average of	32,095,515
Of which the real or declared value was	56,635,492
By the finance account of 1828-9, the official amount shows an increase of thirty-five per cent. or	43,396,527

The comparison of the present with the averages of preceding years, the increase or decrease under one system of management contrasted with the progression or decline of another, and the limited success of a large company with an extensive capital and exclusive privilege, or the unlimited success of the unprivileged individuals of a whole community, with only such capital, skill, and means as each can command, are fit questions for the deliberation and calculation of all who are interested in the extended commerce of the East. And what class of traders is not interested in this trade? Sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, and spices, contribute largely to the gains of the wholesale grocer who imports, and of the industrious citizen who retails; its cotton, wool, and raw silk, involve the interest of the weaver; its indigo and dyes, that of the printer; its shawls and muslins induce the purchases of the fair sex; while its drugs, teak-wood, saltpetre and fruits, its pearls and precious stones, each find a purchaser and payer from one end of the island to the other. Our domestic and foreign merchandise is exported in payment; among these are very considerable sums for beer and ale, copper and brass, cotton and Birmingham goods, earthenware and glass, haberdashery, jewellery, iron, lead, opium, spelter, stationery, wines, woollens, &c. &c.; nor ought we to omit 'printed books,' of which 21,700*l.* was the export of last year, inclusive of 300*l.* sent to the Chinese mandarins, by those who have 'one eye,' to those who insist that 'they, and they only, have two eyes of all the world besides.' Now that we can print their character and language, let us hope that this small beginning will grow and increase like the grain of mustard seed,

till the subjects of China's celestial empire build and nestle among the branches which shall have stretched their boughs from Britain's shores, and spread their fruitful foliage over its numerous provinces.

In giving the quantities of the leading articles imported, reference must be made to the values and other statements mentioned above.

## LEADING ARTICLES IMPORTED FROM INDIA AND CHINA, 1823-9.\*

	Price sold at in bond, by E. I. Co.s' Sales.	Quantity imported from India (and Mauritius) and China.	Quantity re-exported, exclusive of exports to Ireland.
Cotton piece goods, viz.			
White calicoes, muslins, and dyed cottons, from India and China, pes.	various.	404,676	396,088
Nanquin cloth from China . . . do.	3s. 6d. per piece.	529,602	71,434
Ditto, dyed ditto . . . . .	3s. 9d. do.	30,867	57,241
Cotton wool . . . . . lbs.	4½d. per lb.	32,339,282	12,752,153
Coffee . . . . . do.	5d. do.	7,364,707	5,084,916
Indigo . . . . . do.	5s. 10d.	9,683,626	4,442,599
Pepper . . . . . do.	3d. 7-8ths.	4,978,117	4,225,889
Silk and silk Manufactures.			
Silk, raw, India and Mauritius, do.	17s. 8d.	1,158,633	2,520
Ditto, ditto, China . . . . . do.		288,916	
Silk Manufactures. India and Mauritius.			
Taffeties . . . . . pcs.	£1 11s. 6d. per piece.	4,425	1,184
Bandannoes and Romales . . . do.	18s. 4d. do.	160,973	91,564
Silk Manufactures. China.			
Crape . . . . . pieces.	£1 13s. 4d.	505	1,032
Ditto shawls, scarfs, gown-pieces, and handkerchiefs . . . . . number.	various.	20,492	4,904
Damasks, lustrings, &c. . . . . pcs.		7,260	9,250
Sugar, unrefined, India and Mauri- tius . . . . . cwt.	32s. to 35s. per cwt.	516,831	160,531
Saltpetre . . . . . do.	£1 3s. 6d.	204,839	69,067
Tea, China . . . . . lbs.	2s. 4d. 3..10 per lb.	32,678,731	259,493

In the year 1817, † an act was passed, allowing direct intercourse with our settlements in the Mediterranean, and British traders within the limits of the East India Company's charter; and in 1824 ‡ this permission appears to have been extended to our colonies in North America, which may perhaps account for the falling off in the export of tea, the article most likely to be affected. The

\* See Parl. Pap. No. 180, for 1828-9.

† P. P. No. 191, Vol. 8, 1812-13.

‡ "Public Bills," Vol. 1, 1817, Pp. No. 336.

altered situation of the continental buyers, since the general peace, would doubtless have considerable influence; but it may perhaps throw some light on the subject, to refer again to the 'official report presented to Congress,' which states 'the import of teas into the United States at 10,108,900 lbs., costing 3,752,281 dollars; the value exported being 1,308,694 do.' or upwards of 3,000,000 lbs. \*

Let us contrast with these a few of the articles imported and exported from 1805 to 1810, inclusive. †

	Imported.	Re-exported.
The average of six years of Coffee, lbs.	2,180,528	967,680
Cotton wool . . . . . do.	7,871,609	230,379
Sugar . . . . . cwt.	71,366	19,947
Tea . . . . . lbs	23,424,918	3,809,109
Indigo . . . . . do.	4,224,119	2,163,319
Do. from 1799 to 1804, inclusive, do.	2,498,251	1,736,653

In conclusion, I beg to remind your readers, that whatever extra price tea sells at in the India-House, that extra price is doubled by our mode of levying an *ad valorem* duty, not on the Company's import value, but, we believe, on the price paid by the buyer.

My next letter shall treat of our exports.—I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,

COMERCIANTE.

\* Public Bills, Vol. 1. 1824, PP. No. 386.

† 'American Tariff,' Vol. 19, 1828, page 59, No. 573.

# SONNET.

'Alba nautis stella refulsit.'

As those who plough the blue, unfathomed wave,  
 'Gainst storms and calms prefer the anxious prayer :  
 If chance the radiant star that wont to save,  
 Stream on their gladdened view with aspect fair,  
 Their hearts expand with joy, they banish care :  
 So did we taste each change of public ill,  
 When doomed the Amherst leaden yoke to bear;  
 Now tossed upon the billow's foaming hill,  
 Now sweltering, languid in the stagnant air.  
 At length we hail a tutelary star,  
 And rapture's glowing hopes each bosom fill.  
 O! may no influence malignant mar  
 The generous trust, but bland; Etesian gales  
 Propel the joyous bark, with proudly swelling sails.

## VOYAGE FROM BOMBAY TO MADRAS AND CALCUTTA.

## No. III.

*Leaving Calicut—Penang—Character of the People—History and Description of Cochin—Tribe of Jews from Babylon—Indian Witches—Alepe—Arrival at Ceylon.*

APRIL 1st.—Our invalid passenger being now sufficiently recovered to embark, we prepared to leave our kind friends at Calicut, which we did with considerable regret, and embarked immediately after breakfast. We had now an addition to our company of a Captain of H. M. 17th Foot, with his lady and child, who were going with us as far as Cochin, there to embark for Bombay in a vessel expected to touch at that port. The gentlemen of the family with whom we had lived so happily for the last few days, insisted on accompanying us off to the ship, and others of the India Company's service begged to be of the party. We were on board at eleven; and after some little delay, in examining the ship, delivering reciprocal commissions, and taking leave, we weighed anchor, and were under sail at noon.

When we had gained an offing into a depth of eight fathoms water, we steered S. by E. along the coast, intending to anchor at Penang, and load rice there for Columbo, in Ceylon. The distance of this place from Calicut is laid down in Mr. Horsburgh's chart as forty miles; while the difference of latitude between them is made, by his Directory, thirty-seven miles. After we had run twenty-seven miles, however, by a very carefully hove log, we were abreast of the port, when we hauled in, and anchored in five fathoms, with the town of Penang bearing N.E., distant about two miles.

It being now only five p. m., I went on shore, to make arrangements for the shipping of the rice to commence early in the morning. We had much difficulty in finding the entrance to the bar of the river, which is not easily discerned from without; but we got safe on shore at last. I found here a young half-caste clerk, who, in a note to me, drawn up in a style more Oriental than English, and with an idiom for which it was difficult to find any parallel, signed himself 'FAIRFAX,' without affixing any Christian name. When I told him that this was the way in which our nobility made their signatures, he apologised, by saying that his omission of the Christian name was intended as a mark of respect to me, as he conceived it much more humble for a man to call himself plainly Fairfax, than to add John, William, or Mr. to it, which he left for others to do.

Though it was nearly dark when we landed, and I was accompanied by this young man to the houses of such of the native mer-



chants as I wished to see, we were followed by a crowd of two or three hundred men, women, and children, who seemed to look on us with as much curiosity as if they had never seen Europeans before. The arrangements that I wished being effected, we returned to the ship after dark, very narrowly escaping being upset and swamped upon the bar, where the sea broke dangerously high.

2d.—We remained the whole of the day at anchor in the roads of Penang, loading the rice that was sent off in boats. I repeated my visit again to the shore, and having occasion to go over a great part of the town, on foot, from there being no conveyances, I was sufficiently fatigued by the excursion. During my absence, meridian altitudes had been taken for the latitude of the place, which gave it as  $10^{\circ} 47' 9''$  N., or nine miles to the northward of the position assigned to it by Horsburgh, in his Chart and Directory, and confirming the error which we had noticed in the distance by our run of yesterday.

Penang (for so the natives here call it), is seated on the southern bank of a river of the same name, which descends from the Ghauts of the Deccan, on the coast of Malabar, and discharges over a shallow bar into the sea. It is at present in a comparative state of insignificance, since there is now no European establishment here; but it was formerly a place of much greater consequence, and esteemed as one of the principal towns on this part of the coast. As early as the year 1526, it was attacked by the Portuguese, and, though then strongly fortified, it was carried and destroyed. This event is thus related by De Faria :—‘Don Enrique,’ says this historian, ‘to punish the hostilities of the Moors of Calicut, fitted out fifty sail of vessels from Cochin, to which were added other fifty belonging to the inhabitants of that city, twenty-seven of which belonged to one individual, Arel de Ponca. With these vessels, carrying 2,000 soldiers, the governor arrived at Paniang, one of the principal towns in the territory of Calicut, which was well fortified and stored with cannon, under the command of a Portuguese renegado. Besides these fortifications on the land, the river was defended by a number of armed vessels, drawn up in order of battle. After a severe contest, the fortifications of Paniang were carried, and the enemy fled into the woods. The town and all the vessels in the port were burnt.’\*

The Dutch, the English, and the French have had, at different periods, either complete possession of the place, or factories established at it; and it was, at a period still subsequent to that, in the possession of Hyder Ali, and his son Tippoo: but since the termination of the war with those chiefs, it has remained with us, on the same conditions as the rest of Malabar, namely—nominally under the Zamorin, but actually under the government of the East India Company.

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\* Kerr's Coll. v. 6, p. 202.

The town contains apparently from four to five hundred stone and brick buildings, mostly covered with red earthen tiles, besides nearly double that number of huts inhabited by the lower orders of people. There are some mosques, and large magazines for rice, built with doors and windows of the Roman arched form, and having nothing Arabic or Moorish in their appearance. The custom-house is a mean building near the beach, and these are all the public edifices that can be enumerated.

The population of Penang, which is estimated to amount to 10,000, is altogether composed of Maplas, though some years ago there were among them many Muckwas, or low caste Hindoos; but these have almost entirely disappeared, or mixed themselves with the Maplas, by embracing Mohammedanism. This being a great mart for the exportation of rice in small craft to other ports along the coast, the occupations of the people are chiefly confined to the cultivation, watering, gathering, drying, cleaning, and packing this grain, which employs a great number of hands. The rice is inferior in quality to that of Bengal and Mangalore, and consequently bears a less price; so that it is used principally for the supply of the army, and the lower orders of Natives. The mode of packing it is in round packages, called moras, which are no other than a sort of basket, made of a wisp of straw sewn round, the layers of the wisp being twisted into a hard rope-like form, and fastened together by a needle and twine, after which they are closed at the bottom and top. These moras weigh eighty pounds each, including the tare, and seventy-six pounds nett; and the price of the rice is one rupee and a half for each of these moras, delivered on board ship, the seller paying the export duty of three per cent., and the shipping charges, which amount to about three per cent. more. The Island of Ceylon takes off large supplies of this rice for its troops, and for the consumption of the lower classes of the community; a great deal is also sent to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, for the supply of Arabia: and, upon the whole, it is estimated that about 5,000 tons are annually exported.

The character of the Maplas of Penang is almost worse, if possible, than that of the same race at Calicut; the cause of which is, probably, that they here live entirely by themselves, unmixed with any other caste, and uncontrolled by any authority immediately at hand. In dress and general appearance, they are nearly the same, except that they have here a look more indicative of cunning and debauchery combined. The chief merchants among them were as fat as forced-fed hogs, and could hardly breathe from excessive corpulency. Their eyes were red and bloated from the intoxications of opium, and they chewed betel-nut in such quantities, that the red juice of it sometimes ran from the corners of their lips, so as to give them the appearance of having their mouths full of blood; presenting, altogether, the disgusting aspect of debauched drunk-

ards, rising from a feast of cannibals on some warm and reeking carcase !

Among about fifty reputed merchants whom I saw, there were three or four, who held a monopoly of the trade in their own hands ; and from their wealth, chiefly influenced and even directed all the others in what they did. They seemed in general to be grossly ignorant, as few among them knew either writing or accounts. Two or three individuals, who were more active and intelligent than the rest, seemed to manage the business of accounts for them all. These used neither pens, ink, nor paper in their writing ; but, taking the broad and fresh leaf of the palm tree, with a sharp-pointed iron wire fixed in a handle, they held this, grasped in their closed fist, as men would hold a dagger for stabbing, and with a celerity that was surprising, wrote all they desired, most intelligibly on the leaf. In this country, books are made of this material, and records of great antiquities written on them, are preserved unhurt, through many generations. This cannot fail to strike a stranger very forcibly when first seen by him ; and accordingly it attracted the early notice of the Portuguese, though their attention was so much engrossed by commerce. In the earliest pages of De Faria's 'Account of the State of India, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and commencement of the Portuguese conquests,' this peculiarity is noted. The author says, 'all the heathens of India, particularly between the Indus and Ganges, write without ink on palm leaves, with pens, or stiles rather, of wood or steel, which easily cut the letters on the leaves. Some of these, he adds, I have seen at Rome, curiously folded. What they intend to be lasting is carved on stone, or copper. In writing, they begin at the left hand, and write towards the right, as we do in Europe.\*

The country about Penang, is similar to that of the rest of Malabar to the northward, being fertile, wooded, and well watered, from the sea to the foot of the Ghauts. This range of mountains ends abruptly here, and leaves a wide chasm between this and Cochin, near to which place the range begins again, and continues all the way to Cape Comorin, or the southern extremity of the Peninsula of India. From this interval, between the mountains, there comes out sometimes such sudden gusts of wind from the land, as to lay vessels on their beam ends when they are unprepared for it, so that a particularly good look out is necessary in sailing along this coast, particularly at night, when such gusts are most likely to happen at the setting off of the land breeze.

3d. Having completed our lading by taking in 3000 moras of rice, we weighed at eleven A.M. and made sail toward Cochin, with a fine breeze from N. W.

In the course of our way along the coast, we passed the village

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\* Portuguese Asia, vol. i. p. 93. I. Kerr's Coll. vol. vi. p. 87.

of Chitwa, and the river of Cenanganore or Aycotta, but at too great a distance to see much of either, as we kept an offing of from ten to fifteen fathoms water.

At sun-set we obtained sight of a ship at anchor, hull down in Cochin roads, bearing S.S.E. and distant nine or ten miles. We accordingly steered for the anchorage there, but the wind falling light we made but slow progress after dark, and did not come to until near ten P.M., when we anchored about two cables length on her quarter, or to the S.W. of her, in  $\frac{1}{2}$  less six fathoms, with the flag staff of Cochin, as seen in the morning, bearing N. E. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., distant about four miles.

In the morning we quitted the ship for the shore, accompanied by the army officer taken on board at Calicut, and met a very kind reception from Mr. Schuler, an old Prussian gentleman of seventy, to whom my Calicut friends had given us letters of introduction. Another vessel arriving in the roads from Bengal, the captain and some passengers came on shore, and we learnt that the two ships were the *Upton Castle*, Captain Howell, and the *Cornwallis*, Captain Graham, both bound for Bombay.

As Mr. Schuler very kindly offered the use of his palanquin and one of his own peons, to accompany me through the town, I employed nearly the whole of the interval between breakfast and dinner, in an excursion along the banks of the river, and over such parts of the town as were thought most worthy of notice.

The situation of Cochin, at the mouth of one of the greater rivers on the western coast of India, and one that is navigable for a greater length than any other, must have always given it great advantages as a commercial town, and we accordingly find that it was little inferior to Calicut, which was accounted the capital of this side of India, when the Portuguese paid their first visit here. This was in the year 1500, when a fleet, under their Admiral, Cabral, left the Tagus, in March, and met such bad weather off the Cape, that several of their ships were lost, in one of which was the celebrated Bartholomew Diaz, who first rounded that promontory. They arrived at Calicut in September, where they were well received by the Zamorin, who personally congratulated the Admiral on his arrival, and gave him permission to build a factory in the town. Some busy insinulators succeeded in persuading the Portuguese that these friendly acts of the Zamorin were only preparatory to some dark treachery, which the Admiral was weak enough to believe, and began accordingly to take premature revenge, by seizing the Native ships then at anchor in the roads. The inhabitants thus provoked, attacked the factory, forced the gates, pillaged and burnt the house; and out of sixty-six people that were in it they murdered fifty, the rest escaping with difficulty to their vessels. The Portuguese, in return for those evils which they had brought on them-

selves by their own haste and intemperance, burnt ten of the ships then in the roads richly laden, made their crews slaves, and bombarded the town with their artillery. They then proceeded to Cochin, where they arrived in December 1500, the first time of its being visited by an European fleet. They succeeded in settling a factory here, and in obtaining cargoes for their ships; and on their return to Europe they were accompanied by ambassadors from Cochin, Quilon, and Cananore.

In 1509, when Don Francisco de Almeyda, the then Viceroy of India, had returned from a frustrated attempt on the Island of Diu, and had entered Cochin in triumph, he was met here by Albuquerque, who had been appointed his successor in the government of India. In speaking of this triumphant entry of Almeyda into Cochin, the Portuguese historian says, even before he had laid aside his festive ornaments, Albuquerque pressed him to resign the government pursuant to the royal orders; but the Viceroy begged he would give him time to divest himself of his present heavy robes, after which there would be sufficient opportunity to talk of those matters. Evil counsellors fomented the dispute on both sides, some persuading the Viceroy to retain the government in his hands, while others incited Albuquerque to insist upon his resignation. The Rajah of Cochin so far interested himself in the question, as to delay loading some ships that were waiting here for pepper, until Albuquerque should be installed in the government. Disputes ran at length so high, that Almeyda sent Albuquerque as a prisoner to Cananore, though he wrote privately to the governor there, to treat his guest as one who was soon to be the Viceroy of India. Shortly after this, on the arrival of Don Fernando Continno, who came from Lisbon with full powers to adjust all matters of dispute, and touched first at Cananore, Albuquerque was released, and taken to Cochin as the legal and acknowledged Viceroy.\*

About the year 1550, when George Cabral succeeded to Gracia de Sa, in the supreme authority, as Governor-General of India, Cochin was attacked by the combined troops of the Zamorin of Calicut, and those of the Rajah of Pimienta, who took the field with 10,000 Nayres, and was opposed by the Rajah of Cochin, with his men, assisted by 600 Portuguese troops under Francisco de Sylva, who commanded in the fort of Cochin. Sylva pressed for an accommodation, which was consented to by the Rajah on reasonable terms; but the treaty was broken off by the rash and violent conduct of the Portuguese commander. The armies engaged in battle, in which the Rajah of Pimienta was mortally wounded and carried off the field; upon which his troops fled, and were pursued into their city with great slaughter, and the royal palace set on fire. This was considered as an heinous affront by the Nynes of Pimienta, who

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\* Kerr's Coll. vi. pp. 120, 121.

rallied, and fell with such fury on the victors, that they were forced to a disorderly retreat, in which Sylva and above fifty Portuguese were slain. About 5,000 of the Pimienta Nayres, who had taken an oath to revenge the death of their Rajah, or to die in the attempt, made an irruption into the territory of Cochin, where they did much damage, and while engaged with the Cochin troops, Henry de Sousa marched against them with some Portuguese soldiers, and defeated them with great slaughter. The joy occasioned by this victory was soon damped by the approach of the Zamorin at the head of 140,000 men. He encamped with 100,000 of these at Chembe, while the tributary or allied Malabar princes, with the other 40,000, took post in the Island of Bardela. Upon the first advice of this invasion, Cabral collected the armament which had been destined against the Turks, consisting of above 100 sail of different kinds, with 4,000 soldiers. He sent on Emanuel de Sousa with four ships, ordering him with these, and the force already at Cochin, to use every effort to confine the Malabar princes to the Island of Bardela, till he should be able to get there with the main army, which orders he effectually executed. Having destroyed Tiracole, Coulette, and Paniang, Cabral landed at Cochin, where his army was increased to 6,000 men, and where the Rajah was ready with 40,000 of his subjects. Being ready to attack the Island, the Malabar princes hung out a white flag for a parley, and even agreed to put themselves into the hands of the Governor, on promise of their lives; but they delayed, and Cabral resolved to attack them on the next day. When the next day came, he was again hindered by a violent flood. And on the next day after, when on the point of performing one of the most brilliant actions that had ever been done in India, he was stopped by the sudden arrival at Cochin of Don Alphonso de Noronha, as Viceroy of India, who would neither permit him to proceed, nor would he execute what was so well begun, but allowed the Malabar princes to escape with their whole army. While Cabral remained at Cochin, waiting for an opportunity to embark for Portugal in the homeward bound ships, in the same year of 1550, he obtained intelligence of their being 8,000 sworn or devoted Nayres marching against the city to assault it. He hastened to the gates with Emanuel de Sousa, intending to go out and meet the enemy at day-break; but being hindered by the council of Cochin, he remained with a competent force to defend the city, and sent Emanuel with the Native troops, and 1,500 Portuguese, against the invaders, who were doing every thing that rage and malice could suggest in a neighbouring town. After a desperate engagement, the *amoucos*, or devoted Nayres, were defeated with great slaughter, with the loss of only fifty Portuguese. Cabral embarked, well pleased with the successful exploit against the sworn Nayres, and was well received in Portugal, as he justly merited, though contrary to the usual custom of that court.\*

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\* Kerr's Coll. vol. vi. pp. 406—408.

In 1596, the Archbishop of Goa paid a visit to Cochin, on his way to the Malabar mountains, to visit the Thomist churches, at a time when the Rajah of Cochin was under some apprehensions for his own safety, and was detected in framing and circulating reports prejudicial to the Portuguese interests, just previous to a concerted attack on Cunele.\*

In 1663, or about seven years after the Dutch had first gained possession of Calicut from the Portuguese, they had expelled them from Quilon, Cranganore, and Cochin, as well as many inferior ports on the coast of Malabar, all which acts were in open defiance of a treaty existing between the two countries in Europe.

From this period, it continued to be the chief seat of the Dutch power in India, until it was captured from them by the English at the early part of the French revolutionary war; and every thing about the appearance of the present town, whether in the style of its building, the dress and character of the half castes among the inhabitants, or the mode of living among the upper orders of the people, wears the semblance of a Dutch origin, and has certainly a nearer connection with the habits and manners of that nation than with either those of the Portuguese or the English.

The river of Cochin, which is entered over a dangerous bar, has its outlet into the sea from an eastern direction, but after getting within its mouth, it is found to turn suddenly to the S. S. E., and continues along in that direction as a back-water parallel to the coast, till it reaches Quilon, at the distance of more than a degree to the southward. It is on the northernmost point of this tongue of land which thus forms the southern bank of the river, that the town of Cochin is built. When taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch, it was a large town, of three or four miles in circumference; but, in order to make it more defensible, they cut off the northern portion close to the point at the entrance of the river, in which were included the fort, the arsenal, and all the public offices, and of this they made a smaller town of little more than a mile in circuit, which they surrounded by fortified lines, with a ditch and drawbridge. The larger portion thus remaining unprotected, became in some degree a separate town, and the division between them is still distinct, not only by the bridge across the ditch, but by a wide space of ground unbuilt upon just beyond it. The style of building is exactly the same, however, in both divisions; and since the fortifications are now destroyed, it may again be considered, as it originally was before the Dutch separation of it, to be one large town.

In the portion near the entrance to the river, are some European residences, most agreeably situated, and presenting the prettiest appearance imaginable, from the contrast of their snow-white walls with the bright ever-green trees by which they are shaded, and from

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\* Kerr's Coll. vol. vi. p. 482.

their standing on gentle eminences, overlooking both the river and the sea. There is here, also, a yard for ship-building, where a vessel of five hundred tons was nearly ready for launching from the stocks. Close by is a lofty tower, which formed the entrance to the Fort of Cochin, and this is all that is now left of the fortifications of this place. They were blown up and demolished, we were told, by order of the East India Company, at a time when they gave directions to destroy all the fortresses, with very few exceptions, on the coast of Malabar; assigning as their reasons for so doing, the difficulty of furnishing them with adequate garrisons, and the danger of the Natives using them against us. This tower and gateway now serves as a base for a flag-staff, which is erected on its summit, and which, from its elevation, can be distinguished at a considerable distance. Along the bank of the river here, a wharf is constructed, which makes it particularly safe and convenient for landing and embarking, whether in ships or in country boats. Fronting a large open space, covered with green turf, is a fine range of private dwellings, nearly in the centre of which is a public tavern, at which it is said every accommodation may be procured. There is a church also in this portion of the town, and all the old public offices are also here, some of which are still used for their former purpose, others are converted into magazines, and some are used as habitations.

In the outer portion of the town, which is called 'The Jews' Town,' from there being a great number of Israelites residing there, the houses are all smaller, but the same style of building prevails. This town extends itself along the western bank of the river, or the arm of the sea, which forms the back water going from Cochin to Quilon. In it there are some few bazaars, formed of huts and sheds, in the Indian manner; but by far the greatest part of this division is formed of straight streets of well-built houses, crossed by others at right angles, and presenting altogether the appearance of 'a European town.

The larger buildings, in the portions first described, are very substantially built of brick or stone, and are generally white-washed all over. They have pent roofs, which are covered with red earthen tiles. Many of them have flights of steps ascending to the first floor from the front without, and all have large porches, large doors, and exceedingly large glazed windows, quite in the old Dutch style. The rooms within are also large and lofty, and all the interior decorations of large pier glasses, branched chandeliers, and family pictures, remind one of Europe, as we may fancy it to have been about a century or two ago. In the Jews' Town, the houses are smaller, but they are still brick-built and white-washed, and have red tiled roofs, and glazed windows, whenever the last can be afforded. In the streets formed by these houses, there are sometimes channels for carrying off the rain water: and from the soil



being gravelly, there is always an appearance of great cleanliness. Instead of the flights of steps and large porches of the rich, there are here small tiled terraces before each door, which are enclosed by a rail-way, or palisadoes, and a little gate: and here the families often take their evening seats to enjoy the cool air, and see the passengers in the streets: a feature in which they strictly resemble the Dutch houses at the Cape of Good Hope.

The scenery of the river at its entrance, and also of that arm of it which goes south-easterly to Quilon, is interesting on both sides. As far as the town extends, along its western bank, there are of course a variety of buildings; and beyond that, southerly, there is an abundance of wood and fertile land. On the opposite bank, to the eastward, are seen several large detached buildings, some groups of smaller ones, and a few scattered country residences, which add much to the picturesque charm of the prospect; and taking it as a whole, we all thought that Cochin was the prettiest and most interesting place that we had yet seen on the coast of Malabar.

The population of Cochin is thought to be at present about 10,000; more than three-fourths of these are native Indians, among whom there are but few Nyers or Maplas, but they are made up mostly of different Hindoo castes; the rest are composed of Jews, Portuguese Christians, original Dutch families, and half-caste descendants of these two last.

The Jews here boast of their being a part of the tribe of Manasseh, who were taken from Judea to Babylon, when Nebuchadnezzar carried them away into captivity. Their own account is that the Assyrian monarch himself sent them away from Babylon, in a company of 20,000 persons, including men, women, and children, and that they travelled three years before they arrived in this part of India, where finding greater indulgence and toleration, and more kindness of treatment than they had before experienced in their way, they determined on pitching their tents and abiding here for ever. At one period they were so numerous and so powerful as to spread over the whole district of Cranganore, but they have since declined both in number and importance; and the allurements of trade have drawn the small remnant of them that remain to settle at Calicut. There are now about fifty white families of these, and about double that number of dark-complexioned families, become so probably from some mixture of Indian blood, since the influence of the climate would be nearly alike upon all. The richest among them occupy themselves in trade and commerce, as far as their means will admit; the poorer classes are silversmiths, lapidaries, and jewellers, who, as in Europe, bring to strangers their own wares for sale, and are suspected of all the tricks which are imputed to the same race in the West. Some few of them are engaged as suppliers of the market; for, on our endeavouring to procure stock for the ship, we were told that to-day, being the sabbath of the

Jews, in whose hands all the supplies were, the market was empty. It was with difficulty that we could procure some turkies, geese, ducks, and fowls, and these were charged at a dearer rate than in Bombay, though this place is so proverbially abundant and cheap for all supplies of the kind, that vessels bound to Europe from this side of India lay in all their stock here. In physiognomy the white Jews resemble those that are seen in every other part of the world; the dark ones have less marked features, and more of the Indian eye and nose, evidently from a mixture and intermarriage with the Natives of the country; but all of them wear their beards untrimmed and their temples unshaven, as is universally done among them in the East. Some of the men are capable of the lowest offices of degradation, and the daughters of Sion themselves have brought with them from Babylon the leading vice for which that city was celebrated, committing here, in this remote corner of the earth, at Cochin, what all the Prophets denounced so warmly at Jerusalem; and though the abominations cried out against by these messengers of Heaven, and the fascinations of the scarlet sorceress of Babylon, as pre-eminent above all others, might be perhaps of a spiritual as well as of a temporal nature, yet here they are purely of the latter description.

The Dutch families are the remains and descendants of original Dutch settlers at this spot, and are generally esteemed to be an unambitious, unoffending, and worthy race of people. From the almost total annihilation of their political importance in Europe, and the consequent decay of their trade in India, these people have sunk gradually into a poverty from which they have no means of relieving themselves. They live, however, in a more humble way than formerly, dress themselves less gaily, make their visits on a more familiar and social scale; but as in doing this they curtail only superfluities, they are scarcely less happy than before, since most of them have funds equal to their moderate wants.

The Portuguese Christians, the Nyers, the Maplas, and the Hindoos of Cochin, have nothing to distinguish them from the same classes elsewhere. The half-castes have all, however, evidently more of Dutch blood in them, and their physiognomy, as well as their dress, bespeak their origin.

Although the climate of Cochin is considered healthy upon the whole, yet it is peculiarly liable to the elephantiasis, which in these parts of India is thought to belong so exclusively to Cochin, as that persons affected with it are said to have a Cochin leg. I saw myself an unusually great number of people in the town afflicted with it, but those were mostly of the lower orders; and I thought the proportion of them to the rest of the population, to be equally as great as that of the blind to those who have never had an opthalmic affection in Egypt.

The trade of Cochin has so declined that there are at present neither political or commercial agents there on the part of the East India Company, this port being subject to the collector of Travancore, who resides at Alipee. The articles which were formerly exported and imported, now go from Calicut, except a small annual export of cocoa-nuts, coin, elephants' teeth, sandal wood, tamarinds, teak wood, and wax, which are carried in coasting vessels; the cassia, cardamums, ginger, pepper, &c., being now mostly collected at Calicut for the northern part of the country, and at Alipee for the southern.

As a port for ship-building, Cochin has still the pre-eminence over all the ports on this side of India, Bombay alone excepted. The water of the river is deep on the inside, and the bar will admit the passage of a vessel drawing six feet, at a proper time of tide. There have been ships built here of 1000 tons, and there are constantly building smaller ones of from 400 to 600 tons, chiefly by commission from merchants at Bombay, or for sale there. Teak timber can be had in such quantities here, that we were assured there had already been floating down the river from the interior, within the present year, more than a lac of rupees worth (10,000*l.* sterling). Coir (or fibres of the outer coat of the cocoa-nut), for cordage, may be bought here, also, of the best quality and cheap, while, from the manufactory at Bepour, any quantity of canvas may be procured for sails. All other materials, such as iron-work, copper, tar, pitch, paint, oil, &c. are generally imported from Bengal, and the object of the *Upton Castle* anchoring here was to discharge stores of this description. Mr. Schuler, the Prussian gentleman who was building the vessel now on the stocks, told us that as the English builder was not a wealthy man, it was usual for the proprietor to furnish all the materials, and then to give the builder a sum for his labour. In the present instance, he received 4,000 rupees for building a ship of 475 tons; and including every expence, the ship would stand at about 200 rupees, or little more than 20*l.* sterling per ton, built of teak, well finished, coppered, and lower-masted from the stocks.

When we returned from our excursion, we sat down to an excellent dinner, at the table of Mr. Schuler, with a large party of the officers and passengers of the respective ships. Mr. Schuler having been in Smyrna before the French revolution, and remembering most of the old families there, it was a matter of high and reciprocal pleasure for us to dwell upon this topic, and to talk of places and persons whom neither of us would probably ever see again.

At four p. m. we took leave of our venerable and warm-hearted host to embark, and receiving the thanks and best wishes of those remaining behind, we weighed, and made sail to the southward.

It was sun-set before we were well under weigh, and the sea-

breeze then gradually declining, left us becalmed throughout the greater part of the night.

Just before our embarking at Cochin, I was importuned very unseasonably, by a group of three or four old women, to whom, instead of giving the money they asked, I returned a sharp answer, and turned away from them. A young half caste lad who was standing near me, and who spoke good English, said, 'Take care, Sir, these women are witches—do you hear what they say? I replied, No; he answered, 'They threaten that you shall have no wind on your voyages; but that when it does blow it shall come in tempests; I told him to say that I was quite satisfied with any event they augured, whether good or bad, and left them without thinking more of it. This incident however illustrates, and, in some degree, confirms a much older anecdote that is told of the existence of these people at Cochin, who read the fate of voyages before they quitted their port. De Faria, in speaking of the return of Almeyda to Portugal, after being succeeded in the Vice-Royalty of India by Albuquerque, says, 'Before leaving Cochin, some of the sorcerers or astrologers of that place predicted that he would not pass the Cape of Good Hope. He did pass the Cape, however, but was slain, and buried at the bay of Saldanna, only a few leagues beyond that place. Having passed the Cape of Good Hope with fine weather, he observed to some of his attendants, Now God be praised! the witches of Cochin are liars. Near that place, he put into the bay of Saldanna to procure water; and as some of the people went on shore to exchange goods with the Natives for provisions, a servant belonging to the Ex-Viceroy treated two of the Hottentots so ill that they knocked out two of his teeth, and sent him away bleeding. Some of the attendants upon Almeyda thought proper to consider this as an affront which ought to be avenged, and persuaded him to go on shore for that purpose, when they ought to have counselled him to punish the servant for abusing people among whom they sought relief. Almeyda yielded to their improper suggestions, though against his inclination, being heard to exclaim, as he went into the boat, 'Ah! whither, and for what end, do they now carry my old age?' Accompanied by about 150 men, the choice of the ships, they went to a miserable village, whence they carried off some cattle and children. When on their return to the boat, they were attacked by 170 Natives, who had fled to the mountains, but now took courage in defence of their children; and though these savages were only armed with pointed stakes, hardened in the fire, they soon killed fifty of the Portuguese, and Almeyda among them, who was struck through the throat, and died kneeling on the sea shore, with his eyes and hands raised to heaven. Melo returned with the wounded men to the ships, and when the Natives were withdrawn from the shore, he again landed with a party, and buried Almeyda, and the others who had been slain. This, adds the historian, was a manifest judgment

of God, that so few unarmed savages should overcome so easily those who had performed such heroic actions in India.\*

It would seem that the race of these sorcerers is not yet extinct; and we had already begun to experience a part of their prediction, as to there being no wind, but we were under no apprehensions for the rest.

5th.—It having been calm during the greater part of the night, we had made but very little progress, and it continued calm until ten o'clock. A light sea breeze then sprung up, and we soon afterwards saw two ships at anchor in the roads of Alipee, bearing about S.S.E., distant eight or nine miles. We stood on for these; and as one of the passengers, who had come with us to sea for his health, wished to extend his voyage to the Cape, we hove to, and sent a boat on board them, to know whether either of them were bound in that direction. The boat returned with the captain of the *Lord Cathcart*, who had called here from Bengal to take in pepper for England; and an arrangement having been concluded, to take our passenger to the Cape, we transhipped his luggage in the afternoon, and at sun-set he quitted us, in very low spirits, for his future voyage.

There is some confusion in the books and charts regarding the situation of Alipee. Mr. Milburn places it in lat.  $9^{\circ} 42' N.$  near a river; calls it a town of considerable size, very populous, having many good houses, and wearing the flag of the Rajah of Travancore, to whom it belongs. Mr. Horsburgh says that Porea, which he places in lat.  $9^{\circ} 30' N.$  and long.  $76^{\circ} 34' E.$  is sometimes called Alipee; but he adds, that the *village* properly called Alipee, is three leagues more to the northward, where the Company's ships load pepper, and confirms this, by saying that the *Earl Camden*, in five fathoms and three quarters, the village bearing E.N.E.  $\frac{1}{2} E.$ , when at anchor, made it in lat.  $9^{\circ} 42' N.$  by observation. The *Lord Cathcart* and the *Bombay*, the two vessels loading pepper here, were lying in four fathoms, about two miles from the town, with a large and handsome brick building like a factory, having an arched entrance in the centre of its front, and a flag-staff, bearing the British flag, rising from its summit, bearing about E.N.E. This is a place belonging to the English, and subject to the collector of Travancore. We inquired its name from the natives, who came off to us in boats, and was told by several that it was called by them Alipelly, but by the English, Alipee. The latitude of this place, by a good meridian observation, was  $9^{\circ} 34' N.$ , which is nearer to the situation of Porea; but of this name, or of any other Alipee than the present, these natives said they knew nothing.

6th.—We had again calms through the night, by which our progress was so slow, that the flag-staff of Alipee was still in sight at

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\* Kerr's Coll. vol. vi. p. 121, 122.

sun-rise, bearing N.E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. off shore, six or seven miles, in eight fathoms water. At noon we observed in lat.  $9^{\circ} 15' N.$ , and were in long.  $76^{\circ} 30' E.$ , with a village bearing E.N.E. distant five or six miles. Soon after noon, there sprung up a fresh sea-breeze from the westward, which drove us eight knots; when, suddenly about three P.M., the wind flew instantly round to the eastward, and burst upon us in such a heavy squall, as to oblige us to clear down every sail. It became instantly as dark as night, and the lightning, which rose in pillars from the sea, in the most unusual manner—the thunder, which roared like all the artillery of the world in play, and the rain, which fell in drops that would have filled a wine-glass each, gave altogether such an awful gloom to the scene, that every one on board was frightened, as if something supernatural had overawed them. I congratulated myself that no one beside myself knew any thing of the predictions of the Cochin witches, or the story of Almeyda's extraordinary death; for they would certainly have believed that they were made the victims of their wrath.

This dreadful darkness continued till it mingled day and night together, for there was no indication of sun-set but by the time of the watch, and by that it was past six before the violence of the thunder-storm ceased. We then had a calm, with a heavy cross sea, which rendered the ship unmanageable; and in this state a pleasure-boat, that we were towing down from Cochin to Columbo, for sale, got across our bow, and the dolphin-striker and spritsail-yard getting entangled between her masts, carried every thing away, and completely dismantled her, though we had been employed ever since our leaving Calicut in refitting her, and putting her in the highest order.

It continued calm till eleven o'clock, when we had a light southerly air; but before midnight it gathered up black over the mountains of the Ghauts, and we had a tempestuous blast that descended on us from thence with more weight even than the former had done. This kind of weather continued throughout the night, and kept all hands on deck, and in violence, I think it equalled, if it did not surpass, any thing that I had ever before beheld.

7th.—At day-light it was squally at intervals; at ten A.M. a dead calm, and at noon light variable airs from the southern quarter. We observed, in lat.  $8^{\circ} 47' N.$ , and long.  $76^{\circ} 47' E.$ , and had the weather clear enough to see the flag-staff of Quilon, bearing N.E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N., distant ten or twelve miles. At sun-set we were abreast of the red cliffs, to the northward of Anjengo, when we had again a sudden shift of wind from west to east, and it blew down from the hills with a violence little inferior to that of yesterday, obliging us to clew up, and run along before it with our topsails on the cap, while the thunder, lightning, and rain, were making one continued din, as if determined on our destruction.

8th.—The spell was past; the sky was clear, and the earliest dawn brought us a breeze from the N.W., to which we crowded every sail. It was but short-lived, however, for at ten A. M. it again fell calm, and continued so through the day.

At noon, we observed in lat.  $8^{\circ} 19' N.$ , and were in long.  $77^{\circ} 6' E.$ , with the southern visible extreme about Cape Comorin bearing E. by S., distant four or five leagues. The mountains are here very rugged and broken in their outline, and often stand in isolated masses, so as to make them like islands, when the low land connecting them is not brought above the visible horizon. This is the termination of the range of the Ghauts, at the extreme southern point of the peninsula of India, and except that the mountains are here somewhat higher, I thought the general aspect of the scenery resembled that of the Arabian shore, on entering the Red Sea, by the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb.

At four P. M. a fine warlike-looking vessel passed us, showing American colours, and soon after we had a light breeze from the S. E., or right in our teeth. This continued until past sun-set, when it left us again becalmed.

9th.—We had light and variable airs throughout the night, having an offing of thirty-five fathoms water, and at day-light we still had the southern visible extreme, about Cape Comorin, in sight, bearing E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S., with the high peak of Anjengo, N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., through the clouds.

We had now a light air from the N.W., which was so faint, that we scarcely went two knots. At noon we observed in lat.  $8^{\circ} 1' 33'' N.$ , and had the pitch of Cape Comorin bearing N.E. by E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E., distant four or five leagues. So that the latitude assigned to that Cape by Horsburgh, is probably correct.

At sun-set, the Cape bore N.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E., five or six leagues, and we were in twenty-five fathoms water, with still a light N.W. air.

10th.—The winds were so variable and so faint, that we were still in sight of the land at day-light, having the high land of the Cape to bear N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., distant seven or eight leagues, the low land being sunk below the horizon.

At noon, we observed in lat.  $7^{\circ} 31' N.$ , and long.  $78^{\circ} 10' E.$ , with the mountains even now out of sight, and no soundings at fifty fathoms depth. Though the sun was nearly vertical, and the winds light, the weather was by no means oppressive from heat, the thermometer not exceeding  $85^{\circ}$ , at the hottest time of the day, in the shade. Our sun-rise and sun-set skies were more beautiful than I had before remarked them to be in any part of these seas, and reminded me of the skies of Greece, Italy, and the West Indies, which have a variety of tint, and a glow of softness, unequalled in any other part of the world that I had visited.

11th.—We had still light airs, though now drawn more westerly, and they were never of sufficient strength to carry us three miles an hour, under all sail. The sea was as smooth as a lake, and the weather almost tediously fine.

At noon, we observed in lat.  $6^{\circ} 53'$  N., and long.  $79^{\circ} 20'$  E., by which we discovered that we had been drifted about sixteen miles to the southward more than our course gave, since yesterday noon; and consequently carried by the current a little to the southward of the latitude of Columbo, to which port we were bound. We accordingly hauled up E. by N., to counteract the effects of that current; but we had still only a two knots and a half breeze until sun-set, when it died away again, and left us becalmed.

12th.—At day-light, we had the island of Ceylon in sight, bearing from E.S.E. to E.N.E., with low woody land, and detached clusters of trees near the sea, and high broken hills inland, making like islands. No soundings at fifty fathoms.

We had a smart land breeze from the westward at sun-rise, with squalls, and heavy showers of rain, and at eight A. M. this was followed by a calm, which continued until noon.

We then observed in lat.  $7^{\circ} 5'$  N., and long.  $79^{\circ} 53'$  E., with the extremes of Ceylon bearing from N. E. to S.E., but no bottom in fifty fathoms water, and a light sea breeze just springing up. Steering S. E. from this, at about a mile from our position at noon, we came on a bank, which was so shoal, as to admit of our seeing the water distinctly. The first cast of the lead on this gave us only ten fathoms; but it afterwards deepened to twelve, fifteen, and eighteen, at successive casts; and after going for an hour over it, or about two or three miles, in a S.E. direction, we had no bottom with twenty fathoms of line. It was from hence that we first saw the flag-staff of Columbo, bearing S.E. by S., with two large ships at anchor, hull down, distant nine or ten miles.

At five P. M., approaching the anchorage, we stood within the other vessels, and came to in eight fathoms and a half, with the flag-staff bearing S.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., distant about a mile from the shore.



## THE BROKEN LUTE.

*In imitation of the Writers of the Sixteenth Century.**From the Sheffield Iris.*

As roving down the mountain side,  
 A broken lute I chanced upon,  
 Its graceful form was rudely crush'd,  
 And all its chords of sweetness gone.

Come, minister of song, I said,  
 Thy fading glories I'll restore,  
 A young and ardent spirit shall  
 Awake thy drooping soul once more.

With buoyant zeal, and gladsome voice,  
 I thus bespoke, and thus perform'd,  
 And hoped for kindred harmony  
 To the gay thoughts my bosom warm'd.

I raised the song, and swept the strings—  
 Alas ! they chime not with my theme;  
 The voice of joy it was I sought,  
 The voice of sadness only came.

Oh, then, cried I, if bootless all  
 My efforts to recover thee,  
 Thou passive slave of man's device !—  
 And bring back thy lost melody ;

To heal thy wounds and make thee whole,  
 Thou broken heart, what idle care !  
 Oh, how profane to breathe of joy,  
 Amid the lonely ruins there.

No ! vex not with officious love,  
 The spirit of the lonely breast ;  
 To brood in secret o'er its woes,  
 Is now on earth its only rest.

## PICTURE OF AUSTRALIA.\*

WHEN we consider the peculiar character of the relations subsisting between this country and our settlements in Australia, nothing seems more extraordinary than the strange indifference which exists respecting them. In an age remarkable for the avidity with which all accessible sources of knowledge have been explored, and in which the study of those sciences which have the welfare and happiness of mankind more especially in view, has been pursued with unprecedented diligence and success, it might reasonably have been expected, that the vast theatre of moral and political experiment which the continent of New Holland presents, should have become familiar to us by numerous surveys and descriptions. That the materials of accurate information on a subject so interesting to humanity at large, as is the real condition of a country which is destined to be the asylum of multitudes whom guilt, necessity, or misfortune, have made exiles from their families and friends, exist in the public archives and records, we are well aware; but there is no portion of our dominions in which the exertions of Government to ameliorate and improve, had, until lately, excited so little curiosity and sympathy as our colonies of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land.

A variety of circumstances, during the last few years, have contributed to awaken attention to the state and prospects of these interesting settlements. The excess of our population over the means of comfortable subsistence, which our Corn Laws, and our artificial system of commerce and manufactures, combined with foreign rivalry to produce, has pressed upon public consideration the policy of recurring to some extended scheme of emigration for relief; the relative advantages of our various dependencies have been successively the subject of discussion, and it seems to be the general impression, that if any such measure be ultimately adopted, the facilities for favourable trial exist no where in such abundance as in the great islands of the southern ocean.

The professed object of the book of which the title is prefixed to this article, is to furnish more accurate notions respecting the climate, soil, productions, natives, and colonists of Australia, than have hitherto been entertained, and to reconcile, as far as possible, the apparently conflicting statements of writers, by whom the author seems to think that rather hasty conclusions have been drawn from local and confined observation. It is evidently the work of one whose attention has been chiefly directed to the study

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\* 'Picture of Australia; exhibiting New Holland, Van Dieman's Land, and all the Settlements, from the first at Sydney, to the last at the Swan River. London: Whittaker, Treacher, and Co.'

of physical philosophy ; and of eleven chapters, nine are entirely devoted to the topography, meteorology, zoology, geology, mineralogy, and botany of New Holland. Expecting to have found more copious information respecting the colonies already established, and the extent to which the ends contemplated in their foundation had been attained, we were at first somewhat disappointed at that careless disregard for the curiosity of the reader, evinced by an author who, under a title promising much more, abandons himself entirely to the indulgence of his peculiar taste. The details respecting the climate, soil, plants, rocks, and animals of Australia, are noted down with the precision which might be expected from an *élève* of Cuvier, or Buckland, or Jameson, whose chief delight was in exploring the wonders, and admiring the beauties of nature ; as if esteeming an acquaintance with them infinitely more gratifying and instructive than the solution of the complex questions of political economy, which are so eagerly raised and debated by the friends and opponents of emigration. Now, if the limits of the present volume had been a little extended, there could be no possible objection to the publication of these curious, entertaining, and by no means uninteresting details. We are not among those who are inclined to disparage the utility of a minute examination of the endless variety of objects by which Almighty power and wisdom has diversified the magnificent habitation created for the use and enjoyment of man. An intimate acquaintance with the great laboratory of nature may be made extremely serviceable in promoting the wants and accommodations of society. To those especially who meditate emigration from a country in which all the conveniences of civilization abound, and in whose ideas much that is real superfluity seems indispensable to happiness and comfort, a minute and specific description of the productions of their future abode must appear eminently useful. This praise, then, our author deserves, that he has not only carefully collected all that is known respecting the natural history of Australia, but furnished us, in every page, conclusive demonstration of the practical utility of a branch of science, the study of which is well known to be an inexhaustible source of interest and amusement. In consideration of this rare but unquestionable merit, we are little inclined to pass a more severe censure on his omissions than is implied in the suggestion, that the work is evidently incomplete. He says, in his preface, that, of the colonies and colonists he had not ventured to write much, because he found the descriptions of them in sunshine or shadow, according as the delineator had or had not been fortunate. We leave our readers to judge of the admissibility of this excuse ; but we fear that most of them will be of opinion with ourselves, that what is thus intentionally screened, ought, in truth, to have been the most prominent object in a picture of Australia.

The most interesting inquiry respecting a newly-discovered or unexplored country, is the character and manners of the aboriginal

inhabitants. Respecting them the same diversity is to be found in the relations of navigators, as is imputed to the accounts of those who have described the colonies. That the native Australians are without the slightest tincture of civilization, and to all intents and purposes savages, is clear, from the testimony of all who have had opportunities of observation. Some, however, have represented them to be naturally blood-thirsty, ferocious, and animated with a determined and instinctive hostility to all who venture near their haunts. That this is not universally the truth, appears from the accounts of several who have experienced their kindness and hospitality, and who attribute the excesses perpetrated on some parts of the coast to a sense of recent injury, occasioned by the cruelties of the Malays, and other strangers, more skilful, but not less barbarous, than themselves. When the colony of Port Jackson first landed, they found the natives an honest people; and it was not until some straggling convicts deprived them of the means of subsistence, by stealing their spears, shields, swords, fishing-lines, &c., to be sold to the people of the transports, and conveyed as curiosities to Europe, that the settlers experienced the slightest annoyance from them. Captain Flinders found the natives, at the bottom of the Gulf of Carpentaria, by no means formidable or quarrelsome; and on those parts of the north-west coast, where there was the least reason to suppose that any stranger had previously been, Captain King represents them to be mild and honest in their dispositions. It seems, indeed, doubtful if the native inhabitants have ever been the original aggressors in the affrays which have occasionally taken place. The Europeans with whom they have come in contact, have, for the most part, been transgressors against the laws of their own country, and therefore not to be suspected of very scrupulous delicacy or honesty of conduct in their relations with untutored savages. It is, therefore, more than probable, that the authenticated instances of cruelty in the natives of New Holland and Van Dieman's Land, have been suggested by a barbarous spirit of indiscriminate retaliation, for injuries recently done to themselves. In their revenge, they are implacable, cruel, and treacherous, stealing upon and murdering those who have offended and injured them in the night; yet, when they bring their disputes to issue by single combat, they are strict observers of the point of honour.

‘It may not be amiss to mention one or two instances of the way in which these people settle affairs of honour. The following case was witnessed by Pamphlet, already mentioned, as having been the manner in which a Moreton Bay native—called the Doctor, because he bored noses and scarified skins—adjusted differences with one of another tribe, who, during a hunting party, had wounded him with a spear:—

“The spot appointed for the combat was a small ring, about twenty-four feet in diameter, about three feet deep, and surrounded

by a palisade of sticks. The crowd assembled to see the fight amounted to about five hundred, men, women, and children; and the combatants, followed by those who were friendly to them, respectively approached the ring, in single file, and drew up in a regular manner, on opposite sides of the circle. The whole assembly were well armed, many of them having five or six spears each. The two combatants then entered the ring, and having laid down their spears in opposite rows, point to point, began walking backwards and forwards, talking loudly to each other, and using violent gestures, as if to inflame their passions to a due height. The women had been previously driven away, and the most profound silence reigned in the rest of the assembly. After about ten minutes spent in this way, they commenced picking up their spears with their feet, keeping their eyes fixed on each other, so as to prevent either taking advantage of the other's stooping. In this manner they proceeded till they had each three spears, which they stuck into the ground, ready for immediate use. At this moment, when they commenced thus picking up their spears, a tremendous shout burst from the spectators, who immediately relapsed into their former silence. All now being ready, one or two of the friends of each party spoke across the ring for a few minutes; and, as soon as they had ceased, the Doctor threw his spear, with all his force, at the other, who succeeded in warding it off with a kind of wooden shield, called an *elemong*, into which, however, it penetrated three or four inches. The other then threw in his turn, but his spear was also ward off in the same manner. The third spear which the Doctor threw, penetrated quite through the shoulder of his adversary, who instantly fell, when one or two of his friends, jumping into the ring, pulled out the spear, and returned it to its owner; and the tournament concluded with loud huzzas from all parties. They all then retired to huts which had been erected for the occasion, and the next day they again met in the ring, in order to give the friends of the wounded man an opportunity to avenge his quarrel. But it appeared that no one wished to do so, as each had now wounded the other, and a reconciliation took place between the two tribes, which was announced by shouting, dancing, &c., and a party of boys were selected from each party, and sent into the ring to wrestle; after which, both tribes joined in a hunting expedition, which lasted a week."

In attempting to form an opinion of the degree of civilization which a newly-discovered people have attained, no better test can be employed than the condition of the weaker sex. Where the treatment of females is kind and affectionate, there social affections and attachments must soon take root, and violence and brutality give way to the amiable amenities of life. History affords us no instance of a country where women have been the slaves of men, in which the first rudiments of gentle manners are discoverable. The passion of love, when honourable and disinterested, tends more to

exalt the mind, and improve the heart, than any other affection of the human breast. In polished and refined societies, it has been said to be distinguished by a fine flower of youthfulness and gentility, which places it, if not among the virtues, at least among the ornaments of life; and even among men comparatively rude, its influence inspires a taste for those calm and tranquil enjoyments, which often change the character of the most depraved, and depend on a reciprocity of tenderness and esteem. The intimate associations of family and kindred, which form the happiness of mature age, and are the consolation of declining years, are multiplied and extended by marriages; for which reason they are, in all civilized communities, occasions of joy, and it seems scarcely possible to conceive a more decisive proof of utter debasement, than that their celebration should be marked by violence and cruelty.

‘Among the native Australians, this foundation of the kindly affections is wholly wanting, and their courtship and marriages are among the most ferocious traits of the savage character.

“These unfortunate victims of lust and cruelty,” says Collins, “(it will admit of no better term,) are, it is believed, always selected from the women of a different tribe from that of the males, (for they ought not to be dignified by the title of men,) and with whom they are at enmity. Secrecy is necessarily observed, and the poor wretch is stolen upon in the absence of her protectors. Being first stupified with blows, inflicted with clubs or wooden swords on the head, back, and shoulders, every one of which is followed by a stream of blood, she is then dragged through the woods by one arm, with a perseverance and violence that it might be supposed would displace it from its socket. The lover, or rather the ravisher, is regardless of the stones or broken pieces of trees which may lie in his route, being anxious only to convey his prize in safety to his own party, where a scene ensues too shocking to relate. This outrage is not resented by the relations of the female, who only retaliate by a similar outrage when they find an opportunity. This is so constantly the practice among them, that even the children make it a play-game, or exercise.”

Degraded as these people naturally are, they do not appear to have derived much benefit from their intercourse with those who have hitherto emigrated from England; and our author is of opinion, that it is very doubtful whether they have not lost in old honesty and independence, what they have gained in knowledge and additional gratifications.

‘Though the children attend schools, show an aptitude for, and make much progress in, the rudiments of education, yet taking the natives as a whole people, perhaps the most accurate description that can be given of the change that has been effected on them by their intercourse with the colonists, is to say that they have been made drunkards and beggars. The disparity between the condition

of the colonists and the natives, has been too great for producing any beneficial change in the latter. That change must be slow, more especially between a people ignorant of the use of iron, and another people familiar with all the useful arts, and many, by far the majority of them, adepts in the dishonest ones. To hope that they would leap at once to the valuable class of those arts, would be even more extravagant than the fisherman, who, when his child had been a whole week at the Christ Cross Row, never doubted that it could solve all the mysteries of the almanack. The dishonest arts are not so tedious in the acquisition; they need no text-book, or system built up by the labour of ages. These are the result of example, and daily experience shows how soon they can be acquired. If man is to have a good social character, he must feel that he is independent; that what he uses is acquired, and not bestowed; and he must have some object to engage his affections. In the first of these respects, the Australian native who begs of the settlers, is a degraded man compared to what he was when his sole dependence was on his spear and his fiz-gig; and in respect of affection, he stands very much where he did. When Bongaree accompanied the discovery ships, in the capacity of interpreter, he was manly and independent; and his conduct procured for him the title of "the generous good-natured Indian." Bongaree, it is said, is now a beggar in the streets of Sydney, asking alms of every new comer. In the early history of the colony, when Bennillong visited London, lived in the European style, and was caressed, he did not teach his people the manners of Europe when he returned. He reverted to his former manners, and the savage disposition came out more forcibly than ever: he not only transfixed a soldier with a spear in the open street, and without cause, but boldly avowed that he went armed for the purpose of treating the governor in the same manner. Bennillong was once friendly, and the protector of the whites; and he had been treated with indulgence in the colony, and had seen good society in London.

These effects may probably be justly attributed to the peculiar circumstances under which settlement in Australia has hitherto taken place. These circumstances are, we fear, the root of what is likely to become a much more serious evil, when free communication takes place between the various colonies established, and in contemplation. Russia and England are, we believe, the first nations among whom exile, on a large scale, has been employed in the punishment of crime. In the former country, political offences are expiated in the deserts of Siberia; but the Government, by the severity of whose decrees these inhospitable regions are peopled, look upon them merely as a place in which the criminal atones, by prolonged endurance, for his indiscretion or his fault. The legislature of England, on the other hand, has attempted to accomplish two objects by the same machinery, vainly endeavouring to increase the permanent resources of a distant country, by the compulsory

labour of convicted felons. There is no instance on record of a colony having attained durable prosperity by such means as these. The ancient colonies of Greece, of Carthage, and of Rome, were either founded by the state whose policy it was to extend its power, by adding to its dependencies, or by rich individuals, who carried along with them a portion of the wealth, and strength, and much of the knowledge and ingenuity of the parent country. Our own colonies in America were founded on a principle somewhat analogous. Political troubles, religious intolerance, or the enterprising spirit of adventure, induced numbers to seek an asylum across the Atlantic, and they went there with all the supplies necessary for the establishment of an infant colony. In Australia, on the contrary, Society is divided into two great classes, of the Government, and the convicts. That there are numerous settlers there who have been led by mere inclination to escape from the hard struggle of life in England, to a country where tithes, and rates, and taxes are unknown, we are not ignorant; but, in one way or other, these are all dependent on the two other classes, and derive their means from the ill-requited labour of the latter, in the profits of produce, for which bills on the English treasury furnish the market. The state of Hobart Town and Sydney, in this respect, is pretty much the same as that of those countries of North America, where slavery exists. The use of slave-labour in a plantation, the produce of which is brought into competition with that of lands tilled by free men, is a very plain receipt for making a fortune. The employment of convicts leads to nearly the same result, and although a variety of circumstances have impeded the full illustration of the principle, we suspect that the luxuries enjoyed by 'the higher ranks' of Sydney, and the accommodations of elegant villas on the Paramatta road, are all the produce of English taxes, and paid by the colonial establishments for corn and meat, which are raised by labour, to be obtained for nothing. In such a state of things, farmers cannot fail to flourish, and colonies to exhibit the outward appearances of prosperity; but, in the mean time, no such thing as a peasantry exists, and if free labourers emigrate in the hope of obtaining employment, they will find themselves miserably deceived.

The following picture of the state of society in Sydney and its immediate vicinity, is curious and instructive. We are much mistaken if the distinction between currency and sterling, noticed in the following extract, do not prove as fertile a source of dissension as that of Orangeman and Papist, nearer home; and to us, indeed, it seems that the fact of such distinction existing at all, is conclusive evidence of the folly of attempting to combine the object of a penitentiary for convicted criminals with that of free settlement and colonization.

'Of a population so formed as that in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land has been, it is by no means easy to give a cor-



rect estimate. The total number may be estimated, in New South Wales, at from forty to fifty thousand, about equal to that of a third-rate European city. Of this population, about one half consists of convicts in a state of servitude, of whom a considerable number work in chains; and among them all, the women bear but a small proportion to the men. About a fifth more may consist of emancipated convicts, and of the remaining twelve thousand nearly one half may be reckoned as born in the country; so that the voluntary emigrants from England, including office bearers and military, do not exceed six, or, at the most, seven thousand. The natives, too, perambulate the streets, and visit the settlements, armed with their spears and waddies, so that the present population, as well as the elements from which, and the example by which, future generations are to be formed, are of the most motley description. Legislation is the effect, and not the cause, of national character; and, therefore, there are no means of making the character of this people English, or even of giving it a permanent principle of union. The small portion that is without any taint must look down, not only upon the much larger portion that is in servitude or in chains, subject to martial law, and debarred from even the private rights of citizenship, but also upon those who, though now free from the actual punishment of their offences, are neighbours only because they have once been criminals. This is an evil which time only can heal, and in which the curative process can begin only when fresh bands of criminals cease to be imported. Nor is it confined only to the actual criminals, but will descend as a legacy to their children; it being difficult to separate from these a certain portion of the odium of their fathers' conduct, and not very easy to get rid of the belief that they deserve it, even though that belief has no foundation in fact. Those who look only at the individual fact, may complain that there is hardship in this, and that is the view that the law should take of it,—as the instant that it either acquits or condemns on any other ground than the facts of the case before it, it becomes liable to error, and may be the dupe of groundless calumny, or of false praise, resting upon no better foundation. With society, however, the case is different, and that which would be cruelty in the law, becomes prudence there. The stigma which guilt leaves acts as a preventive of crime, and the benefit of character is one of the strong holds by which character is preserved. But there is no need for arguing the principle of that want of cordiality which exists among the mixed population of New South Wales; it is what any one acquainted with human nature would expect; and it is what is found to exist.

So far as respects those who are actually criminals, the case does not admit of a direct remedy; because if men in different states or aspects of society are to meet upon terms of equality, they must meet half way; and the necessity of this is the same whether the ground of distinction lie in the rank or wealth, in intellectua

acquirements or in moral character. Nay, it is not even a half-way meeting, for the party that has to descend must move over the greater part of the distance,—more especially if it be a movement of the whole of the one class toward the whole of the other, and the disparity in numbers such as has been stated as existing in Australia.

‘ But between the free emigrants and those who are born in the colony, that unity which is so essential to the prosperity of a community, especially of one that has its lands to reclaim from a state of nature, and all the machinery of its domestic economy to put in motion, there are animosities arising from other causes. One of these is the application of generic names. Those who are born in the colony are called *Currency*, and those of English or European birth, and who have not found their way there in such a manner as to entitle them to the cant name of *Legitimates*, are called *Sterling*. It happened, too, that when some idle officer, who had more pretensions to humour than title to understanding, imposed those names, the currency of the country was depreciated below the value of sterling money. The names *Currency* and *Sterling* thus became at once badges of inferiority and superiority, and tended to set the two classes of the people against each other. The history of all ages and countries is full of accounts of the mischief that has arisen from names. The fact is, that in all cases where party animosity extends to a great number of persons, it is the name, and the name only, that influences the majority. Of abstract justice, both sides have often a pretty equal share—haply no share at all; and few of the number that rally at the name have any individual grievance which would be made lighter by the triumph of the party; but they are not upon that account the less intolerant or persisting in their animosity.

‘ Now the separation of the *Currency* from the *Sterling*, which has been occasioned by the application and the use of these names, has disjoined those whose interest it ought to have been to unite, as they are each in possession of information that would be useful to the other. The emigrant from England brings with him, or receives in his correspondence, the information of Europe, which cannot fail in being useful to those who are born in a society so small and so scattered as that of Australia; while the native of the colony has, on the other hand, an experimental knowledge of it, which must prove just as useful to the emigrant.

‘ Of the character of the colony-born population there are but few data for judging. Probably it is not very easily obtained in the colony; and certainly nothing has been published bearing the stamp of that philosophical observation and impartiality which are absolutely necessary. If we can believe the reports that have been made, they are more moral and regular in their habits than the population from the mother country; but whether that applies to

the latter generally, or to that portion only which has been emancipated from the convict state, is not mentioned. In their physical character there appears to be a slight deterioration; they grow up more rapidly than in England, and begin to decay sooner: and though they have not become dark, they are sallow in their complexions. These are changes that might be expected: the unsettled climate of England, which is so often the ground of complaint, is really that which renders the constitution of Englishmen so robust and so pliant to all countries and climates, though it diminishes that rapidity of growth, by which people, less knit and durable, spring up. In England the change of weather comes before the child has had time to be so habituated to the former state as that the change shall require a great effort of nature; while, when the year is halved, or even quartered, between the dry and the rainy, the transition from the one to the other gives a shock to the constitution.

'The colonial population of Van Diemen's Land amounts probably to about half the number in New South Wales: and as they are diffused over a much smaller extent, the country has more the appearance of being peopled. There are not the same animosities between the different classes as in Sydney, though Hobart Town has also been the seat of no small portion of squabbling. Van Diemen's Land has been much more infested by escaped convicts, among whom there have been some of the most revolting traits of villany that are any where to be met with. In the remote settlements the blacks are also more destructive and implacable than near Sydney—no doubt because they have got more provocation, especially from the bush-rangers, who, till they were literally hunted down, prowled in bands, were armed, and sometimes, according to the accounts, fed upon the bodies of their victims. These enormities, however, have been much checked, and the population of both colonies is in a state of improvement.'

Our limits prevent any further notice of the '*Picture of Australia*,' or we should have been tempted to extract the description of the country on the banks of the Swan River, where colonization, on sound and just principles, is about to be attempted, and which has acquired so much notoriety by the absurd calumnies which have been propagated against Mr. Peel. It is a very instructive and entertaining work, and we shall be happy to hear that the author has received the encouragement which we are sure he deserves.

## VOYAGE ON THE NILE, FROM CAIRO TO THE CATARACTS.

## No. VIII.

[From that portion of Mr. Buckingham's Unpublished Manuscripts, from which the materials of his Lectures on Egypt are drawn.]

*Inundation and Scenery of the River.—Diospolis Parva.—Crocodiles.—Splendid Remains of the Temple of Isis, at Fantgra.*

Farshiout, Nov. 17.

BEYOND the absolute necessity of sleep, there were few temptations to detain us in bed, if that term could be properly applied to the straw mat on which we reposed; and as the length of the journey we had to perform before sun-set furnished an excuse, I was stirring with the moon, at least three hours before day-break. A thousand reasons were urged by all parties to detain me until sun-rise; those advanced by the Sheik were the result of pure kindness; those of our guide, a mixture of fear and indolence; and those of my Greek servant, sheer timidity. We should be attacked, he predicted, by Bedouins, plundered by robbers, and devoured by dogs or jackalls, while skirting the edge of the Desert at dead of night. Perseverance will often effect wonders. I mounted, and was not long without company. The Sheik himself insisted upon being our guide for some part of the way, and he remained with us until the day, renewed the courage of the rest, and dissipated night and all its terrors. On parting, I offered him a few piastres, though money cannot sufficiently reward genuine hospitality; but his was so truly deserving that title, that all the entreaties I could use, were insufficient to prevail on him to accept them, and he was contented with saluting my hand instead.

The unusually high inundation of the present year, had occasioned the waters to pass the boundary of former cultivation, though we were here nearly ten miles from the banks of the river, and had deposited a thick layer of mud upon the very sand; the whole of the vallies being so extremely level, that the least difference in the elevation of the waters, spread them over a wider extent of ground. It was not difficult to perceive, that the very deserts themselves, at least as far as the feet of those chain of hills, which form the mountain-boundary, would become fit for cultivation in two or three successive inundations like the present, and possess as rich a soil as the very river's banks; and, on the contrary, that without the waters of the Nile, the whole of Egypt would, in as short a time, become as barren as the mountains that enclose it.

Bread and dried dates formed our breakfast, which we enjoyed under the shade of some Doum palms, near the village of Caham-

mat, from whence we were supplied with jars of water by the groups that had collected to see us, each offering their gift of a blessing; which none know better how to appreciate than themselves, and almost telling us it was with their greatest treasures they bade us welcome. They eat here the fruit of this tree, the *Palma Thabaica cuciofera*. It is almost of the shape and colour of the cocoa-nut, but not exceeding, in general, three inches in length; the taste of it is far from disagreeable. The tree itself differing from the common palm, in sending out from its several trunks a number of spreading branches, and these again clothed with fuller foliage, offers an agreeable variety, and furnishes a grateful shelter from the burning sun. As if the horrors of the desert had inspired the hearts of those who once had passed over it with sympathy for others, and taught them to estimate the blessings of which they there had been deprived, the traveller perceives, at frequent intervals along the borders of the sand, spreading trees, enclosed wells, and little caravanseries, where the parched wanderer may slake his thirst, enjoy the shade, and repose his weary limbs, mats even being spread in some of them, and their preservation respected by the very robber of the plain. These establishments are almost invariably near the tomb of some pious saint, who, whether he has erected it to fulfil a vow made in the hour of danger, or from motives purely religious, has secured a blessing on his grave by all who pass within its shade, and that, not in a mere ejaculation of pompous emptiness, but in the silent and unuttered gratitude of the heart.

The picture presented by the strange assemblage of isolated villages, without a tree near them, extensive cemeteries, ruined huts, and detached tombs of Sheiks, unpolluted by the touch of less hallowed dust, all scattered upon the white level of the sands, at the foot of the hills, is singularly curious. New animals, as well as new scenes and characters, present themselves in this retired route. In the desert itself we saw two beautiful gazelles, and some white swallows; and upon the very line of cultivation, a number of rich-plumaged birds, one kind of which, about the size of a linnet, was the most brilliant mixture of gold and green that can be imagined; when it wantoned in the air, and showed its varied hues to the splendour of the sun, it was like the alternate sparkling of the emerald and the topaz. Like all the birds of the climate, however, that I had yet seen, its note was simple and unmusical; even the lark, so abundant here, could not be recognised by its song, which has degenerated into the chirping of the sparrow.

The wet state of the grounds obliged us still to follow the circuitous route of the sands, upon which the road was hard and firm, at that point were it meets the soil that is fit for culture; but it sinks from under the tread on quitting that line, and presents a loose bed of pebbles, as rounded by friction, as one finds them on

the beach of an exposed sea-shore. Frequently, in fact, in the course of our ride, I halted to look westward, and among the projecting promontories of the mountains that bordered the coast, with the wide bays and sheltered creeks, formed by their combinations, I often fancied myself approaching the land from a sea voyage, and could trace head-lands that wanted only verdure to give them a striking resemblance to Capes Carabouna de Gatt, Spartel, and Finisterre, with the anchorage of Smyrna, Gibraltar, and Spithead.

We at length turned off on a raised causeway, with a view of shortening the distance to Farshiout, now in sight; a step we repented more than once, since it led us into a thousand difficulties, obliged us frequently to dismount, and wade across canals, and lengthened our ride till nearly sun-set, when we reached that village, wet, fatigued, and hungry. The holy fathers of the convent of Gugeh had given me information of their possessing an establishment here; and as I gave the preference in general to a Christian table, we repaired thither without delay. A handsome, well made man, of about thirty-five, with a fair complexion, and a noble beard, received us very kindly. He was a Roman, and spoke Italian elegantly; but though I made haste to improve the few moments I proposed to stay with him, by conversation on topics on which he was likely to be well informed, I was vexed to find such excessive ignorance buried beneath such handsome and expressive features, and my confidence in physiognomy was greatly shaken by the combination. I asked a thousand questions of this friar, but though he had been six years in Egypt, he absolutely knew nothing beyond the walls of the village, nor even the few events worth knowing, which these walls contained. I would have forgiven all his superstitious prejudices, and pardoned his want of inactivity, though he was dullness and apathy itself; but when he, unhesitatingly and unasked, professed his hatred of women, and considered them the source of all the evil in the world, my contempt for him was rendered complete.

It was now fast growing dark, and though I at first feared that I should be tempted to pass the night here, my purpose was soon fixed to depart. We partook, therefore, of some fried fish and bread, drank some Egyptian wine made from the Convent garden, in great haste, and left him at eight o'clock, having deposited with the servant a payment for our refreshment, as all those establishments are regarded as Christian inns throughout the East, and he who should depart without leaving behind him a full compensation, would meet a cool reception in a second visit. Poor as my last night's host was, I preferred his fare to that of the Convent, for the hospitality that offered it, was genuine.

If our morning excursion had its difficulties, our evening journey multiplied them; the road was intricate, the beasts fatigued, the stars less luminous than the moon, and instead of our situation im-

proving, it was, in Giovanni's opinion, every hour growing worse : the boat might not be arrived, he said, at the spot to which we had ordered her, there was no Convent at Sehöl Bedjuma to sleep in ; and though we were free from the terrible Bedouins, yet the Ladni of the river side, he feared, were still more desperate. ' Andiamo—God is great,' said I, and this simple expression, so universal in Egypt, seemed for a moment to console these murmuring companions, though I had one at either elbow, echoing each others' grievances in a perpetual response. At length, however, their fears again returning, Abdallah, for so the driver called himself, broke silence, by repeating, ' God is great, but still we should not run into the mouth of danger.' ' Sicuro,' echoed Giovanni. I smiled at the dissuasive dialogue ; and set out on foot. ' The man is mad,' said they, staring at each other. ' God preserve him.' I turned once more to invite them to follow me. ' God is great,' said I. ' Andiamo.' They were confounded : when continuing my course I fortunately found the right road, and had not left the village a hundred yards behind me, before these terrified heroes were hastening after me. If there had really been any danger, I should have given myself credit for superiority of determination ; but the fact is, I had hitherto found that the perils of travelling among Arabs had been magnified a hundred fold, or were rather almost a creation of the brain, since none really existed ; for it was impossible to find people more willing to assist, more backward to offend, or more free from the vices of fraud or plunder than they were ; in short, when I say they are every thing the reverse of their insulting and ferocious governors, I shall not have misrepresented their character.

After all it was a sad and sullen journey : for, counting the animals as well as their riders, four-fifths of the party were certainly in dreadful ill-humour ; and I became at last a little tinged with the general feeling myself. Every step, however, lessened it ; and so well were we prepared for almost any change, that on reaching the Scala, and discovering the boat safe moored there, Abdallah, in the joy of his heart, was the first to break the monotony of a three hours' silence, by completing the sentence that I had twice begun, ' God is great,' I had said several hours ago : ' and what he has decreed,' cried Abdallah, ' now will come to pass !' Giovanni's vivacity was of a less flexible nature, and required a stimulus ; but a draught of aqua vitæ soon roused it ; and the tired Arab, who had followed us on foot through a journey of twenty hours' duration, having stopped less than two of them to refresh, thought himself sufficiently repaid by eight piastres, (about a Spanish dollar) for the two days' hire of himself and cattle, though he had to return again to Gugeh to seek occupation. He was delighted beyond expression too with a pilaw for his supper : and before he slept he expressed his firm conviction of my practising divination by the stars, because he had seen me thoughtfully consulting them from the convent window before our ride, and was

persuaded that if I had not by that means known with certainty of the boat being anchored here, I could not have been mad enough to insist upon undertaking the journey to Sehel Badjuma. As we had now safely arrived, however, I believe none of us were dissatisfied with having entered on it : for myself, the bed on board our boat was a temporary heaven.

On the Nile, Nov. 18.

The rising sun smiled on our departure, and for the first time since leaving Cairo, I saluted his beams from my couch, as I had not yet sufficiently recruited my fatigues of the two preceding days to leave it. Our matted cabin being open at both ends, since it was nothing more than an arched awning, afforded me even here a constant succession of rich and beautiful scenery : the deep green carpets of early corn, the wavy plains of half grown sugar-canes, the bending stalks of ripe dourra, and the dark shade of crowded palm groves, which bordering the southern banks of the river, derive additional charms from the contracted sterility of the hills that form its northern horizon, seem to picture Eden, encircled by desolation. All of these furnished each succeeding moment new pictures of delight, the effect of which was increased by the stillness of the morning's calm, and the deep shadows reflected along the gliding surface of its stream.

We at length reached Thoua, or Negoua, as it is written, though not so pronounced by the natives, and as it has been fixed on as the site of the ancient Diospolis Parva, I landed to see what traces of remains had escaped entire destruction ; but after traversing the village in every direction, and extending our inquiries in all quarters, it was with difficulty that even any traces of former population could be discovered ; some few masses of stone and scattered bricks, being all that is left to attest its former existence.

The sudden curves which the Nile takes in this reach, funning alternately north and south, and turning its whole general direction easterly, have created a number of small banks, which intercept its rapid stream, and give additional velocity to its current, so that our progress was slow and difficult. It was here, for the first time, that we met with crocodiles, who seemed to enjoy the beams of the noon-day sun upon these muddy islets with tranquil pleasure. From their light yellowish colour, and long low form, their contrast with the darker soil enabled me to discover them at a great distance ; but, though we approached with all possible silence, their sense of apprehension is so acute, that it is almost impossible to come near them ; and, though we fired in the course of the day more than fifty balls, several of which succeeded in reaching them, either their spent force from distance, their recoiling from their bodies, or the little injury inflicted by trifling wounds, enabled them all to escape into the river. Among the crocodiles we saw, the general length



did not exceed fifteen or twenty feet, and they were never in groups, but invariably single.

The wind continued light throughout the day, succeeded by intervals of calms, and allowed us to reach no further than Dishone, or Dehichne, where we moored for the night in company with some other boats bound upwards.

Denderah, or Tentyra, Nov. 19.

Profiting by a strong midnight breeze, we made sail alone, for I was anxious to pass as long a day at Tentyra as possible ; and surmounting all difficulties by the most effectual mode, simple perseverance, we reached the village at ten o'clock, just with the expiration of the wind, that, after having brought us there, had now completely died away into a calm.

On landing, we passed through a rich wood of the doum and date palms, sycamores, &c., in full foliage, extending for some miles in length, and reaching nearly half the breadth of the cultivated land on the western side of the stream. Through this, and the corn grounds which lie behind it, we advanced towards the Desert, reaching, after almost an hour's walk, the ruined heaps of the ancient Tentyra. It was built upon the very edge of the sands, having the Lybian Mountains behind, and the narrow valleys of Egypt extending along its northern front. The immense space now covered with bricks and broken pottery, dispersed in innumerable hillocks, bespeak the extent of its former population, and tell the passenger that he is traversing the site of a once powerful city, whose monuments themselves are everlasting, and the materials of their former edifices absolutely indestructible. Five paltry columns surrounding a small square building, the remains of some modern work, intrude themselves unpleasantly on the view, and cross the traveller's earliest steps, though they prepare him for the enjoyment of all that follows, when, advancing still toward the south, we approached the ruined gate of the court, leading to the superb temple. I had remained under it for some time, and made the circuit of it repeatedly, before I knew where first to fix my wandering eyes, or whether most to admire its massive strength or sculptured beauty. Built on the principle of the slightly inclined slope, which, forming the best emblem of stability, has been so generally adopted as to render it a characteristic of Egyptian architecture, it has a firmness and solidity of appearance which nothing else could give it ; and, at a short distance off, before the figures which ornament it become visible, it seems, in its perfect simplicity of form, to be fitted to endure for ever ; but, if admiration is excited by a distant view, a nearer approach confirms it, and increases it to wonder. The facing of the wall on the right has been completely destroyed ; that on the left is perfect, except that its base is hidden by the accumulated soil ; and the torus and cornice of the northern

front, as well as a portion of the roof, have fallen in, leaving, however, sufficient remaining to increase our regret, and to convince us of its original perfection.

To describe the multitude of figures with which every part of this gateway is covered, would alone be a task of weeks, and even then it could not convey an accurate idea of the thing itself. Yet, amidst this multiplicity, disorder never reigns; all is uniform, all expressive; and, lost as the language is in which they speak, they have, independent of their mystic meaning, an intrinsic richness of beauty that excites an interest of the highest kind. How would that interest be increased by an understanding of their sublime allusions, and a familiarity with the maxims and events they record. If to us at this remote period, when all their inscriptive mysteries are buried in profoundest darkness, their architectural beauties injured and defaced, and their once illumined sanctuaries abandoned to the gloom of silent desolation; if even now, those monuments inspire the beholder with feelings he can find no language to express, with what veneration must they have been approached by those who saw them in the splendour of their glory, understood their inscriptions, believed their mysteries, worshipped the deities to whom they were dedicated, revered their priests, and trod their thresholds with the spirit of devotion, when entering its hallowed walls to pay the sacrifice of the hands and heart to their protecting divinity, to their avenging god! It must have inspired an enthusiasm of the sublimest kind.

As if to curb the sallies of wandering admiration, and prevent the mind from being diverted by the splendour that allured the senses from the sacred duties of worship, religion met them at the very gate, and bade them even there prepare to pay her homage with becoming awe. The groups of sculptured characters occupy separate compartments, divided from each other by horizontal lines of stars, and small hieroglyphic writing; and in each of these are three figures as large as life. The principal one of these is a young and beautiful female, bearing on her head a globe encircled by the horns of a bull, standing and holding a staff, whose top resembles the lotus in the bud, or but partially open: her hair falls over the back and shoulders in long closely woven tresses, in the manner still practised among Oriental ladies; the ornaments borne on her head occasionally vary, but are always lofty; a rich dress, through which the full round bosom is always visible, encircles the waist, and terminates in short sleeves, bordered with a vandyke, resembling lace, midway between the elbow and shoulder, having bracelets at the wrists and round the full part of the arm; the body is closely wrapped in an embroidered robe, the upper part of which is covered with the metallic scales of ancient armour; the thighs are crossed by folding wings, like the Hebrew cherubim, below the points of which fall the loose drapery of a long robe,

extending nearly to the angles, and ending in a fine border of waving lines.

Behind her is a male attendant, sometimes bearing the head of the hawk, under which emblem Osiris is often represented, and having also a staff, which has been called augural, terminating in a double point below, and surmounted by the head of some bird, not unlike a crested duck. This augural staff is of the same height and size as that of the latter staff, borne by the female figure, evidently denoting Isis. In the left hand, they each bear an instrument, resembling that by which our water-works are turned from the reservoirs to the smaller channels in cities, and which it was not a forced conjecture to take for the keys of the public canals. To these illustrious personages, or presiding divinities, in each group a priest is making offerings, in an advancing attitude, and with extended arms, arrayed in a plainer costume, and with the sacred head-dress or mitre, which, though it frequently varies, is easily distinguished from other official coverings.

The first offering is one of live birds, the second is one of vases ; and in the upper compartment the divinities are sitting to receive the gifts, and presenting the keys, borne in the left hand, towards the giver. The wall, on the right of the passage, is uniformly decorated with hieroglyphic figures, stars, and emblems, regularly arranged in horizontal lines ; the wall on the left has figures of the same size and description as on the front of the gates, to which the lotus flower is frequently added, and the written inscriptions are here more copious. The ceiling is ornamented with winged globes, and extended vultures bearing globes in their talons, as at Abydos ; the purple ground, and lighter tints of relief, still remaining fresh. Upon the lintels of the inner doorway are perpendicular ranges of male figures, bearing a lion's head, holding in each hand a sort of sword or dagger—the one lifted, as if ready to inflict the blow, the other held horizontally, as if prepared to stab—emblematic, perhaps, of the lion's strength to guard the entrance, and the lion's vengeance to defend it from intrusion.

It is after having passed this gate, however, and turning to admire its inner front, that it shows itself in all its advantageous beauty, as it is here comparatively uninjured ; its lofty cornice, rising above a grand torus, at least nine or ten feet in height, having a winged globe in the centre, cut in full relief upon a rich fluting, and forming a semi-arch by its overhanging top, is one of the finest combinations of strength and beauty that can be well conceived. In the upper compartments of this southern front, the goddess Isis is accompanied by three attendants, while receiving the gifts of the priests ; the other groups nearly resemble those in front, except that the offerings are every where different ; globes, sphynxes, idols, vases of flowers, sacred bonnets, &c. are among the most conspicuous. On the western wall of the interior of the passage, this

same female divinity is seen suckling a naked youth of nearly her own height, and of Herculean form ; both of them are standing, and each bears the emblem resembling a key in their left hands. With her right Isis supports the breast to the hero's lips : her left arm is most affectionately thrown over his neck ; and the youth, as if to return this maternal fondness, encircles with his own the waist that gave him birth. Such an expressive group, portrayed in miniature, would form an invaluable gem.

Traversing a confused heap of scattered ruins, formed from the vestiges of the old city, and increased more recently by dilapidated Arab huts, extending for about two hundred paces, the superb portico of this more than magnificent temple rises suddenly to the view. Its effect upon the mind so surpasses all the impressions which its beauties make on the senses, that I felt it almost like a profanation to approach its hallowed porch, and stood lost in a conflict of sensations amounting to stupefaction. On recovering from this state of feeling, which, as it was new to me, I know not how to characterise, I still found that regularity of examination, cool judgment, and accuracy of observation, must be the work of colder hearts or more repeated visits. 'Twas like a creation of the brain—a vision of enchantment, placing the beholder in the splendid palace of a fairy world, amidst objects whose multiplicity—whose grandeur—whose beauty confounded every faculty. I had made the circuit of its walls twice, had mounted on the summit itself, and gone through every apartment with lighted torches—torn from objects full of interest to others possessing new attractions. I had passed an hour beneath the lofty portico, and still more within the darkened sanctuary, before I could spare a moment to rest—before I could tell where first to begin ; for it appeared to me, after all the attention I had bestowed, that I had not even skimmed its thousand beauties. With us, the merely architectural perfection of our finest buildings are soon passed over ; and neither St. Paul's nor Westminster Abbey preserve their novelty long : but here, every corner, which, from its position seems doomed to obscurity, possesses beauties of equal labour, of equal finish, of equal interest with the most conspicuous. One cannot think of calculation, 'tis almost infinite ; and the idea of its having been the work of supernatural agents—absurd as it appears in the tranquillity of the library—seems the readiest and almost the only solution that presents itself to the beholder rivetted to the spot.

As I stood under the shadow of its lofty front at noon-day, the first observation which struck me was the error of its assigned position, as it is invariably represented as facing the east ; and having with me an excellent compass, given me at Cairo, I ascertained with precision that the lines of its six first columns gave a bearing of S.E. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. and N.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., making its front N.N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. ; while the sun on the meridian, by a chronometer watch, set to com-

mon time, cast its shadow N.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E., making the variation P. 30' westerly, and giving the bearing of the temple's front at a point and three quarters from the Pole. It was, perhaps, an observation of little value, but I had been induced to make it, from having set out with the very prevalent opinion that the religious buildings of antiquity universally bore that direction; and from having found Hermonthis looking southward, Antæopolis and Abydos westward, Tentyra to the northern quarter, and remembering Volney's considering it worthy of remark that the temple of the sun at Balbeck faced its declining god. I was not prepared to measure accurately; and it had been perhaps already so much better done, that I was not disposed to sacrifice the time necessary for such a task: but its outline measure, on the smallest scale, appeared to me about two hundred feet long, by one hundred in front, and fifty in elevation. The peculiarity of the portico exceeding the nave in height and breadth, occasioned those two dimensions to lessen proportionately there, at the rate of perhaps ten feet for each; the ascent from the main roof to that of the front being, by a flight of steps, coeval with the building.

The whole of the pile is formed of a fine ground yellow stone, hewn from the Lybian quarries in the neighbouring Desert, except two blocks of dark granite, which are on each side the central entrance, about mid-way up the columns, and were perhaps selected for their capability of resisting the friction of a gate or door, once placed there, though no mark of that kind remains; yet it is difficult to conceive a more probable appropriation of them. The portico is sustained by twenty-four columns, of nine feet in diameter at their centre, disposed in four ranges of six each, placed at equal distances, except in the central passage, which exceeds the others by more than half. The columns are all surmounted by the richest capitals that can be imagined: the head of Isis, presenting her face to the four quarters of the globe, in the full drapery of her peculiar costume; and on the sides of the square prolongation of the column, which occupied the space between the capital and architrave, is seen a beautiful bas-relief, representing some event or attribute relative to the same divinity. The front range of pillars are engaged up to the middle of their height with connecting masonry, forming panels, that are surrounded each with a torus, and sculptured with a multitude of figures. These are much injured by the rubbish in which they are buried, as it appears but lately to have been cleared away, and that even very partially, leaving only the central columns open; where if a gate at any time existed, the temple would be inaccessible. The sides of this space are guarded by the serpent, twined on a wand, as at Antæopolis; and these, with the shafts of the pillars themselves, are covered with hieroglyphics of the finest execution. The side walls, which terminate the portico, preserve the plain slope uniformly with the outer gateway, and are ornamented with similar groups of figures. The frieze, having an Isis

sculptured in relief on the entablature, seems to represent religious processions, as all the figures are in the attitude of advancing, and among the rest are some with stringed harps. A noble torus surrounds the building, and covers all the angles, above which rises a cornice, perhaps unequalled, and certainly not to be surpassed—whether we consider its strength, simplicity, grandeur, or richness. In the centre is the winged globe, surmounting the cornice of the outer gate; and in separate compartments, divided by perpendicular flutings, are overshadowing wings, from which the dews of blessing, or the emblems of abundance, are dropping on the globes below. Every interstice is filled with figures; but amidst the greatest profusion of ornament, nothing appears without design.

On entering within, however, how are the senses bewildered! how are the faculties confounded! Around the walls, from the very ceiling to the lowest visible space, are groups of figures of never-ending variety—all unfolding some mystery, dictating some precept, promulgating some sublime truth, or teaching some useful science—once to admiring crowds, but now to solitude and desolation. On the ceiling of the central intercolumniation, the winged globe and the extended vulture are alternately repeated; on the other portions of the roof are appropriate combinations of figures; on the two extremities of the platbands, as if to embrace the whole, contain the antient zodiac, with the signs nearly as they are at present represented, on our ecliptic, placing the sun in Cancer, and having groups of fixed stars attached to their separate constellations, all painted of a pale colour, on an azure ground. What respect, what veneration such remains inspire for the perfection of the science that dictated them! What regret at the irretrievable loss of all the series of facts and observations on which they were founded! what more than hatred and indignation at the barbarism of ferocious and insatiable war, that destroys, in the phrenzy of an evil hour, the laboured productions of slow and patient ages! But we might reflect for ever; the portico of Tentyra would furnish subjects for everlasting meditation!

From here we entered a square apartment, supported by six columns, three on each side the central passage, but so buried in the accumulated heaps of soil and sand, that we could only perceive them to be less in dimensions than the outer ones, possessing, however, the same capital, surmounting a more highly ornamental shaft. The tops of doors are also visible, as leading into chambers on the right and left, though they are now impassable; the wall and ceiling are filled with sculpture, of an equal finish to the rest; and apparently relating to subjects connected with the presiding Divinity, whose figure is every where prominent.

From this, a door of great beauty leads into an apartment, occupying all the breadth of the building. It is lighted by two side windows, and four perpendicular ones; and this again communicates

with a fourth room, or hall, having side chambers like the second, and leading by one of the finest entrances that can be conceived into the sanctuary, which closes the whole. It is in this square apartment unilluminated by a single aperture, and condemned to a gloom as mysterious as the rites which once filled its hallowed walls, that the most laboured and beautiful specimens of sculpture are found. Independently of these figures, which, from being purely hieroglyphic, were necessarily constrained, in costume and attitude, deriving, like written characters, their chief merit from accuracy of form, there were a thousand others dispersed throughout the temple, which seemed the playful recreations of the sculptor's chisel, when the severity of rule was suffered to unbend itself, and the reins of fancy for a moment to be loosened. Here were to be seen winged horses, equal to the Pegasus of the Greeks, little native temples with pediments supported on Doric pillars, with a lotus capital, perhaps the origin of that very order. Figures gracefully reclining on sofas, formed of the lion's body, surmounted by the serpent tail; the stars and planets personified, perhaps the oracle of Gena mythology: flying birds, with tablets or letters suspended round their necks, as if filling the office of winged Mercuries, and acting the parts of couriers, like the carrier pigeons; implements of war and agriculture, domestic ornamental furniture, figures exhibiting the influence of passion; and even that which all modern nations conceal, here perfectly unveiled.

Who shall penetrate the darkened shade that hangs for ever over combinations so mysterious? That which among the least refined people of the age is shrouded in the depth of secrecy and silence, and where drawn from that, degenerates into offence, and even crime, publicly taught and represented in the temples of the gods, and unhesitatingly revealed to the eyes of all their worshippers! Was it piety or pleasure that formed the basis of their religion? and were the sanctuaries of Isis, hallowed by holy rites, or prepared by mere priestly gratifications? What secret histories would these walls unfold, if the silent figures that decorate them were but inspired to utterance. We should learn, perhaps, that Eleusinian mysteries and Delphic prostitutions---that Grecian profligacy, as well as Grecian art, had also originated here; and that the omnipotence of Egyptian Priesthood was as much exercised upon the passions and prejudices of the world of slaves over which they reigned, as their proficiency in science was superior to the ignorance of their devoted subjects. In fact, the barrier between them was impassable; and thus their dominion was as complete as sovereign power could make it.

I had expected to have met with outline figures only on the exterior of the building; but my pleasure was as great as my surprise to find every thing perfect, every thing finished. Were their armies painters, and their peasantry masters of the chisel? or were ages consumed in perfecting such colossal undertakings?

From whence were their resources drawn in art alone? and where were the treasures found that furnished sustenance and pay for labour? Every question that one asks involves a deeper problem; and but that our senses were an unerring guide, the very sight would lead to scepticism. Upon the bare testimony of written evidence, who would believe that a single temple contained *millions* of expressive figures—none executed in haste, but all bearing the mark of regulated skill and patient labour? none idly filling up a vacant space, but all arranged with unerring harmony, grouped with intelligence, and connected with design, each perhaps containing a volume of allusive truths, in the every variations of their attitudes—yet such is the indisputable fact.

Every portion of the outer walls is occupied, from the base to the surmounting cornice; and at equal distances, about mid-way up the height, are projecting lions' heads, very nobly executed, with apertures, as if to carry off the water of the apartments within. They are repeated also on the southern extremity, opposite to the portico, in the centre of which a head of Isis is sculptured in relief, accompanied by figures of priests in gigantic proportions. At a few paces south are the ruined apartments of a detached building; and the similarity of subjects throughout its sculpture, proves its connection with the great temple, though it is at present so obscured by rubbish that the light of our torches would not enable us to perceive the ceilings.

The successive destruction of villages built against the walls themselves, has accumulated such heaps upon the eastern front, that the traveller mounts without difficulty upon the roof, where still remain the dwellings of an Arab town. What a display of contrast in this mixture of magnificence and poverty! what a scene for contemplation! what a lesson for imperious pride! One of the most splendid monuments of all antiquity, buried in a gloomy heap of ruins; and its very roof now supporting the remains of a miserable and deserted village!

Between the portico, and the outer gate toward the west, is also another fragment of a building, surrounded by a colonnade; the capitals of the pillars being still above ground, the prolongation showing the image of a naked male figure, surrounded by a wreath, his beard bushy, his features expressing the violence of agitated passion. Along the inner frieze of the gallery formed by this colonnade, the same figure is repeated, accompanied by a naked female sitting on the lotus flower, and holding the flail of abundance, while birds are seen with crouched wings, as if to form appropriate emblems of the scene. Of the two apartments that remain, the inner one is terminated by a closed door, which an unsuccessful attempt has been made to open; indeed it would require more than ordinary force to effect it. This door is nearly of the same form as those of the great temple; it is surmounted by a



winged globe, and is guarded on each side by Esculapian wands. The whole of the figures on the walls, are executed in a style equal to any that I had yet seen, and relate to the nurture of an infant, who is seen in all the progressive stages of childhood, from the earliest suckling at the breast, to the act of walking erect.

The sun had set before I had even thought that evening was approaching; and though I had left the boat at a very early hour, I had neither eaten or drank since then. I had never before been so avaricious an economist of time. It was true I might have stolen another day; but there was Thebes to visit, the Cataracts to pass, and Mount Sinai to ascend, in addition to the duties I had peculiarly marked out as the object of my present tour, in examining the navigation of the Red Sea; besides which, every hour was lessening my already scanty means, and I had no resources in prospect. Why then proceed, it might be asked? To save myself, I should only answer, a life of long regret: for who could visit Egypt and pass such objects by, without being ever afterwards the victim of repentance?

I returned again, therefore, to enjoy a last look around all that had yielded me so pure a pleasure, and which I quitted with so genuine a regret. It was then, for the first time, I thought of comparing the drawings of Denon, which I had brought with me, with the originals themselves. Of the inner door of the sanctuary, he has given the true form, but it is impossible that the hieroglyphic figures could have been taken on the spot; they must have been filled up by memory, or rather fancy, since they do not bear the slightest resemblance, the cornice alone excepted, and this only partially so. The compartments of large figures, that occupy the extremity of the sides, are precisely those of the outer gate,—Isis receiving the offerings of priests, from which scarcely any thing can be more foreign than the groups he has drawn. The same observation applies to the central compartments, in which he has placed the protecting vulture; there is nothing like it here; the small hieroglyphic inscriptions are ranged in columns, divided by perpendicular lines, instead of horizontal ones. The lower part of the door-way is covered with rubbish, to the middle of its height; and except the winged globe, which surmounts the whole, there is scarcely a single point of even figurative resemblance.

In the two compartments of the Zodiac, taken from the opposite plat-bands of the portico, the artist has been more happy; and except that the error of the engraver has reversed the faces of the figures, who all turn towards the head of Isis, it is admirably accurate, and too much praise cannot be bestowed on the indefatigable application and enthusiastic perseverance with which the task must have been executed. If this had been the only relic which Denon had brought from Egypt, he would have deserved well of the learned

world, and merited the title of a patron and a lover of the arts. The elevation of the portico is also admirably chaste, as to form ; but beautiful as it appears in the plate, it loses its effect, for the want of some scale by which its colossal magnitude may be measured, and can convey nothing like the sensation which the majesty of its gigantic columns impress on him who beholds them. The capitals and their prolongations are correctness itself ; the ensagements of the columns are filled with richer hieroglyphic designs, and surmounted by winged globes ; the groups of figures in the side extremities, like those of the sanctuary-door, have no one point of similitude, since each contain the three figures, sculptured on the outer gate, Isis receiving offerings. The religious procession, sculptured on the frieze, is not entirely without resemblance ; the winged globe, however, is in the centre of the cornice, instead of below it. The whole of the original is infinitely more rich and varied than the design given in the engraving.

But can any one presume to blame inaccuracy in a work undertaken under such unfavourable auspices, and executed amid such a world of obstacles as those which impeded Denon ? One may regret, it is true, the circumstances which cramped the wishes and talents of an artist so capable of doing them justice ; but no one can be surprised that a few days were inadequate to the task of copying with precision the labour of successive ages. To execute plans of its detached parts, would even be the work of months ; and accurate drawings of its finished whole, would furnish the Royal Societies of London and Paris with years of occupation.

It had grown so dark, that we possessed the light of the stars only to guide us on our road, and when we had finished our simple repast, we departed. For myself, I was too much engaged with the impressions of all I had seen, to count the difficulties of the way ; yet they were so many, and so frequent, from the crossing of canals of water, and still humid grounds, that we did not reach the boat until nearly eleven o'clock at night, and we then found it occupied only by the Reis and his son, the rest of the crew having gone in search of us, apprehending some accident from the lateness of the hour, and did not return until past midnight.

## TRAVELS IN TURKEY.\*

At the present moment, when the political existence of the Ottoman empire appears to be in danger of extinction, every accession to our information, respecting the manners and institutions of the falling people, must possess peculiar interest. The Turks have now been settled in Europe for several centuries, and have been visited and described by a host of travellers; but, owing to various circumstances, which we shall not now pause to particularise, they are still but imperfectly known to the Christian nations of Europe. But whatever may be our ignorance respecting them, they are yet more ignorant of us and our institutions. With the exception of the ambassadors sent by various Christian nations to the Porte, and a few respectable travellers and merchants, who visit Turkey for literary or commercial purposes, the Mussulmans have scarcely an opportunity of becoming acquainted with a single Frank who does not deserve the gallows, and therefore can form no just or rational opinion concerning their European neighbours. Of the travellers who visit Turkey, the far greater number are altogether ignorant of the language of the country, and of its government and institutions; only possessing such knowledge as they have gleaned from former travellers, no less ignorant than themselves. This being the case, it is quite clear that our notions of the Turks, derived, as they chiefly are, from travellers so ill-informed and incompetent, must be exceedingly confused and incorrect; and, consequently, our speculations upon their probable conduct in their present struggle with the Russians, are no better than vague conjectures. That the opinions of those who visit the Turkish capital are not entitled to a whit more respect, is evident from this—that they all differ, *toto calo*, among themselves; one imagining, that, should the Russian army approach ‘old Stamboul,’ the patriotism or fanaticism of the Turks would give rise to the most sanguinary and tremendous scenes; while others, perhaps with less probability, suppose that the Ottomans will give way before the invaders, and skip over the Hellespont without bloodshed.

They who are accustomed to observe the progress of man in society, and to study the circumstances which precede and accompany the downfall of great empires, well know that there is no approved method, no invariable rule, observed in the destruction or dissolution of political bodies. Some expire, as it were, in the midst of fierce convulsions, and are obliterated from the map of the world with blood; others fall gradually to decay, and, like an ancient tree, have

\* 1. ‘Constantinople in 1828. A Residence of Sixteen Months in the Turkish Capital and Provinces. By Charles Mac Farlane, Esq. London: Saunders and Otley. 1829.’

2. ‘Travels to and from Constantinople, in the Years 1827 and 1828. By Charles Colville Frankland, Royal Navy. In two volumes. London: Henry Colburn.’ 1829.

now one branch lopped away, and then another, until the trunk itself is invaded, and by degrees cut down to the roots; while others, again, take a middle course, and yield to the united influence of time and commotion. For these reasons, we set but little value upon the speculations of travellers, or even of the Turks themselves, respecting the circumstances which are likely to accompany the fall, if it be to fall, of the Turkish empire, or concerning the means which should be adopted for propping-up or re-building the tottering edifice. We are far from regarding Mahmoud as a prodigy of political wisdom, or from approving altogether the plans he is adopting for the regenerating of his subjects; but, upon the whole, we consider him a greater, a wiser, and a better-informed man, than any of those travellers who have taken upon them to judge of the policy of his conduct. To know exactly the degree of credit which should be attributed to the Sultan for any of his plans, we should be thoroughly acquainted both with his resources, and the difficulties with which he has to contend, which we may confidently assert no traveller in Turkey has ever yet been. The most that strangers can do, in a city like Constantinople, is to collect the rumours and opinions which are circulated among the people, and so reason and draw their own conclusions from these.

With respect to the external manifestations of the spirit which inwardly pervades and animates the political body, the case is different. The least observing of mankind may discover whether the streets, the bazaars, the Mosques, and other public places, are deserted or full; and whether the persons with whom they converse, even through an interpreter, are confident or dejected in their language. They can discover also whether the troops whom they see defiled before them, and march away to meet the enemy, are well or ill classed or equipped; and whether the bayonets or their muskets be all of one length; but whether soldiers with ragged jackets, and bayonets of different sizes, will behave well in the field of battle, is what they cannot determine. Colonel De Lacy Evans last year remarked that, according to a return said to have been issued from the grand Vizier's office, the army of the Sultan, regular and irregular, amounted to 177,000 men, of which 80,000 only were said to have been in the pay of the Porte, and to have any pretensions to discipline; the remainder consisting of the armed followers of the tributary Pachas, whom he describes as a disorderly, ferocious, and intractable banditti. Mr. Mac Farlane's account, even of the new troops, represents them as not greatly superior to banditti in appearance; their behaviour, however, was orderly, or at least good-natured. While at Smyrna, our traveller visited one of their barracks, which, like the empire, of which it constitutes one of the defences, was in a sadly shattered condition.

‘On emerging from the bazaars, we traversed a small portion of the lower Turkish town, chiefly inhabited by makers of drums for

packing figs, and found ourselves in a small square, before a large, but half-ruined wooden house, decorated with a long Arabic inscription, in gilded letters over the door, and a number of large placards in vulgar Turkish, pasted on the walls. In this square, three or four elderly Turks, with grey beards, were instructing the incipients of the military art to turn out their toes, to hold up their heads, to lift their feet from the ground, (a difficult thing for a common Asiatic Moslem,) and were initiating them in the mysteries of the lock step, &c.

'The shattered building, where we heard a tremendous rattling of arms, had been converted into temporary barracks. On advancing to the door, we were kindly invited to enter, by what we should call a serjeant or corporal, and two sentinels at the foot of the stairs presented arms to us; though, I imagine, this honour resulted rather from their spirit of frolic, or a desire of showing their ability to European officers, than from any instructions of their superiors, which would not be consonant to Mohammedan ideas. The interior of this building was even more dilapidated than the exterior; the boards creaked and started, the beams groaned, the staircase shook through every inch, as the noisy inmates ran to and fro; and when we went into a large *salle* on the second story of the building, where some twenty fellows were going through their "shoulder arms" and "ground arms," banging the butts of their muskets on the wooden floor with deafening clamour, I almost apprehended a rapid and vertical descent. All present were extremely good-natured and civil to us, and instead of being offended at our close inspection of their arms and accoutrements, and the strange barracks in general, they invited our curiosity, pulled down every article, and took us into every possible corner. A gratification, however, they did not fail to exact in return: my friend, Lieutenant B——, of the Marines, was begged to shoulder a musket, and go through the exercise as it is really done among the *Inglistes*. There was no denying them this favour; but, when once he begun, there was no ending his military display: he did it so well, that he must have the kindness to do it once more, only once more, and poor B—— went through such a drilling as he had not had for many a day. It was a curious scene. All those who were disengaged ran about us; and these Turks, who would be imagined so starch, and grin, and fierce, were as playful as so many school-boys. I never after saw this gait and natural ebullition among the Moslems but *once*, and that was among a very different class—the students of the *Medresseé*, or College, attached to the Mosque of Sultan Amurath, at Magnesia.'

Having entered at length into a description of this extraordinary military habitation, he returns to his account of the troops, and says,—

'The friends we had made at our first halt, civilly conducted us

to another temporary barrack close by, where we saw another party going through the rudiments of drill ; and thence to a square in front of the pasha's palace, where part of the *elite* of the forces (about three hundred men) were exercising under the eyes of their colonel and officers. Considering that these troops were, at the time, of little more than a year's standing, they went through their evolutions in good style ; they handled their muskets with great activity and tolerable precision, but they had not yet caught the military march-step. The marching, indeed, was the worst part of the exhibition ; and its slovenliness is perhaps to be accounted for by the habitual locomotion of the Turks, which is performed by something which I should describe as between a shuffle and a strut, and by their wearing clumsy *papoushes*, which fit ill to their feet. The most striking deficiency, of course, was that of non-commissioned officers and subalterns ; these being imperfect in their *service*, threw all the work on a few of the superior officers, who were seen running from place to place, performing the duties of drill serjeants : even the colonel did this, and was seen racing and storming, and using the flat of his sword, until he appeared ready to drop from heat and fatigue. Strange work this for a colonel ! but so few were the subjects possessing any previous knowledge of the military art, that they were obliged to submit to it. Another strange sight to see, was, that many of the officers carried thick heavy horse-whips, made of plaited thongs, not merely for ornament, as was demonstrated by their frequent application to the shoulders of the awkward or careless soldiers. This endurance of blows which the tacticoes bear with the equanimity of an Austrian recruit, is considered, by those acquainted with the proud and fiery character of the Turkish people, as not one of the least strange workings of the " new order of things." The colour of the uniform of the Smyrna corps of regulars is blue ; their jackets, like those frequently worn by Italian sailors, are long, and rather more loose than becomes military *tenue* ; their trowsers are very wide down to the knee, where they are tied in, thence they fit close to the leg, and descend to the instep ; neither stock nor stockings have been introduced ; and the want of them, and bare necks and feet, give a dirty, forlorn look to the whole man in the eye of a European. The European military hat or *shako*, has not been introduced ; but the eastern turban has been entirely put aside. They wear red cloth caps, (not small, and gracefully clapped on the crown of the head, as with the Albanians, but large,) padded, and descending over the whole of the upper part of the head, and reaching the ears : a blue tassel, in silk or wool, is pendant from the crown, as an ornament. This description will certainly not convey a splendid idea of the uniform of the tacticoes ; but even this, as worn by some of the officers, properly made to fit, and in good materials, with a *crescent* worked in silver, or in small brilliants (according to their rank) on the breast, with a good cap, and flowing bushy tassel, and a neat

pair of morocco leather boots, or at least a pair of stockings in their slippers, does not look amiss. The best part of an officer's equipment is, however, a cloak or mantle, worn occasionally: this is fastened round the neck by a silver clasp, and descends below the knee in loose folds; the colour is a rich Turkish red. It has a graceful and military appearance, and so sensible are the wearers of this, that they can scarcely be induced to resign it by the heat of the dog-days. No people, perhaps, are more attached to dress than the Turks; and had the grand signior's finances permitted, it would have been wise in him to create an affection to his essay (the regular service) by giving them a dashing uniform.

'The muskets and bayonets of the troops, which were furnished by a house at Marseilles, are of inferior French manufacture, and were not kept remarkably clean. The belts and cartouche boxes were extremely slovenly, and hung too low; a trifling defect to the eye, which they share with the French. The instructors and officers were all Turks. At the commencement, the pasha had a Piedmontese; but he was dissatisfied by his entire ignorance of the Turkish language, without which it was impossible for him to do much; and the soldier of fortune, on his side, thought his services inadequately recompensed, and retired. The colonel and one or two elderly officers had acquired their knowledge, during the fatal attempt made by Sultan Selim, to introduce discipline and European tactics. Indeed, it was a few of these men who escaped massacre at the time from the hands of the Janissaries, and who were found alive at the suppression of that body, that formed the nucleus of the infant Turkish army of Mahmoud. It was on these men the Sultan called, and on them he relied. A very false idea prevails in Europe, as to the number of Christians employed in the formation of the new troops, and also as to those actually in Mahmoud's service. The fact is, he never has had more than a few individuals employed merely as instructors, without rank or command in his army, and they had dwindled down to almost nothing before the opening of the Russian campaign of 1828. As the Turks of the *Nizam djedid*, under Sultan Selim, were instructed by French officers; and as the Europeans employed by the present Sultan were either French or Italians who had served in Buonaparte's army, the French system of drill and evolution has been naturally adopted for the new troops.'

These troops, however, were provincials, and of course inferior both in fashion and appearance to the Osmanlees of the capital. In his estimate of the number of the Sultan's forces, Mr. Mac Farlane differs immensely from Colonel De Lacy Evans. Instead of 80,000 regular troops, he could find but 28,000, and even of these, a considerable proportion were raw Asiatic recruits. The officers who commanded this motley ill-disciplined army, he represents as beardless striplings, knowing nothing of war, except what they learned

on the drill-ground. This representation does not correspond very accurately with the accounts which we are daily receiving from the seat of war. The Russians, it is true, continue to advance towards Constantinople; but they have hitherto had to purchase dearly every advantage they have gained over the Turks. The Sultan, therefore, must have possessed more and better troops in 1827, than Mr. Mac Farlane imagined. To proceed, however, with the account of the tacticoes :

‘ I have said that the want of stock and stocking, and bare legs and bare necks, give a dirty, forlorn look, to the tacticoes, in the eyes of a European; and were I inclined to further cavil, I might find fault with their wide, baggy trowsers, which, confined above the knees, hang about the “nether man” in a loose, slovenly manner, and should seem to impede the freedom of motion. But the Turks have always been attached to an amplitude in that portion of their toilette, and are accustomed to call a shabbily dressed fellow “tight breeches.” Great reforms cannot be carried at once, and the Sultan satisfied himself by curtailing a few feet of the ambitious diameter.

‘ The regulars of Smyrna I have described as an ill-looking set of fellows, unlike Turks; and in my third chapter I have attempted to account for the physical inferiority, which struck me equally at Constantinople, except in a portion of the guards, that were picked men. A humorous friend of mine would maintain, that the only difference that struck me arose from the change of dress. “In their Eastern and orthodox attire of loose robes and ample turbans,” said he, “the Osmanlis impose on the eye, but peel them, ‘strip me the monsters to the skin,’ like Colman’s ghosts, and what are they?—neither more athletic nor better favoured than these poor recruits.”

‘ But wit here, as usual, was not argument, and I still maintain that the tacticoes are generally “short in stature, clumsily made, by no means robust, and abominably ill-visaged.” The good-looking Stamboolis certainly were of my opinion, and wondered where the Sultan had collected such a set of scare-crows. Such as they are, however, they almost universally possess a valuable quality in a military view, which the rest of the Turks seem deficient in. They are extremely active, and quick in all their movements. I several times saw them perform evolutions with a rapidity that astonished me, even with the *vitesse* in manœuvring of some fine European regiments fresh in my memory. These, it is true, were not done neatly or symmetrically, but the result was obtained,—lines were changed, squares, solid or hollow, formed, and the troops again deployed with celerity; and if their style of step and march would not satisfy the critical eye of an English or a German serjeant-major, there was nothing to be said against the promptness and regularity of their fire.



'I am speaking, it will be understood, of the troops of the oldest standing, and more especially of the imperial guards. There were, at the time, from two to three thousand men at the capital in this advanced stage; the rest were bad indeed.'

'After digressing a little, the author continues :—

'I remarked at Constantinople as well as at Smyrna, a want of a sufficient number of well instructed non-commissioned officers and subalterns; a deficiency which threw too much of the business on a few superior officers. This was not so obvious in the guards, but it existed even among them. Another defect, in part consequent on the former, was, that there was not a sufficient gradation of respect and subordination. To the eyes of the troops, the Bimbashi or colonel, with his scarlet cloak and diamond crescent, seemed, indeed, a great personage, and was properly honoured; but the subalterns, dressed little better than themselves, and perhaps, generally, not much superior in condition, education, or manners, were treated with great familiarity. For instance, a fellow in the lines would call, or make a sign, to his officer, and, on his approach, whisper in his ear, or talk and laugh with him aloud; and this I have seen many times during drills.

'Another fault I could not help observing, was a too general neglect of cleanliness of dress and person. The imperial guards wore, during summer, a uniform composed of strong, coarse, white cotton stuff, which too frequently betrayed the marks of powder and gun polishing, mixed with the stains of the pilaff-kettle and its contents. The idleness of the Turks would be delighted with our sensible plan of bronzing muskets, but it has not yet been introduced; and theirs appear mostly in a dirty condition. Some of the defects, which are trifling, and perhaps merely such to the eye, may be traced to the French school in which they have been formed. The cartouch-box is slung too loosely, and hangs too low; and, what is more striking, when on the field, little or no attention seems paid to what we call "the dressing of the line;" for the shortest man of the company will be found flanking the tallest, and the fattest the leanest.'

From his account of the tactics, the author again digresses, in order to introduce the history of Calosso, the Piedmontese adventurer who has assisted Mahmood in the forming of his new troops. The history of this young man is interesting, and may, perhaps, be instructive; but we must now pass it over, in order to find space for the author's further remarks on the Turkish army.

'The cavalry corps that Calosso instructed were lancers, and composed of the finest young men in the new army. In spite, however of the Turks' fondness for horses, and their reputed good horsemanship, I did not think they were as yet equal in their way, to what part of the infantry (more especially part of the guards) were in

theirs. The fact is, they were in an unnatural position, with their low saddles and long stirrups. The seat we take on horseback is natural, or intrinsically habitual to us, (which is much the same thing,) for we sit on chairs with our legs extended or pendant; but the Turks, on the contrary, double their legs under them, and sit on their heels;—their own mode of riding, with the leg contracted towards the groin and their feet, supported with broad shovels of stirrups, drawn under the body, was in accordance with their habits, and easy to them, though most inconvenient and insupportable for any distance, to one of us. For myself, I can say, that the few times I rode on a Turkish saddle I was in purgatory, and once, after a short journey of twenty-four miles, I thought my legs and back were broken. I conclude, that our saddle and our posture must be equally painful and *genant* to the Turks, and I indeed saw that hardly any of the lancers had a good firm, close seat. Calosso had the greatest difficulty to make them keep their stirrups at their proper regulation length—they were always for tucking them up, so as to approach what I must call their natural posture; and I several times saw fellows despatched from the barracks, dismount as soon as they were out of sight, and take in “a point or so” to make themselves comfortable. Accustomed moreover to saddles, from which it is impossible to fall, (except with the horse,) they do not feel confident in Frank saddles, from which a descent is easy enough, as they often exemplify in their own persons. These difficulties may be overcome, particularly by the young, and have been overcome by many, but their seat will be unnatural to them, as long as they persist in sitting like tailors as they do. I would recommend the Sultan to introduce chairs or stools of Christian-like elevation into their barracks, and to punish them whenever they are found sedent in any other way than upon them. To speak seriously, it will be found difficult to change the habits of Turks, and until they are changed, the Turks will not shine as light horse à l’Européenne. This corps, however, such as it is, and although it was certainly not in their own light cavalry, which has always been esteemed, but in their infantry, that the great inferiority of Turkish armies was felt, is the favourite corps of the Sultan, and that to which he used to devote most time and attention. Their uniform was simple and good: they wore a close blue jacket, with a little embroidery in yellow worsted, blue cossack trowsers, and black leather boots, with spurs screwed to the heels. Their cap was the same red skull-cap with a blue tassel, as worn by the infantry—a decidedly bad *coiffure*, if only as relates to sun, and wind, and weather, and a poor defence against a sabre cut, should an enemy get within their lance. Among the officers there were a few really elegant young fellows, who wore their uniform of good materials, and set off with superior embroidery and a diamond crescent on the breast, in a smart dashing manner that would not misbecome a juvenile of our own gallant lancers. But for the stupid skull-cap, and the open, unbuttoned

throat, there was nothing to distinguish them from European officers. Some of them, in imitation of their neat instructor, positively got Christian shirts made, and wore them with low collars tied round with a black ribbon. This great improvement to their appearance made the Turks stare, and wonder what in the prophet's name they should come to next. The lancers, however, could not meddle with the skull-caps, which was a pity. The men were but too generally dirty and slovenly, like the infantry: their blue cloth dress seemed nearly always to require beating and brushing, nor were their lances, their sabres, (straight like ours, and made in France,) their bits, bridles, stirrups, &c., kept in better order. But even among them there were some military dandies who prided themselves in their equipments, and gloried "in the ringing of the knightly spur." I was one morning in a shop at Galata, kept by a little fellow, half English, half Italian, where Britain hardware goods are retailed. Three young lancers came in to buy some spurs. Stampa, who had sold a vast number he had received from England, and had hardly any left, handed them a few pairs of modest calibre. "These will never do, my friend," said they, "they are too short; and"—ringing the solid rowel, "do not make half enough noise." Indeed, it seemed one of the chief pleasures of these boys to strut about in their boots, and listen to the music of their heels. Another morning, when walking near the barracks, accompanied by my phlegmatic Chaldean, two laughing, frolicsome lads of officers, invited me to sit down on one of their twelve-inch high stools, and smoke a pipe. One of them was a marvellous genius, for he spoke a few words of French. I remember that the very first subject they entered upon was boots and spurs, and that the linguist putting out (a most singular rarity in Turkey) a well blackened boot, and varnished military spur, asked my opinion as to their being correct or otherwise. I assured him they were "quite the thing," thoroughly Frank. On which he smilingly rose, said, "*Bien, n'est-ce pas bien ?*" made his rowel ring, and looked at his spur, with all the complacency of a Charles Goldfinch.

Captain Frankland, who paid a short visit to Constantinople, in 1827, professes to add to our information concerning the condition of the new Turkish troops. He appears, however, to have been much more careful to note down in his journal the 'moving accidents by flood and field,' which occurred to himself, than to describe the customs and manners of the people with whom he sojourned. He did, nevertheless, attempt to get a view of the interior of the Caserne, or barracks, but was frightened away by the stick of a fierce, red-bearded, renegade-looking Aga.

'Upon quitting the holy precincts of Santa Sophia, we proceeded to a handsome caserne, occupied by the newly organized troops (or Nizam Djedid), and asked permission of the sentinel on duty to enter, which he readily granted, no doubt looking for a

reward. We had, however, scarcely time to look around us, before out sallied a fierce, red-bearded renegado-looking Aga, who, calling for a stick, asked of our interpreter how we got in there, and by whose leave; upon hearing the reply from our trembling dragoman, he beckoned to the unfortunate sentinel, and, making him ground his arms, laid the stick pretty heavily over his shoulders, first on one, and then on the other side.

‘I own I expected that our own turn would come next; and was deliberating what I should do, and whether I should shoot him on the spot, for I was armed with pocket-pistols, if he attempted to lay his hands on me, when he waved his stick for us to begone; and we did not even stay another moment to reward the poor friendly sentinel, lest we should be perceived by the infuriated Aga. Congratulating each other upon our escape with a whole skin, we now proceeded to the Ackmaiden, as the Turks call the Hippodrome.’

Some time after this unsuccessful attempt, he beheld the new troops, and, notwithstanding the contemptible appearance, prophesied that they might hereafter prove formidable to the nations of the West.

‘In the evening I hired horses, and rode about in the neighbourhood of Pera, examining the Topchi (or the artillery barrack) and the troops of the Nizam Djedid, who were drilling in the open space before it. There are at present, as I learn, about twenty thousand of these troops in and about the capital, including the villages of the Bosphorus. They are just now, very contemptible troops, consisting almost entirely of boys, with a sprinkling of very old men, to discipline them; they are, to use the French term, “entre loup et chien,” having lost the élan and energy of their ancient system, and not yet attained the advantages of European tactics. Let Europe, therefore, beware of them; for they display an aptitude for martial exercises, which, if once properly applied by their government, and placed under the restraints of discipline, will render them again formidable to the nations of the West.’

We have thus minutely followed the travellers in their account of the elements of the Turkish army, because the generality of readers feel an interest in the fate of Turkey, and must be pleased with the least approximation to a knowledge of its real strength. But the moral condition and habits of the people at large, possess a still stronger claim upon our attention; and we willingly turn from the tactics, and their red caps, to other topics. It is generally believed in Europe, that the people of the East are immutable in their customs, prejudices, and fashions; that, for example, the Ottoman of the present day is the same being, at least in outward appearance, as the Ottoman who fought under Esto-Grâl, or Orchan. But this is very far from being the case. Manners and fashions vary in the East as well as in the West; and the supposed unchangeable Turk

has been gradually undergoing those changes, both in character and opinion, which have at length thrown him into the wake of European civilisation. This is evident from the reforms of Mahmoud. No further back than fifty years ago, the revolution he has effected would have been altogether impracticable. In fact, the sultan who preceded him fell a victim to his desires for the amelioration of his country. Moreover, if we contrast the accounts which ancient travellers give of their reception and treatment among the Mussulmans of Constantinople, with the narratives of contemporary travellers, we shall find that their picture of Turkish manners differ exceedingly. The Ottoman of old times, puffed up by wealth and conquest, regarded the Frank as a dog, whom it was allowable to spurn and contemn; but, at present, this 'good old fashion' is greatly on the wane; for although the Turk may openly pretend to despise the Christian, he is in secret convinced of his own inferiority, and is willing to imitate the 'Giaours.'

To proceed, however, with Mr. Mac Farlane's account of Constantinople:

'When I landed on the vast Christian suburbs of Constantinople, though I had been prepared by previous information, I was astonished at the melancholy, depopulated aspect of the place—the consequences of the dead stop that political events had put to trade, and of the subtraction of the numerous and industrious class of Catholic Armenians, eight or ten thousand of whom (by a capricious and still inexplicable act of tyranny on the part of the Sultan) had been exiled into Asia, in the month of January, 1828, whilst from two to three thousand, who had found more mercy, had been relegated in villages in the neighbourhood of the capital.

'On passing through Galata, and ascending the steep "infidel hill" to Pera, this aspect did not improve; on the contrary, we seemed to have left all the life and population that still animated the place, on the quays of Galata,—we hardly met a soul on our way up, but swarms of starving, mangy dogs, perambulated the silent streets, giving me an opportunity, on my very first arrival, to make the acquaintance of this pest of the Ottoman capital. The long Frank street of Pera was rather more humanly frequented, but even this, my guide told me, offered a sad contrast to what it had been a few months before. I observed that nearly every third door had been newly painted red. "Those," I was told, "were the houses of the exiled Catholic Armenians; they have been sold by the government, who permitted none but Turks to become purchasers; to the Turks, therefore, they have been ceded for not a twentieth part of their real value, and the present proprietors have changed the colour of the doors, to show whom they belong to; red being the hue affected by the Turks; which no rayah, or Christian, dare imitate on the exterior of his dwelling." Of the latter fact, which was, of course, well known to me, I had lost sight at Smyrna, where

rayahs and all are quietly permitted to paint their houses, just as their women do their cheeks, with any colour they choose.

‘ I remarked, also, that the rayahs we met, but more particularly the Armenians and Jews, wore a more sombre, timid, and subjected countenance, and a more shuffling, crouching demeanour, than at Ghiaour Ismir ; they looked like slaves, who dreaded every moment to be found at fault, and who had their tyrant’s whip ever before their eyes. This, however, was easily to be accounted for, as in the great den they were exposed to the more immediate pressures of despotism. But what equally struck me, and what I could not so readily explain, was the expression and deportment of all the Frank Perotes I encountered ; the first was gloomy, sullen, duplex, and retiring, yet mixed, at the same time, with a rude inquisitiveness ; the second was composed of vulgar pompousness and strut, with a vast portion of that apprehensiveness and drawing back a man is moved with, when he suspects every person that approaches him has the plague, or some other deadly contagion upon him. To my eyes, nearly every individual I passed in the streets had the air of a conspirator—of the dirty hero of some Cato-street gang.’

Both Mr. Mac Farlane and Captain Frankland dwell with much rapture on the scenery of the Bosphorus. But descriptions of external nature must always yield in interest to those of manners : we therefore proceed to Mr. Mac Farlane’s account of the Sultan’s magnificence and devotions :

‘ At about twelve o’clock, the ~~roaring~~ of the cannon at Tophana announced that the Sultan had left the palace of *Beshik-tash* ; to these the artillery at the opposite point of the seraglio responded ; and, as the imperial barge ascended the Golden Horn, the arsenal and other batteries fired their salutes. The long *kachambas*, brilliant with gold and silk, and propelled by thirteen pair of oars, rapidly approached, and in its train six other barges scarcely less magnificent. The Sultan was seated within a gilt trellice. On the quay, where he landed, was a horse richly caparisoned, with housings of velvet, and gold-bit and bridle set with jewels, and broad Turkish stirrups of massy gold. He mounted ; and, followed by his splendid household officers and other dignitaries, rode to the mosque, which was only a few paces from the water’s edge, in all the pomp of Oriental etiquette. During this procession, the gathered crowd was as still as death : none but the veiled women seemed to dare to fix their eyes on the vicar of the prophet. The Sultan himself, looking straight before him, took no notice of his assembled slaves, but one of his suite, the Caftan-aghassi, waved an imperial turban and plumes, which he bore in his arms, to the right and to the left, as if to salute the people on behalf of its lofty owner. When Mahnoud had said his namaz in the mosque, he retired to an adjoining apartment, whence he presently emerged, (prayer and toilette together not having occupied him above twenty minutes,)

certainly as far as exterior went, "an altered man." He had disencumbered himself of his costly turbans—his plumes, his diamond *algrettes*, and his flowing eastern robes; he appeared in a most simple military dress—a plain, dark-blue mantle, cossack trowsers and boots, with cavalry spurs fastened to their heels; his only head-covering a common *fess*, or scarlet cloth cap, with a blue silk tassel. He mounted his horse, (on an English saddle with long stirrups), and followed by only six attendants, rode off at a hand-gallop to Daut-Pasha, to hold a military council, previous to the marching of some troops for the Balkan.

Of Sultan Mahmoud's personal appearance, the same traveller says :

'I had read in some traveller, that his complexion was deadly pale, and that the expression of his countenance partook of the *doomed* melancholy that used generally to mark that of his cousin and predecessor, the unfortunate Selim. The complexion I saw was as far from pallid as it well could be—it was excessively sun-burnt, a manly brown; but I was informed of the correctness of the traveller's statement, and that he had got rid of the sickly hue of the *seraglio*, only lately, or since his passion for the military life and the field had developed itself. Manly exercise, and a constant exposure to sun and wind, could not plant roses on a cheek of forty, but they had given what suited a soldier and a reforming Sultan better. Instead of melancholy, and the air of a doomed man, I remarked an expression of firmness and self-confidence, and of haughtiness not unmixed with a degree of ferocity. His lofty and orientally arched eye-brows, his large coal-black eyes, (which are habitually, however, rather heavy than otherwise), his thick black beard and mustachioes, which completely veil the expression of the lower features, the lordly carriage of his head, are all calculated to strike, and coincide perfectly with our picturesque idea of an eastern despot. There was perhaps more than one Turk in his suite who had the same traits in greater perfection, and whom a stranger might have fancied to be the Sultan; but there is a decided character in Mahmoud's person that no incognito disguise can conceal from those who have once seen him. This I have been told by Turks, Greeks, and Armenians, who have often recognized him with fear and trembling when he has been wandering with only one attendant (meanly *travestied* like himself) through the obscure quarters of Constantinople ---an amusement, or an occupation, that up to the last winter he was accustomed frequently to give himself.

'His stature is not tall, but a fine breadth of shoulders, an open chest, and well set arms, denote robustness and great bodily strength. Indeed, up to his late exclusive devotion to the arts of war, to drilling and manœuvring, his great pride used to be to pull the "longest bow," of any man in his dominions, (I do not mean metaphorically), and numerous little stone columns stuck up in the hol-

low of the Ocmeidan at extraordinary distances, to mark the flight of the imperial arrow, still attest the strength of his arm. The lower part of his frame is not so good; like nearly all the great Turks I have seen, there is a defect and ungracefulness in his legs, derived from the Turkish mode of continually sitting with those members crossed under the body—a mode that must check the circulation of the blood, and tend to distortion. Besides, the youthful life of Mahmoud was passed in the inactive imprisonment of the seraglio, in the most sedentary manner, among time-worn women and slaves, shut up from all manly exercise. The Turkish gentlemen, as well as ladies, are proud of a fine smooth hand, but hitherto they are obstinate enemies to those adventitious coverings and preservers considered by us indispensable to both sexes. I could point out to them the chapter in the Koran where they are strictly prohibited adorning their persons (which they do most profusely) with gold and jewels, silks and costly robes: but I know not where they can find a prohibition of gloves, which Mahomet could have had no more idea of, than of that choice and cherished produce of a world yet undiscovered—rum. But gloves no Turk has yet worn, and the Sultan's hands were bare, like those of all the rest—a trifle, but a trifle a European could scarcely help remarking, when he saw him in his almost European military dress. Another insignificant variation from our personal equipment, was his boots: they were not of leather, but of black velvet, every time I saw him in his military costume; the form, however, was European, and they were worn under the trowsers, like our Wellington's.

Perhaps a stronger proof could not be given of the changes which time has effected in the character of the Turks, than the freedom which they now allow their women. Captain Frankland describes the conduct of the Reis Effendi's wife as being quite as free as that of the wife of any Secretary of State in Europe:

‘When I had finished my sketch, I joined the ladies of our party who were sitting together upon a kind of temporary divan near a handsome fountain, in the foreground, and not far from the banks of the Bosphorus. Close behind them was a group of Turkish females, apparently of consequence, as they were attended by two well-dressed chaoushes, who remained at a little distance, with their heads turned discreetly another way, and by several black slaves.’

‘I was seated at the feet of one of the Frank ladies, and showing her the sketch I had just made. One of the Turkish dames was curious to see the book, and began to converse with the lady at whose feet I was sitting. She said, “Come here, I like your beautiful face, come and be acquainted with me; I wish to know you all.” The fair Frank replied courteously to her, and they conversed very animatedly.

‘The Turk now unveiled herself, and said, “Who is that young man at your feet with the book? Is he your husband?” Which



being answered in the negative, she replied, "Ah! how happy you ladies of Frangistan are, who can enjoy the society of the male sex without restraint!"

'She was a very handsome and young woman, with fine large black expressive eyes, and arched brows: she smoked her chibouque, and ate bonbons, while she talked to us. We endeavoured to prevail upon another of her companions to unveil: she at first excused herself, and expressed fear of being observed; at length she sighed very heavily, and shewed her face likewise; but she was not so young or handsome as the other, and was perhaps her mother.

'The younger lady now said to the fair Frank, "Ask him to make my likeness." I immediately set about making a rough outline of the group; and when I had finished it, showed it to her. Meanwhile, a great many Turkish women of inferior grade had gathered about us, and the poor lady began to be alarmed, saying, "Tell him not to show the drawing to those other women, for they will know who it is. I am the wife of the Reis Effendi; and should it be known that I have unveiled before the Franks, I shall devour a great deal of grief."

'The fair Frank explained all this conversation to me, and I have written it as nearly as I could remember its import, not however answering for its being verbatim. The Reis Effendi's wife, seeing that she had attracted the observation of her own countrywomen, now withdrew, saying many civil things, and casting many soft looks from her black eyes upon her Frangi friends, some of which the draughtsman had vanity enough to think were meant for himself.'

Mr. Mac Farlane found the ladies of Constantinople equally desirous of exhibiting their charms:

'On my way home through the park, I came up with a party of Turkish ladies, who were also on their return to town, from the scene of their holiday gaieties. They were in high spirits. As I passed, and turned round to look at them, one of them showed her whole face, instead of only her eyes and the tip of her nose. That might be by accident; her *yasmack* might have been deranged, as all veils will at times—but lo! another mysterious covering is withdrawn—and lo, another! They were three charming faces, really worth showing: and had it not been for my companion, who probably dreaded the consequences of these approaches to gallantry, should any surly Osmanlis observe us, I should willingly have loitered on my way to give them a few more of the admiring glances they evidently courted. I was the more inclined to do so, as these were the first specimens of the lady-species I had an opportunity of seeing. My guide, however, consoled me:—"Let us go on, let us go on," said he; "you will see plenty of pretty faces in Constantinople, for there is no Turkish woman in these times, but will show

her face whenever opportunity offers, unless she be old or ugly.' I found in a few days that my oracle spoke truth.'—pp. 258, 259.

Of the amusements of Sultan Mahmoud, Mr. Mac Farlane says :

'I was told some curious stories of Sultan Mahmoud. The hostile invasion of his dominions did not as yet appear to give him much inquietude; he busied himself with his new troops as heretofore, and even made numerous parties of pleasure, which neither he nor his predecessors for a long time had been accustomed to. One of the most singular of these, was an excursion in boats to Princes' islands in the sea of Marmora, where he had made the Greeks, the only inhabitants of the place, dance and sing before him, and the festivity of the day was concluded late in the evening by the explosion of a fire-ship—his highness being curious to witness the partial effect of that dreadful engine of war, which he has of late had occasion to hear so much of, and to pay so dearly for. Some of the discontented Osmanlis, (who then evidently formed a considerable body at the capital, as well as in Asia Minor, where I had recently listened to their complaints), said he must be mad, whilst certain rayahs whispered he was only drunk. The latter opinion, that the sultan drank wine, and occasionally to excess, I may mention, in passing, was pretty generally entertained at Constantinople. These assertions it is of course difficult to prove or disprove; but they were countenanced to a certain degree, by an irregularity of purpose, and by the emanation of violent measures, conceived in the night, and sometimes, though not always, abrogated in the morning; and confirmed (if my informant told the truth) by the fragments of certain long-necked bottles, which are never seen to contain any thing but good French wines, that were now and then espied thrown in heaps in the garden of a small lonely kiosk on the hills of Asia, close behind the beautiful village of Kanderli, to which the sultan was wont to resort nearly every evening during the summer of 1828. The usual associate in these convivial moments, was said to be his selectar or sword-bearer.'

We copy the following anecdote, as strikingly illustrative of Turkish manners :

'The first time I landed at a wharf near the mosque of the Sultana Valide, there were some Turks loitering by the water's side; at a short distance I passed through a fish-market, where there was some activity, but thence through several streets I met but one individual—a Greek, in an unhappy plight;—he had suffered the punishment of the bastinado but recently, his feet were raw or dreadfully swollen, he walked with groans of anguish, putting his feet down and lifting them up, as if he were treading on red-hot iron; and when he had gone some distance, being able to bear it no longer, he threw himself on the ground, and continued his route on his hands and knees. I had seen twice at Smyrna a poor fellow's heels where his head should be, but had never seen the effects

of the eastern punishment of the bastinado till now—they were dreadful. My attendant, to whom as a resident in Persia and Turkey, such exhibitions were no rarity, informed me that the exquisite pain would sometimes last for months, particularly on the feet of a poor labouring man obliged to hobble about to gain his daily bread. An approved remedy (which I once saw applied to a broken head) is to wrap up the feet in a lamb's skin, stripped warm from the carcase; but a cheaper and more general method is to bathe the lacerated feet in salt and water—an operation which should seem by no means agreeable.'

Of the work of Captain Frankland we shall merely observe, that it is the result of much too short a visit to be valuable, though it contains a few anecdotes and descriptions which are not destitute of interest. Mr. Mac Farlane's work is more elaborate, and contains considerable additions to our knowledge of the Turkish Empire. Of the style, which is not particularly brilliant or polished, the reader will be enabled to judge by the ample extracts we have given. The work, however, is particularly well-timed, and cannot fail to possess for the greater number a very considerable degree of interest.

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STANZAS.

"The meteor offspring of the brain."

COLERIDGE.

THE star is set, that lighted me  
Thro' Fancy's wide domain,  
And the fairy paths of poesy  
I now may seek in vain.  
  
'Tis but when Sorrow's clouds appear  
In frowning darkness o'er me,  
The light of song bursts forth to cheer  
The gloomy path before me.  
  
As o'er the dusky waves at night  
Oft mariners behold,  
That ocean form—St. Ermo's light  
When tempests are foretold.  
  
Two reasons in my mind arise  
Why song is now denied me,—  
No light can venture near thine eyes,  
Nor grief—when thou'rt beside me'

E. L. L.

## EAST INDIA SLAVERY AND FREE-LABOUR SUGAR.

A PAMPHLET on this subject, by a Mr. Saintsbury,\* has recently been very industriously circulated, with the view of persuading the public that slavery in the East Indies not only prevails to an enormous extent, but is of a character quite as oppressive and degrading as West India slavery; and moreover, that East India sugar, instead of being the produce of *free labour*, is in reality raised by *slave labour*, not less than that of Mauritius or Jamaica. This latter point is indeed the object which the writer especially attempts to prove, and which, therefore, we shall in the present article address ourselves more particularly to examine.

This is not the first time that interested writers have attempted to persuade the English public that the sugar imported hither from the East Indies is the produce of slave labour. Similar attempts were made some years ago by the late Mr. Marryat, and subsequently by Mr. Macqueen, of Glasgow; and the former was at the time triumphantly refuted, in an able pamphlet, entitled 'A Letter to W. W. Whitmore, Esq., M. P.,' of which we shall in the following remarks freely avail ourselves. The only new source of evidence which Mr. Saintsbury professes to adduce in repeating this exploded fallacy, consists in the Parliamentary Papers published in 1828, on Slavery in India. To these latter interesting documents we shall in the sequel particularly advert; but for the sake of readers who may not have previously paid much attention to this subject, it seems necessary to notice, in the first place, the evidence furnished in the voluminous Report published by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, on the Culture of Sugar in India—a report which both Mr. Marryat and Mr. Saintsbury have very frequently cited, and which they must have ransacked with no ordinary industry, since they have selected with great ingenuity every line in it which, on this part of the case, could be made to suit their purpose. They could not therefore possibly avoid perusing the passages in this report, which we now proceed to quote. The first is taken from the Consultations of the Bengal Board of Trade, of the 7th August, 1792, and is as follows:—

'A short comparison of the condition of the cultivators of the ground in the West India islands with those of this country, will show the probability of its always being more expensive to raise sugar there than in Bengal. The agriculture of the former is carried on under circumstances so forced and unnatural, that while they excite the indignation and pity of the philosopher, they create his astonishment that a concurrence of incidents in human affairs could ever have established them. In order to obtain a rude pro-

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\* 'East India Slavery. By George Saintsbury. London, 1829.'

duce of the ground, human beings have been forced from a country about 4000 miles distant from that which they are to cultivate; and whatever may have been their former condition or habits of life, are compelled to the rudest toil. None of the West-India labourers are Aborigines; *none of them are freemen*. The whole are slaves imported as above described, or the descendants of such imports; and their population is so continually on the decrease that regular supplies from Africa are deemed necessary to keep up the requisite number. So confined are the territories of these islands, at least of the British West India islands, and several of the French, that without neglecting those productions which are the objects of northern nations, they are unable to furnish the food necessary for the support of their own inhabitants. Grain, flour, salt-meat, and salt-fish, are carried at a great expense from the distant regions of Europe and North America, and form the principal subsistence of the slaves.

‘It is superfluous to dwell upon the heavy charge of the establishment of overseers and superintendents requisite for urging the labour of slaves; but it is sufficient to observe, that the expense of obtaining the produce of the ground by such means will be necessarily above the natural level.

‘In this country (Bengal) the cultivator is either the immediate proprietor of the ground, or he hires it, as in Europe, of the proprietor, and uses his discretion in cultivating what he thinks best adapted to the nature of the soil, or the demand of the market. One field produces sugar, the next wheat, rice, or cotton. The husbandman is nourished and clothed from his own ground; or, if he thinks it more his interest to sell the whole of his own produce, supplies himself and family with the necessaries of life from his neighbour, or from the next public market.

‘In the British West India islands, the value of a seasoned ordinary man-slave, in the prime of life, is about 60*l.*, say 600 current rupees, and the interest of money is there about six per cent.; consequently, 36 current rupees per annum is the value of the stock per head, supposing the stock permanent;\* which is more than the average price of labour in this country. The death of the slaves decreases the stock in the proportion, taking the matter in a general view, that the number of slaves born in the island are insufficient to keep up the requisite number without importation from Africa. **THE BENGAL PEASANTRY ARE FREEMEN**; and are, in the usual course of nature, replaced by their children.

‘Other circumstances have their effects. The West India slave

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\* ‘The interest of money invested in the purchase of slaves cannot be fairly reckoned at less than 10 per cent., but this is independent of the food and clothing and medical attendance, &c., which the slave requires; of the taxes paid for him; and of the various other disadvantages accompanying slavery.’

has no interest in the success of his labour. A good crop alleviates not his condition; a bad one renders it not worse, while he receives his daily ration of European or American grain and salt provision. There is no cheering motive to animate his industry. The proprietor of the estate often resides in Europe, and leaves the management to hired servants, to the consequences of whose knavery and negligence he is open, while his slaves are exposed to their want of humanity.

‘The Bengal peasant is actuated by the ordinary wants and desires of mankind. His family assist his labour, and soothe his toil, and the sharp eye of personal interest guides his judgment.

‘In the West Indies, the whole labour of the ground is performed by hand, with the spade or hoe. Here the ox and plough, as in Europe, lessen the labour of man, and facilitate the productions of the earth.’

The above lucid and satisfactory statement is followed by a great number of reports from the residents and collectors in different provinces belonging to the Presidency of Bengal, and extending through more than two hundred closely-printed folio pages. In these reports there is not a single syllable to be found which contradicts the view given of the subject by the Bengal Board of Trade. On the contrary, the existence of slavery, as a condition of society in Bengal, is not once alluded to by any of the reporters; although, had the cultivation of sugar been conducted by slave-labour, it would have been impossible for them to have avoided the recognition of it. They have given us a variety of minute and detailed calculations of the cost of raising sugar; but the value of slaves, or the expense of maintaining them, is not once hinted at. There is no more allusion to slave-labour in any part of those numerous and voluminous reports, than there would be to slave-labour, in a report on the expense of cultivating wheat in this country; or than there would be to the hire of free labourers in a report on the expense attending the culture of sugar in Jamaica, Barbadoes, or the Mauritius.

We subjoin one of these estimates, the first that presents itself, to which all the others will be found to be exact counterparts, in this respect, at least, that they all speak of hired labour, and never once allude, in the remotest degree, to slave-labour:—

‘From Mr. Fletcher, Resident at Radnagore. Estimate of the expense attending one bigah of sugar-cane, and boiling the same into Jaggree (p. 150).

“Rent .....	S.R.	3	0	0
Plants .....		3	0	0
Preparing and planting 22 coolies, weeding 5, earthing plants 6, watering 15, tying the leaves, 24, in all 72 coolies .....		6	0	0
Carried over.		12	0	0

	Brought forward	12	0	0
Ploughing eight days .....		3	12	2
Cutting the cane 20 coolies (labourers), grinding the cane, and boiling the juice into jaggree 54, in all 74 coolies .....		6	2	8
Sursam seed, a little with each plant .....		2	0	0
Straw for fire with dried cane .....		1	0	0
Jars and pots .....		1	0	0
		22	14	4

We have seen what is stated on this subject by the Board of Trade. The members of that Board must have resided many years in Bengal before they could have been eligible to the situation they hold. They must, therefore, have been cognizant of the fact, whether sugar was, or was not, cultivated by slaves, as the members of the Supreme Council, to whom their observations were addressed, must also have been. They, however, distinctly represent the cultivation in the Bengal provinces to be conducted by free-labour, in contradistinction to the slave-labour of the West Indies. We also find that in not one of the estimates which were transmitted from the various provinces of Bengal to this Board, is the very slightest allusion made to slave-labour, as forming a constituent part of the charge of cultivating sugar. But this is not all; even this conclusive evidence is further strengthened by incidental notices of the most unequivocal kind, occurring in different parts of these reports, and which abundantly confirm the correctness of the assertion that sugar is not cultivated in Bengal by slaves. We cite a few examples:—

‘Mr. Udney, the Resident at Malda, in a letter dated Feb. 18, 1793, thus writes:

‘The expense of cultivating one bigah’ (about 1,600 square feet) ‘is estimated at Rs. 8. 8, whereof the particulars are,

Hire of ploughs, oxen, &c. ....	Rs. 1	12	0
Cooly (labourer's) hire .....	0	14	0
Ditto, weeding, eight times .....	4	0	0
Ditto, cutting, and bringing earth. ....	0	8	0
Ditto, tying canes, four times. ....	1	0	0
Petty charges .....	0	6	0
	8	8	0

‘The quantity of canes produced per bigah is estimated at 8000, value Rs. 13.

‘When a ryot employs hired servants alone to cultivate his land, his profit is estimated at Rs. 1.8. per crop per bigah; but few if any ryots do pay for the whole labour bestowed on their land, but cultivate in part with the members of their own family; and, inso-much as a ryot is able to employ them in cultivating the land, and

looking after the canes, so much he gains : thus the profit he derives per bigah per crop may be averaged at four to six rupees.'

Mr. Cheap, the President at Soonamooky, in a letter, dated February 14, 1793, takes occasion to observe, that 'The ryots possess no capital, and therefore are unable to purchase a sufficiency of *manure* to prepare their grounds.' (p. 154.) He does not say (nor does any one else, when treating, as they frequently do, of the same point, the deficiency of capital) that that deficiency disables the cultivators from purchasing a sufficiency of *slaves* to prepare their grounds; (this is what would naturally have occurred to West Indians, or to any who treated of cultivation by slave labour :) but only that it disables them from purchasing a sufficiency of *manure*.

Mr. Treves, resident at Benares, in a long report, dated April, 1793, wherein he discusses the advantages which the native ryot possesses in cultivating the cane, as compared with the supposed case of a European capitalist, who must '*give daily wages to all his people*,' observes, that as the ryot's '*whole family work upon it*, the necessity of having daily labourers is entirely removed;' and that '*as to superintendence, it costs him nothing*.' He adds, that the estimates which he submits to the Supreme Government, are 'grounded on the *supposition* that all labour, assistance, &c., bestowed or applied, has been paid for according to the usual rates of the country; or, in other words, those rates are calculated at what the cultivation would probably cost, were it carried on by a person not possessed of the natural local advantages of the ryot, and who would be obliged to pay the *hire of labourers* and of bullocks, and the cost of manure, &c., &c., during every stage, from the first ploughing of the field to the final expression of the cane-juice.'

In these calculations, Mr. Treves never once contemplates the purchase or employment of *slaves*. Slaves are never mentioned or even alluded to. The only substitute for hired labour which he ever hints at, is the labour of the farmer's own household. In like manner, the Board of Trade, in making an abstract of the different statements that had been sent to them, and estimating the average cost of cultivating the cane and manufacturing the sugar at Rs. 20 per bigah, observe, (p. 119,) that this abstract '*supposes labourers and instruments to be hired*. But the actual outlay to a husbandman, possessing oxen and proper implements of husbandry, working on his own account, and assisted by his family, is estimated at Rs. 10.4. per bigah. This difference is considerable; but it is limited by the extent of labour to which the family is competent.'

Another document to which we may allude, is a letter, addressed to the Government of Bengal, by Mr. W. Fitzmaurice, (p. 210 — 216), in which a minute comparison is instituted between the mode and the expense of cultivating sugar in the West Indies and in Bengal. Mr. Fitzmaurice had lived as a sugar planter in Jamaica for



sixteen years. 'From the luxuriance and fertility of this country,' (Bengal) he observes, 'I think it is amply competent to the supply of all Europe with sugars; and that even the West India planters themselves might import them hence on much easier terms than they can afford to sell sugars in the curing houses on their own plantations. Indeed, the waste lands, occupied by the tigers, between this (Calcutta) and Ingelee, would produce nearly as much sugar as the island of Jamaica; and, as to labour, thousands of labourers may be had, by the day or week, or month or year, at two annas per day, or three rupees per month, the highest here given,'— 'And inasmuch as the cultivation of the sugar-cane destroys annually, in the West, thousands of men, women, and children, by incessant toil, it will save the lives of thousands in the East, by giving them employment and sustenance.' He then compares the estimated profits of a Jamaica estate, yielding one hundred and fifty tons of sugar, and cultivated by a gang of two hundred slaves of all ages, with those of a plantation in Bengal, capable of producing the same quantity. In the latter case, there is no mention whatever made of slaves; but, in their stead, we have 'two hundred labourers at three rupees per month, including tradesmen.'

The whole of this mass of testimony, Mr. Marryat and his successors, Messrs. Macqueen and Saintsbury, have found it convenient to pass over in silence. Calculating on the deep and almost universal ignorance of the British public in regard to India, and on the long-prevailing disinclination, even among intelligent men, to prosecute minutely any inquiry into the actual condition of the inhabitants of our immense Eastern empire, they most disingenuously leave out of view the facts and statements which clearly prove that Bengal sugar is raised entirely by free and not by slave-labour; and by collecting together a number of isolated expressions, half paragraphs, and half sentences, and ingeniously twisting and turning these from their natural import, as may best serve the purpose they have in view, they contrive to give an air of plausibility to their fallacious assertions. The author of the 'Letter to Mr. Whitmore,' after exhibiting some flagrant specimens of this sort in Mr. Marryat's pamphlet, proceeds to refute some of his further statements as follows:—

'But I have hitherto pointed out but a small part of the unfairness which is justly chargeable on Mr. Marryat's representations on this subject. "The existence of slavery in Bengal," he says, "is admitted by the East India Directors, although the description of it" (the description of it, that is to say, what he had previously cited) "is softened in a manner not easily reconcilable with the accounts already quoted." All who read this passage would conclude that Mr. M. was here referring to authorities previously quoted by him, in proof of the existence and harshness of slavery in

*Bengal.* What, then, will be their surprise to find that the only authorities he had previously quoted, and to which he here refers, disproving the assertion that sugar in *Bengal* is not cultivated by slave-labour, are drawn, not from any account of Bengal, but from an account of some newly-ceded provinces, at the distance of more than one thousand miles from Bengal, and quite on the opposite side of the peninsula of India! This method of proving his point is the more remarkable, because it is now a second time deliberately resorted to, notwithstanding a complete exposure of its disingenuousness in the very pamphlet to which he is replying. He here repeats the refuted statement, without deigning to notice the decisive refutation it had received.

‘Great Britain had just come into possession of certain provinces in the southern part of the peninsula, which had been subject either to the Nabob of Arcot, or to the Sultan of Mysore. Dr. F. Buchanan was employed to examine their state, and to report upon it. From his report, which was afterwards published under the title of “A Journey from Madras, through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, in 1800,” it appears that in some of these newly-acquired provinces, slavery was to be found. Mr. M. quotes these instances, to prove that sugar in *Bengal* is cultivated by slaves. From the beginning to the end of his journey, however, Dr. B. does not approach within a thousand miles of the Bengal provinces; and his work might, therefore, be quoted with as much truth and fairness in proof of the existence of slavery in Japan, as in Bengal.

‘But it is further remarkable, that the proofs to which the author of the Reply has chosen principally to refer, as establishing the fact that the sugars brought to this country from India are cultivated by slaves, respect provinces from which no sugar is exported to this or to any other country. Dr. Buchanan himself makes this statement in one of the very chapters from which Mr. Marryat labours to prove his point; affirming, that sugar is absolutely required to be imported thither for the consumption of the inhabitants.

‘But the most remarkable circumstance of all remains to be noticed. It is this; that the East India Report, to which the author of the Reply so often refers, and from which he has gleaned, with so much care, every expression which can be made to serve his purpose, actually contains a survey by this same Dr. Buchanan of several of the Bengal provinces. This survey Mr. M. has chosen wholly to overlook, while he goes with the surveyor on his tour to the Mysore and Malabar, picking up every mention he makes of slavery in his account of those regions, in order to apply it to the provinces of Bengal, which are a thousand miles off, and this in the very teeth of Dr. B.’s own detailed account of those provinces.

‘“The Statistical Survey of the Districts of Dinajpur, Rongopur, Puraniya, Bhagalpur, Behar, and Patna, Shahabad and Ghorakpur,”

by this same Dr. Francis Buchanan, now Dr. Hamilton, between 1809 and 1814, occupies seventeen closely-printed folio pages of the East India Report. But not one line of his survey of those Bengal provinces could be found to serve Mr. M.'s purpose. He is obliged to recur to the Doctor's survey of the ceded provinces in the Mysore, for his proofs of slavery in Bengal. Dr. B. not only does not mention slavery as existing there, but there are in his survey many passages which more decisively disprove the employment of slaves in the culture or manufacture of sugar, than if he had specifically denied the fact.

'In Dinajpur, (Appendix III. p. 23), he represents the neighbouring farmers as uniting to take off each other's crops of sugar, the only person that is hired being the sugar-broker. In a detailed estimate of the expense of a particular sugar manufactory, (p. 29), he refers only to hired labour.

'In Rongopur, he states the expense of the mill as follows :—

' To mill and boiler . . . . .	Rs. 9 8
To seven labourers' wages for four months, a 10 annas	17 8
To food for the same . . . . .	17 8
To 10 sers of extract for each . . . . .	2 0
To the wages of the head man, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ Rupees . . . . .	6 0
To seven gundas of cowries on each pot of juice, for the proprietor of the mill . . . . .	4 8

' Similar statements are made with respect to the other provinces in Bengal surveyed by Dr. Buchanan.'

But if Mr. Marryat, able controversialist as he was, was reduced to the degrading necessity of employing such gross unfairness in attempting to bolster up an argument which the first breath of criticism levelled in the dust, he fell infinitely short, in this respect, of the mendacious audacity of Mr. Macqueen and Mr. Saintsbury. The latter (to whom we shall for the present restrict ourselves) has carried the trickery of supporting a weak cause by unfair artifices farther than we recollect any other recent instance of. He has not only adopted the various fallacious arts of which Mr. Marryat had been formerly convicted, and in regard to the very same refuted statements, but he has systematically garbled, more or less, a great proportion of the extracts which he takes from the parliamentary documents. Sometimes he does this by omitting the sentence or paragraph which immediately precedes or follows his quotation, and which would either modify its application or prove something directly the reverse of what he maintains; sometimes he omits part of a sentence which does not suit his purpose; and occasionally he actually interpolates expressions of his own, which he prints as if part of the quotation, though entirely at variance with the letter as well as the spirit of the passage. We state this without hesitation, after having followed him carefully through the whole of the ponderous volume of documents,

entitled 'Slavery in India,' which he appears to have investigated most industriously in search of—what they do not in the slightest degree furnish—evidence that the sugar imported hither from India as the produce of free labour, is in reality raised by the labour of slaves. In his anxiety both to furnish 'evidence' on this point, and to exhibit the condition of the Hindoo slaves as absolutely much worse than that of the Negro slaves of our sugar islands, Mr. Saintsbury produces such passages as the following. We give his quotation and the passage as it actually stands in the book, in smaller type, in order to exhibit more distinctly his mode of adducing 'evidence':—

*Mr. Saintsbury's Quotation.*

'In regard to the treatment of masters towards their slaves, it does not appear to be incumbent on them to afford a subsistence to their slaves, except when employed on their business, and then it is on the lowest scale of allowance, being generally no more than two measures of *paddy* a day; at other times their slaves are obliged to seek a livelihood at the hands of others, being bound to return to their masters when the season of cultivation again commences.'—p. 841.

*Parliamentary Papers.*

'In regard to the treatment of masters towards their slaves, it does not appear to be incumbent on them to afford a subsistence to their slaves, except when employed on their business, and then it is on the lowest scale of allowance, being generally no more than two measures of *paddy* a day; at other times their slaves are obliged to seek a livelihood at the hands of others, being bound to return to their masters when the season of cultivation again commences; besides this allowance, however, which the slaves receive from their masters on working days, they are *entitled*, when the crops are reaped, to a small deduction from the gross produce, called here "*paroo*," which varies in different villages, but amounts generally to about 2½ per cent.; and it is usual, when deaths occur amongst them, for their masters to assist them in the necessary funeral expenses; and on marriages, births, and festival days, to grant them presents, according as their circumstances will admit; but these are acts quite voluntary on the part of their masters, and the slave, it appears, can claim nothing more than a bare subsistence while he works, and his *soluterum*, as above described, in the time of harvest.

'All punishment of the slave by the master, if this power ever existed, and was recognised in former times, seems now to be at an end; and there is no instance, I am happy to say, within my experience in this district, of a slave complaining of *ill-treatment* from his master; the fact, indeed, appears to be, that the slave is so necessary to cultivation, and labourers are so scarce, that the proprietors find it their interest to protect and treat them well, and the slaves in time become so attached to the village in which they are settled, that they seem not to consider their situation, nor to show any desire to be free and independent.'—p. 841.

Now, on the above specimen we shall only briefly remark, that besides being a proof of Mr. Saintsbury's usual unfairness in quotation, it also exhibits his utter disingenuousness in other respects;

for instead of applying to Bengal where sugar is cultivated, it applies ~~only~~ to the state of slavery in Tinnevely, near Cape Comerin, being an extract from a report of the collector, Mr. Cotton, to the Revenue Board of Fort St. George, in reply to queries respecting the best means of 'bettering the condition' of the servile castes in that district. It shows, too, that slavery there, as in almost every other part of India where it is known, is in reality a species of villeinage, very different indeed from the Negro slavery eulogised by such writers as Saintsbury and Macqueen.

We can only find room for one more specimen of Mr. Saintsbury's mode of quotation. He gives the following as if it were a general picture of the condition of the slaves, whom he alleges are the sugar cultivators of the East:—

'A large portion of our most industrious subjects (says the Madras Revenue Board) are at present totally deprived of a free market for their labour, restricted by inheritance to a mere subsistence, and sold and transferred with the land which they till, confined to a condition scarcely superior to that of the cattle which they follow at the plough.'—p. 618.

On turning to the passage, however, the reader will find it to be part of a long minute addressed to the Court of Directors by the Madras Board of Revenue, respecting the condition of the labouring castes in that Presidency, and that the clause selected by Mr. Saintsbury relates exclusively to the serf population of the district of Tamil. After describing the condition and particular privileges of the Tamil serfs, the Board remarks, in general terms, that 'there cannot be a doubt that the slavery prevalent among the lower classes of Hindoos is of a very different and opposite nature from that so strongly and justly reprobated in England, inasmuch as foreign traffic, or external commerce in slaves, is quite different from domestic slavery;' then, after observing that even in this modified condition of slavery, the individual character of the master must still greatly influence the treatment of the bondman, the paragraph concludes as follows, those words in italics having been omitted by Mr. Saintsbury:—

'When we reflect on those evils that are inseparable from even the mildest state of slavery, and consider how large a portion of our most industrious subjects are at present totally deprived of a free market for their labour, restricted by inheritance to a mere subsistence, and sold and transferred with the land which they till, *policy no less than humanity would appear to dictate the propriety of gradually relieving them from those restrictions which have reduced them, and must otherwise continue to confine them to a condition scarcely superior to that of the cattle which they follow at the plough.*'

These specimens, taken almost at random from the mass of misquotations with which this writer supports his representations, are

enough to shew the *animus* and *object* of the pamphlet, and may relieve us from the trouble of bestowing on it much farther attention, though to the subject of slavery in India we purpose speedily to return. Some remarks in the last Number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, will sum up all that it seems necessary further to say with reference to Mr. Saintsbury and his compeers.

‘The whole effect on the public mind, produced by Mr. Saintsbury and others, proceeds from their wilful and deliberate misrepresentations of the documents to which they refer. They quote, as applicable to Bengal, passages which have a reference only to the Malabar coast. The existence of slavery, for instance, in some recently ceded district on the Malabar side of India, is made to prove that sugar is cultivated by slaves in Bengal. The voluminous collection of documents, printed by the East India Company in 1823, furnishes the most decisive and irrefragable proofs—(every page is full of them)—that the whole of the agriculture of the Bengal provinces is conducted by free labour. On this fact there can be no controversy with any honest reader of these documents. But, in order to overthrow this mass of testimony, what do such writers as Mr. Saintsbury do? They resort to statements which refer to quite another part of the world, and apply them to Bengal; and they hope to evade detection, because Malabar and Bengal are both in Asia or in India. They might, with equal conclusiveness, prove that corn is grown in Great Britain by slave labour, because there happen to be slaves in Russia. The only sugar, however, which we receive from India comes from Bengal. Malabar imports sugar from abroad for its own consumption.

‘There is another pamphlet, published in 1824, which is equally conclusive on this point as the letter to Mr. Whitmore. It is entitled, “East India Sugar, or an Inquiry respecting the means of improving the quality and reducing the cost of sugar raised by free labour in the East Indies.”

‘But if there were no such pamphlets in existence, the statements of Sir Edward Hyde East and Mr. Hume, in the House of Commons, on the 1st of March, 1826, would of themselves be sufficient to refute every syllable published by Mr. Saintsbury, or a thousand such writers. Sir E. H. East is a large Jamaica proprietor, who had filled for years the situation of Chief Justice in Bengal. He denied, in the most explicit terms, that slavery was recognised by law as a condition of society in Bengal; and Mr. Hume added, that he had been much in Bengal, and from what he knew of society there, he could undertake confidently to say, that there were no agricultural slaves there.

‘Let a single extract more on this subject suffice for the present. It is taken from the letter to Mr. Whitmore, already referred to. The letter quotes the testimony of the Bengal Board of Trade, of the 7th of August, 1792, to the following effect, as contained in the

First Appendix to the East India Company's great volume, printed in 1823, pp. 51 to 60. "In this country (Bengal) the cultivator is either the immediate proprietor of the ground, or he hires it, as in Europe, of the proprietor, and uses his discretion in cultivating what he thinks best adapted to the nature of the soil or the demand of the market. One field produces sugar, the next wheat, rice, or cotton. The husbandman is nourished and clothed from his own ground; or, if he thinks it more to his interest to sell the whole of his own produce, supplies himself and family with the necessaries of life from his neighbours, on the next public market." Contrasting their state with that of slaves in the West Indies, it is added, "The Bengal peasantry are freemen." "The Bengal peasant is actuated by the ordinary wants and desires of mankind. His family assist his labour and soothe his toil, and the sharp eye of personal interest guides his judgment." This statement is followed by a great variety of reports from the presidents and collectors in the different provinces of Bengal, and extending through more than 200 closely printed folio pages. The existence of slavery, as a condition of society in Bengal, is not once alluded to in any one of these reports, although they give us a variety of minute and detailed calculations of the cost of raising sugar. Slaves are never mentioned; and the only substitute for hired labour ever hinted at, is the labour of the farmer's household.

We shall conclude for the present with the following appropriate passages from the 'Letter to Mr. Whitmore,' already so often referred to:—

'The following remarks, also, are important. The author of them, Mr. Botham, was well acquainted with the culture of sugar both in the West and East Indies. He thus states his opinion on the subject:—"The culture of the cane in the West Indies is in its infancy. Many alterations are to be made; expences and human labour lessened. The hoe, now used to turn up soils of different textures is of one construction, cheap and very light, so that the negro, without any help from its weight, digs up the earth and the cane roots, on re-planting, by the severest exertion. In the East we plough up the cane roots.

"Having experienced the difference of labourers for profit and labourers from force, I can assert, that the savings by the former are very considerable. The West-India planter, for his own interest, should give more labour to beast and less to man. A larger portion of his estate ought to be in pasture. When practicable, canes should be carried to the mill, and cane tops and grass to the stock in waggons. The custom of making a hard-worked negro get a bundle of grass twice a day should be abolished, and, in short, a total change take place in the miserable management of our West India islands." "Let it be considered how much labour is lost by the persons overseeing the forced labourer, which is saved when he works for his own profit. I have stated with the strictest veracity.

a plain matter of fact : sugar-estates can be worked cheaper by free persons than slaves."

' I might, however, have spared both you and myself all this accumulation of evidence to prove that sugar is not cultivated in Bengal by slaves. Mr. Marryat himself has proved it in a single sentence, which, to the apprehension of every just reasoner in political economy, will be found to present a complete and satisfactory refutation of all he had been labouring to establish on this subject. The sentence is this :—" Labour in India is of so little value, that probably the claims to servitude are not enforced, because they are not worth enforcing." This is perfectly just, and it proves, more incontestibly than a thousand arguments, that slavery, at least in the West India sense, can have no real existence in Bengal. But then Mr. Marryat fears lest a new demand for labour, caused by the increased cultivation of sugar, should revive slavery there, and create a new slave-trade. I trust, however, that Mr. Marryat and his friends will unite to prevent the possibility of such a result. We have his virtual admission, in the very fact of the cheapness of labour, that slavery can have no real existence in Bengal; and I am persuaded, that not only will the Government of India be sufficiently awake to the rights of its subjects, but that all parties in the House of Commons, however they may differ about the extinction of West India slavery, will join in one concurrent effort to withstand the very first approximation either to the revival, in that part of the British dominions, of any of the obsolete rights of servitude, or to any practice which shall have the remotest affinity to the accursed slave-trade.

' Independently, indeed, of this admission of Mr. Marryat's on the subject of the cheapness of wages, the fact that the labours of husbandry are chiefly conducted in Bengal by the occupier of the soil, aided by his own family, would, to all who know any thing of the genius of slavery, as it exists in the British colonies, be quite decisive of the question.

' If, however, any doubt, or even a shadow of a doubt, shall still remain on this important question, I trust that the West Indians will agree to the appointment of a committee for its thorough elucidation. It is clearly no matter of indifference, whether one hundred millions of British subjects enjoy the protection of law as freemen, or are placed in the same degrading state of personal slavery, in which the whole labouring population of our West-Indian colonies are confessedly placed. Abundance of living testimony upon this point is easily accessible; and if they are desirous of ascertaining the truth respecting it, with a view to the essential interests of humanity, they will not object to this course.

' Let no one then imagine, that, although I contend that the sugar we receive from Bengal is not cultivated by slaves, I am therefore



disposed to screen whatever slavery may be found in any part of India from inquiry and suppression. Unhappily, there exists in India many practices which are in the highest degree cruel and barbarous, and in some districts personal slavery may still prevail. There is this difference, however, between the slavery of the East and of the West—that of the latter, we ourselves are the sole authors, and are chargeable, therefore with its whole guilt and turpitude. In the East, whatever slavery exists we found there; we did not ourselves create it; it was the fruit of Pagan, Mohammedan, or Portuguese rule; and will, I trust, soon disappear before the superior benignity of our paternal and Christian institutions. The matter is, doubtless, highly deserving of attention; and, I trust, if a committee should be appointed to investigate it, that the result will be, that whatever vestige may yet remain of personal slavery within the bounds of our Indian Empire, will be speedily and for ever effaced. I only wish that the West Indians would join us as cordially in abolishing the slavery of the West Indies, as we should be forward in uniting with them, to abolish not only slavery, but every inhuman practice still tolerated in the East.

## TO MY LAMP.

*From an Anonymous Arabic Poet.*

PALE lamp, that spread'st thy light around  
 To cheer me midst the gloom profound!  
 A lover too, thou can'st not sleep,  
 But must thy vigils with me keep.  
 Yet though, like me, a wasting flame,  
 Thy fate and mine are not the same;  
 The tears which *I* in anguish shed,  
 While rolling on my troubled bed,  
 In colour to my eyes outvie  
 The red cornelian's liquid dye;  
 But those which *thou* in silence pours,—  
 (Silent as is the march of hours,)—  
 Resemble, to my aching view,  
 The melted gold's less fatal hue.  
 Soon shall the morn its radiance send,  
 And to thy watchings bring an end;  
 Then shall *thy* flame its burning cease,  
 And leave thee for a time in peace:  
 But *mine*! its ardour *never* tires;  
 I burn like hell's own quenchless fires!

ACT FOR THE RELIEF OF INSOLVENT DEBTORS IN THE EAST  
INDIES.—9 Geo. IV. c. 73.

WE have great pleasure in publishing the following letter on the subject of the Act, lately passed, for the Relief of the Insolvent Debtors of India. In doing so, we beg leave to assure our correspondent, that our silence upon the subject has not been occasioned by any doubt of the justice and expediency of the law, or by any unwillingness to give publicity to measures which indicate a disposition to improve the condition of our fellow-subjects in the East.

The increase of important questions, connected with the Government of India, and the public notoriety of the nature and object of Mr. Wynne's Bill, have hitherto induced us to defer a formal notice of its enactments, until its effects on the commercial classes of India, and on the general tone and habits of society, have been ascertained. In the meantime we are very thankful for the friendly intimations of those who think us in any respect wanting; and if Bengalensis know of other benefactors to India, whose good works have hitherto been unnoticed, they will, on his suggestion, be cheerfully recorded in 'The Oriental Herald.' Of the Indian policy of Ministers, during the Presidency of Mr. Wynne at the Board of Control, we have often had occasion to express our opinion. The apologist of Lord Amherst's administration in the House of Commons, was, unquestionably, no sinecurist; and Mr. Wynne occasionally earned, as a public organ, more of censure than he individually deserved. It is due to him to say, that when in office, he devoted himself unreservedly to the performance of his arduous duties, that he set a noble example to public men in the disposal of his Indian patronage; that he introduced many valuable reforms in the administration of civil justice, and that he still continues to evince a disinterested solicitude for the improvement and welfare of India. Of Mr. Hume it is unnecessary to speak.

*To the Editor of 'The Oriental Herald.'*

London, Sept. 12, 1829.

SIR—I purchased a few days ago, the heads of Mr. Buckingham's Lectures, at which I was very much pleased. I happened to be one of those men, that witnessed Mr. B's. early rise in India, I also witnessed his downfall; but I was aware that a powerful genius like his could not long be trampled on. He has fulfilled all the predictions of his friends; he has even surpassed himself, and it is mainly to him we owe the excessive interest that is now taken in the affairs of India. There is one subject, however, that he has not even noticed, and I confess, I am more than usually surprised when I know him to be the proud champion of the liberties of Britons, the bold assertor of their rights, and the declared enemy of all

oppressors. I say, I am all astonishment that he could have passed ~~over~~ so important, so just, and so happy and desirable a measure as that of the Act of Parliament, last session, extending the Bankrupt Laws and Insolvent Acts to India. Surely, Sir, this was a glorious theme to comment upon. Imagine to yourself the care-worn, the despairing, the wasted jail-bird of Calcutta, cooped up in his room the whole of the hot and sultry day, stealing on the balcony of an evening to witness the gay equipages on the course, and the motley group, walking, riding or driving for health or for amusement; his heart sickens at the thoughts of his fetters, and his hopeless and endless imprisonment. Think, Sir, of all this, the many that died broken-hearted, and the few that now live, who have drank the bitter cup of misery in jail, in Calcutta, for five, seven, ten, and even fifteen years; for instance, Moore, that kept the Assembly-rooms, in Calcutta, and contributed, many a time and oft, to enliven the festive scene in that city of palaces: think of all this, Sir, and now, at one stroke of the pen, all is swept away, the prison-doors fly open, and our fellow-creatures breathe the air of liberty once again. Who would have thought that among these unfortunate beings we should ever have seen one of the most worthy, most benevolent, and most beloved of men, Robert M'Clintoch, Esq., who, by accounts from India, last October, was a prisoner in the jail of Calcutta!!! He, the protector of the poor, the father of the fatherless and widow!

The origin of this Act of Parliament was in 1826, when Mr. H. Howell, a free merchant of Bengal, presented a petition to Parliament, through Mr. Hume, detailing the miseries of the prisoners in India. Mr. Wynne, then President of the Board of Control, took the business in hand, and sent the Draft of a Bill to Calcutta, to be filled up there by the Judges, in a manner applicable to the wants and feelings of that country. It came back the end of 1827, and early in 1828, Mr. Wynne brought his Bill into Parliament, and in June of that year it received the royal assent, but not to commence in India till March, 1829. And I now hope it is in full operation, and that you will testify your opinion as to the necessity and justice of the Bill in question, both for debtors and creditors; as the former cannot now favour one creditor in particular, by paying him in full, and leaving ninety-nine without a rupee, as was often the case. At all events, the greatest praise is due to those gentlemen who were instrumental in obtaining this happy release for those unfortunates, and I trust their exertions will be properly estimated.

BENGALENSIS.

### PROGRESS OF MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LABOURS IN THE COUNTRY

WE continue to record the effects produced by the personal exertions which Mr. Buckingham continues to make throughout his route, for the purpose of drawing attention to India, and the important interests connected with our intercourse with that country and with China. After leaving Glasgow, at which our former notice of his labours ceased, he proceeded to Carlisle, and the following report will sufficiently prove the effect produced there.

#### *East India Association at Carlisle.*

At the close of Mr. Buckingham's last Lecture on the East India and China Monopoly, delivered at Carlisle, on the 26th of August, to a highly respectable audience, including a great number of the county gentlemen, who had been attending on the assizes, it was moved by John Dixon, Esq., seconded by William Halton, Esq., and carried by acclamation,

'That the cordial thanks of this meeting be tendered to Mr. Buckingham, for the able and agreeable manner in which he has opened to us the vast fund of his information respecting the trade with India and China; and that we offer him our best wishes for his health and continued success in the great cause which he is so effectually advocating.'

It was farther resolved,

'1. That as the period is now fast approaching when the East India Company's Charter of exclusive privileges will expire by law, it is highly desirable that the inhabitants of Carlisle, whose interests would be greatly promoted by the extension of their trade to India and China, should adopt some effectual method of securing these advantages to their city and neighbourhood by such legal and constitutional means as may unite all parties in the pursuit of so important an object.

'2. That as no single individual, however zealous, or however able, could hope to accomplish this without the aid of his fellow-citizens generally, it is expedient that an association should be immediately embodied, under the name of the "Carlisle East India Association," for the purpose of collecting the best information upon all points connected with the commerce of India and China, and of acting in concert with the East India Associations of Glasgow, Liverpool, and other great mercantile towns of the kingdom, in the prosecution of such measures as may be deemed best calculated to promote the opening of the rich and populous countries of the East, to the skill, capital, and enterprise, of all his Majesty's faithful subjects, who are now excluded from any participation in those very

privileges which are enjoyed to their fullest extent by foreigners of every description.'

These resolutions being put to the vote, were carried unanimously; and the following gentlemen immediately entered their names as members of a Provisional Committee, to form and organise the 'Carlisle East India Association' accordingly:—George Ferguson; William Wilde; Joseph Ferguson; William Halton; James Harrington; John Dixon; Joseph Ferguson; Ralph Forster, Whitehaven; John Watson; Peter Dixon, junior; and George Cohen.

From 'The Greenock Advertiser,' Sept. 4.

MR. BUCKINGHAM.—This gentleman concluded his course of Lectures on the India and China Monopoly, and the discussion of the important question, '*What will be done with India?*' on Wednesday evening. He was attended throughout by the most respectable inhabitants of Greenock, Port-Glasgow, and the neighbouring watering-places, who testified their high sense of his important labours, by loud and repeated cheerings. It gives us pleasure to announce to our readers, that he has complied with the earnest wish of several ladies and gentlemen, to deliver his lecture on Palestine and its holy places, this evening, in the Assembly Rooms, at seven o'clock. The Journals speak in the most unqualified manner of the deep interest which is excited by his description of the Holy Land, and the impression which it leaves<sup>on</sup> the minds of his audience; and if he enter upon this lofty and arduous subject with his usual simplicity, distinctness, and energy, it cannot fail to be listened to with breathless attention, embracing, as it does, a description of Tyre, Sidon, Jerusalem, and the Mount of Olives, the tomb of our Saviour, and the various worshippers who resort to it; the Land of Uz, and the valley of Jehosaphat; the seas, lakes, rivers, and plains; and the manners, religion, population, and government of the people. These, with many illustrations of Scripture—particularly of passages difficult to comprehend, but which in the hands of so acute and attentive an observer as Mr. Buckingham, and so intimately acquainted with the customs and language of the Eastern World as he is, cannot fail to be equally interesting to the Divine, and the Christian World in general.

As an orator, Mr. Buckingham is entitled to rank amongst the first, in the first rank of extempore speakers. He is never at a loss for language, distinct and appropriate, in which to clothe his ideas, which flow upon him in quick and fervid succession, each one loftier and mightier than that which preceded it. His voice is clear and agreeable, and capable of every variety of modulation and tone,—he is cool or impassioned, serious or jocular, pathetic or indignant, encouraging or commanding, as the nature of the subject which he is discussing requires; his feelings are always in accordance with

it,—like his language, illustration, and instructive anecdotes, they are always under his command. The same may be said of his gesticulation; it is chaste and varied, and adapted to the nature of his discourse. It seems to come upon him unsought for—he could not repress it if he wished to do so. Indeed, we venture to say, that, in the eagerness to reach the understanding and conviction of his hearers, he is scarcely aware that he uses an arm, yet he is never caught in an ungraceful attitude. The East India Company never had an opponent so powerful, and completely fitted to expose the evils of the exclusive privileges which they have so long enjoyed. Our enterprising merchants we are sure will follow up the proceedings which they have already adopted, and unite with the other great commercial towns in the kingdom, in lending their aid to remove the disabilities under which they have so long laboured.

We are glad to understand that, in consideration of the vast fund of information which Mr. Buckingham has conveyed to them on this most important subject, and in testimony of their admiration of his character and talents, several of the principal merchants of Greenock are to give Mr. Buckingham a dinner in the Tontine Hotel, and afterwards accompany him to the Lecture Room.

*From 'The Greenock Advertiser,' Sept. 8.*

DINNER TO MR. BUCKINGHAM.—The strong and general interest excited by the delivery of Mr. Buckingham's lectures in this town, so increased with each succeeding day, that a number of the principal inhabitants came to a resolution to manifest their approbation of this gentleman's labours, and their concurrence in his views, by entertaining him with a dinner at the Tontine hotel, on Friday evening last, just before his setting out for Edinburgh. Bailie Leitch, Chief Magistrate, in the chair; James Watt, Esq., croupier.

In the course of the evening, various toasts were proposed, in harmony with the spirit of the meeting, which was addressed by the Chief Magistrate, by Mr. Buckingham, Mr. Wallace, of Kelly, Mr. Watt, Mr. Thom, Mr. Fairrie, and others. In these, the principal topics were, the evils under which the whole country is now labouring, in consequence of its productive powers being so great, while the existing markets for consumption are all supplied; and the indispensable necessity, therefore, of claiming from the Legislature a free admission to all the markets of the globe to which our power extends.

When the health of Mr. Wallace was given, allusion was made to his being a large West India proprietor, who had the intelligence, experience, and the liberality to admit that the interests of the class to which he belonged, ought no more to be maintained by a monopoly than the interests of the East India Company, but that fair competition and equal protection should be granted to all

branches of property or trade. Mr. Wallace, in a very feeling and happy manner, expressed his entire concurrence in this view of the subject, and showed, by references to his past opinions and actions, as well as by the conduct of the people of Greenock itself, that even if it had been otherwise, and that partial evil might be expected, which he did not, however, apprehend, both his conscience and the example set him by the public-spirited merchants of this port, would concur in inducing him not to think of setting up his own individual interests as an obstacle to the accomplishment of a great public good.

This speech was followed by a second, from Mr. Buckingham, in which, having already expatiated on the interests of the East India Trade, he undertook to show, and that by fact and argument in detail, that if the question merely turned upon the admission of East India sugar only, as a free article from the East, the interest of the sugar-growers in these might be supposed likely to suffer; but taking all the other articles of Indian produce into account, and more especially the opening of China, and the highly improved state of all the countries which might, if the existing monopoly were abolished, engage in a commerce with the East, it was certain that a much larger quantity of all kinds of colonial produce would be required than is now supplied, and that, therefore, the West Indies might still hold their ground, and even participate in the general benefits which the opening of the East would give to all classes of producers. His subject was pursued at much greater length than our brief outline would embrace, and its reception was such as to show that it was cordially and reciprocally entertained.

Mr. Fairrie stated, in which he was followed and confirmed by the Chief Magistrate and Mr. Watt, that at the last expiration of the Charter, the merchants of Greenock were the first in the field to oppose its renewal. They had derived considerable information and some impetus towards the cause from Mr. T. Attwood, the public-spirited and intelligent banker, of Birmingham; and as early as the year 1811, they sent up a deputation, which was soon after joined by one from Hull, though the country generally did not engage in the struggle until long after. In May last, also, there was a public meeting held at Greenock, and another of the county of Renfrewshire (the only county meeting yet held in the kingdom on this occasion), at both of which strong resolutions were passed, committees formed, and every preparatory step taken to enter into more active operations when the time for action arrives; so that the spirit has continued here as vigorous as at first, and will now be in no danger of abatement.

The entertainment was altogether one of the most agreeable description, equally honourable to the givers and the receiver: and notwithstanding that most of the individuals had, on the preceding evening, been engaged in the festivities of opening the Royal

Exchange at Glasgow, there was as much freshness, vivacity, and even enthusiasm, as if the longest interval had intervened between.

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LECTURE ON PALESTINE.—This lecture was attended on Friday evening by the most numerous and fashionable audience we have ever seen within the walls of the Assembly Room. The Orator spoke for more than three hours. The breathless silence with which he was listened to, interrupted occasionally by immense cheering, evinced the intense interest that prevailed. The audience were completely under his sway—they could no more resist the impression he wished to make, or fail to catch a portion of his spirit, than he himself could resist the impulse of deep feeling with which he was borne away. It was indeed a highly interesting and imposing discourse—one continued and unconstrained torrent of eloquence, 'deep, fervid, limitless, and strong.' We will not lessen the effect which it produced by attempting even an outline of it. It is much to be regretted that he did not favour us with his lectures on Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia, they would have been as much appreciated in Greenock as any other town which Mr. Buckingham has visited. Indeed, if he had time to do so, previous to his departure from Scotland, we feel assured that it would repay for his labour.

In our last we stated that he was the most powerful opponent the East India Company ever had. He seems to have been destined for the task, and we are much mistaken if he do not sap the foundation of this odious monopoly, and eventually overturn it altogether. There is a union of every quality in him for the work.—Oratory, natural and unassuming—energy, determination, and an inexhaustible fund of information—a heart sympathising with the woes of suffering humanity—a philanthropy which embraces in one wide grasp the myriads of our fellow creatures who are still immersed in the darkness of superstition. The mercantile world cannot but follow and support him, the Christian world cannot but aid him with their prayers, for the successful issue of his crusade; for a wider field never was opened for Christian benevolence than will be opened at the expiration, we trust, of the present charter.

*From 'The Edinburgh Scotsman,' Sept. 9.*

MR. BUCKINGHAM.—We were present at the lecture on Monday evening, which was attended by nearly 500 persons, of both sexes, from the most respectable classes in this city. It was delivered with great animation, and with that happy urbanity of manner which constitutes the great charm of Mr. Buckingham's elocution. On the motion of Mr. Spittal, the thanks of the meeting were voted to him by acclamation for his great exertions in rousing the public mind to a sense of the importance of the India question. We intended to enter at some length into one or two of the subjects he touched upon, but the space and time we have found it necessary to devote to other matters will not permit us. We may state how-



ever, generally, that while we think highly of his ingenuity, we dissent widely from him in several points, and in spite of all his eloquence, do consider some of his suggestions too Utopian for practice.\* Still the lecture contained a great deal of valuable matter. His reply to the vote of thanks was felicitous.

The following resolutions were passed at the times and places named, with reference to this subject, and were presented to Mr. Buckingham during his stay at Greenock.

#### TRADE TO INDIA AND CHINA.

At a Meeting of the Merchants, Traders, and other Inhabitants of the Town of Greenock, held in the Town-Hall, upon Tuesday the 12th day of May, 1829, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament against the Renewal of the East India Company's Monopoly of the Trade to India and China :

WILLIAM LEITCH, Esq., Chief Magistrate, in the Chair :

On the motion of John Fairrie, Esq., seconded by Robert Ewing, Esq., it was resolved unanimously,

' 1. That this meeting, impressed with a conviction that the monopoly of the trade to China, enjoyed by the East India Company, and the restrictions imposed on the intercourse between this country and the East Indies, are highly injurious to the prosperity of the nation, do firmly trust, that on the expiry of the Company's Charter the Legislature, acting on those wise and enlightened views which have guided them on other occasions, will abolish entirely that monopoly, and throw the trade with the East open, without restriction, to the whole commercial and trading community.

' 2. That it appears from statements which have never been controverted, that the inhabitants of this country have heretofore usually paid at least 100 per cent. more for teas than has been paid by their continental neighbours ; a tax of two millions and a half sterling annually being thus imposed on the nation, solely for the benefit of the India Company ; a result which this meeting cannot but regard as originating in the grossest injustice.

' 3. That if the trade with China, a nation possessing an immense population, wealthy and civilised, were thrown open to the commercial enterprise of the kingdom, there are the most substantial grounds for anticipating that the trade would be vastly increased in extent and importance, and afford a wide field for the employment of our surplus capital and labour. In the certainty of such being the consequence, the meeting acquiesce ; because, judging from all

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\* We may here remark *en passant*, that in presenting the *beau ideal* of a plan or system which it is desirable to see substituted for the present in reference to our future government of India, it can hardly be expected that all parties should agree in the *practicability* of every suggestion made. If the *desirableness* be admitted, the *practicability* may be easily put to the test by actual trial.

previous experience, it clearly appears, that an overgrown and privileged body, like the East India Company, is altogether unfit to conduct mercantile affairs with that economy, activity, and intelligence, necessary for their success; and because, looking to what has been the effect of the late partial opening of the trade to India, the meeting observe, that in spite of the many restrictions which still oppose its extension, it has, in the space of a few years, increased three-fold, notwithstanding the positive testimony of the most distinguished of the Company's officers and civil servants, that "the trade and commerce of India with Great Britain could not be augmented."

' 4. That this meeting further anticipate the happiest consequences from the abolition of the restrictions on the intercourse with India which still exist, from extending the freedom of communication with the interior, and from giving encouragement to the settlement of British-born subjects throughout our Indian possessions, whereby the arts and civilisation of Europe would be spread over that vast continent, the comforts and happiness of the Native population promoted, and their moral and religious character improved.

' 5. That petitions to both Houses of Parliament, embodying these resolutions, be submitted for the signature of the merchants, traders, and other inhabitants of Greenock, and forwarded to the Right Honourable Earl Cathcart, and to Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, Bart., for presentation to the Lords and Commons respectively; and that the following gentlemen be nominated a Committee to watch over the measure which must shortly be brought forward relative to the trade with India and China, and to take such steps as they may consider necessary and proper for obtaining the admission of British subjects, on the expiration of the Company's Charter, to a fair and equal participation in the commerce of the Eastern World:—

The Two Magistrates of Greenock,	Messrs. John Fairrie,
Messrs. Robert Wallace,	Andrew Anderson,
James Watt,	James Ramsay,
William Macfie,	Charles C. Scott,
James Tasker,	Thomas Turner,
James Stewart,	John Thomson,
W. Baine, jun.	Robert D. Ker.

' The Magistrates to be Convenors.

' WILLIAM LEITCH, Chairman.

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Resolutions of the Meetings of the Country Gentlemen of Renfrewshire, held on the 21st of May, 1829, relative to the India and China Trade.

' 1. That the employment and prosperity of the population of Renfrewshire depend greatly on foreign markets, for the exporta-

tion of its manufactures on the one hand, and the necessary supplies of raw material on the other.

' 2. That of late years the ordinary markets have proved altogether inadequate to afford employment to the industrious population, who have in consequence thereof been at different times, and are at this moment in great numbers, actually reduced to a state of suffering, bordering on starvation, by the want of employment.

' 3. That the County of Renfrew feels it therefore to be an imperative duty, by every means in its power, to promote such measures as may tend to supply the labouring and manufacturing classes of this populous district, with an enlarged field for the disposal of their manufactures, and for the better employment of the people.

' 4. That a free trade with India and China evidently affords a wide field for British enterprise and industry, and appears well calculated not only to increase the means of employment, but to counteract the bad consequences likely to arise from a state of idleness and starvation among the labouring classes of society.

' 5. That petitions be prepared in the spirit of these resolutions to both Houses of Parliament, the one to the House of Commons, to be presented by Mr. Maxwell, M. P. ; and the one to the House of Lords, by Lord Glasgow.

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EAST INDIAN MONOPOLY.—A public meeting took place on Tuesday last, September 15, at Limerick, pursuant to a requisition to the Mayor, for the purpose of considering a petition to Parliament on the subject of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter. The following resolutions were adopted :

' That this meeting entertains a sanguine expectation that the opening of a new trade with India and China, and a repeal of the restrictions which prevent the settlement of British subjects in his Majesty's Asiatic dominions, will relieve our commercial and manufacturing interests from existing depression, by opening new markets for the produce of national industry, adding to the wealth of the empire, promoting the civilisation of India, and improving the condition of the working classes in Great Britain and Ireland.

' That a petition founded on the foregoing resolution be prepared and signed ; and that it be presented to the House of Commons by our representative, Thomas Spring Rice, Esq.'

Proposed by William Roche, and seconded by William Howly, Esqrs. :

' That the support of the Irish representatives be respectfully solicited to this important question, involving as it does the peculiar interests of this country—tending to the establishment of manufactures among us, and to an increased demand in Great Britain for our produce—and leading to such a rise in the wages of labour, as may afford to our poor countrymen a greater command of the comforts and necessaries of life.'

## FREE TRADE TO INDIA AND CHINA.

DINNER TO MR. WHITMORE, M.P.

*From the Liverpool Mercury, September 18.*

ON Tuesday evening last, at the Adelphi, Mr. Whitmore, M.P. the able and talented advocate of free trade to India and China, and of a free trade in corn, was entertained at dinner by the gentlemen composing the Liverpool Committee for Promoting Free Trade to India and China. The dinner was excellent, comprising every delicacy of the season with more substantial fare, and the wines and fruits were of the first description. The chair was occupied by Mr. Cropper, supported by Mr. Leatham, as Vice-President. When the cloth was drawn, it was arranged that in deference to the Chairman's opinions on such objects, the usual custom of giving toasts at public dinners should be dispensed with as much as possible; and that if any gentleman wished to propose a toast at all, he should address himself to the Vice-Chairman.

Mr. ALSTON, in rising to propose the health of Mr. Whitmore, stated that he had an opportunity, as one of the deputation in London, in May last, to witness the zeal, ability, and judgment with which Mr. Whitmore had brought before Parliament this great question of opening the trade with India and China. Upon a subject of such magnitude, and upon which he trusted there was only one opinion in the country, with the exception of the East India Company, it was impossible not to bear testimony to the moderation, as well as accuracy, of his exposure of a monopoly, so injurious to the best interests of Britain, so repugnant to justice and the freedom of commerce. With this intelligent gentleman's co-operation, and the united support of the country, they must feel assured of final success, and he concluded by expressing his conviction of the importance and value of free trade with the East, in the present depressed state of our manufactures. (*Great Applause.*)

Mr. WHITMORE then rose, and spoke nearly in the following terms:—Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen, the very kind manner in which my honourable friend, if he will permit me so to call him, has proposed this toast, and the equally kind manner in which you have received it, has produced on my mind feelings of considerable distress on the present occasion. Gentlemen, I cannot but feel that in addressing the present assembly on the subject which has called us together, I am addressing those who, in all probability, are far better informed upon it than myself; I cannot but feel that you know the principle on which this great question rests, and that there are amongst you gentlemen far more competent to enter into details respecting it than I can pretend to be; and therefore the distress I feel in addressing such an assembly for the first time is considerably aggravated by my ignorance of the proper mode of applying myself to the question before us. If I venture to make any observations upon it, it is not from the futile hope of informing your minds upon it, but from the anxious wish I feel that by continued discussion the country may be aroused to a proper sense of the immense interest and importance of this great question, as it is only by this means that we can be assured of victory in the conflict in which we are engaged. (*Applause.*) On these grounds I shall venture to offer a few observations on this important subject. I am well aware that amongst you there are none ignorant of the immense importance of a free trade to the East Indies. It is not necessary for me to inform you that since the partial free trade to India commenced in 1814, that trade has increased three or four fold. It is not necessary for me to inform you that, according to the opinions of all those whose opinions are worth having, there can be but one limit to the further extension of that trade, namely, the amount and quality of the imports which we can receive from that part of the world. (*Applause.*) I need not show that by a rigorous monopoly, which is at utter variance with the principles of trade, common sense, and equity, we are at the present moment shut out from all commercial intercourse with one of the most important and populous empires in the world. I need not tell you that the empire of China contains 150 millions of people; I need not tell you that it produces an article of general consumption in this country, or that that consumption may be

indefinitely augmented. I need not tell you that its situation, its climate, the commercial habits of its population, and the absence of the manufacturing power derived from machinery which exists in Europe, enable us to command, to a great extent, the markets of that immense empire, if they be only opened to our operations by the concession of a free trade between Great Britain and China. These circumstances render it unnecessary for me to dilate on the immense importance of a general trade to the East, not to Liverpool alone, but to England, Ireland, Scotland, and the empire at large. It is not necessary for me to say how greatly commerce has been extended by the partial operation of the principle of free trade, or how greatly it may still be increased if we follow up that principle. Gentlemen, this is so important a consideration that I trust you will all, individually and collectively, endeavour to the utmost of your ability to impress these great truths on the minds of all those over whom you have any influence. Occupying so prominent a situation in the manufacturing interest, it is your duty to impress upon the manufacturers, especially those who make use of cotton, the enormous interest of this great question, more especially when a distress prevails amongst them, the contemplation of which makes the heart bleed. The country (from circumstances into which it would be bad taste for me to enter at the present moment,) is periodically visited by a distress, recurring at certain intervals, not very far from each other: yet there is, unquestionably, in the country an abundance of capital; we possess a power of production greater than was ever possessed by any other country in the world, and if it be true that, by affording the means of expansion to capital, and the power of production, we shall remove a considerable portion of the distress now endured, and afford the only effectual means of preventing its recurrence,—if this be a fact, then, I say, we are all called upon to use all our efforts, to exert ourselves to the utmost to force upon the consideration of the country, and especially upon this part of it, the enormous importance of this great question. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I need not remind you of the state in which the question rests at the present moment. You are well aware that when it was agitated in the last Session of Parliament, we received the pledge of the organ of Government, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the subject should be taken into consideration during the next. I have no doubt that that pledge will be fully redeemed; but, looking on this public question, and judging of it as of others, it is most desirable that, notwithstanding the pledge we have received, we should endeavour to keep the eyes of the country and the Legislature fixed upon it; it is not desirable that we should rest upon our oars, even for a moment. We have the pledge, and I trust it will be redeemed; I am only anxious that the inquiry may be instituted, for the cause is so clear and so just, that inquiry can be attended with no other result than triumph, entire and complete. But let us not trust too much to the pledge; let us not relax in our exertions, but continue to use all lawful and legitimate means to force the question on the consideration of the Legislature. When we consider the immense commercial and manufacturing power possessed by the empire—when we reflect on the state of England and Scotland—when we think of the condition of Ireland, and estimate the consequences which may result from the settlement of this most important question, to that most interesting, but, unfortunately, most afflicted portion of the empire, (and it is impossible not to entertain a sanguine hope that free trade to the East, by affording employment to the impoverished inhabitants of Ireland, will complete what has been already done for the pacification of that distracted country,) when we know that by improving this portion of the empire we also confer a benefit on the empire at large,—we cannot but be convinced from all these considerations, that it is most desirable to continue to press the question on the attention of the Legislature, by all the means within our power. The Government are now considering the means of tranquillizing Ireland. By the law removing the restrictions on the majority of its inhabitants, they have already done much, but still more is required. It is not sufficient to promote useful habits of industry amongst its people; means must also be opened out to them by which that industry can be beneficially employed, and how can it be more beneficially employed than in the manufacture of what others want, and the consumption of what others produce? (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, it is clear as the sun at noon-day, that no question can come under the consideration of the Legislature, involving consequences so im-

portant, so vast, as that which has brought us together. Let us not confine our view of the benefits resulting from the settlement of this great question, to the great increase of trade, which would be its immediate consequence. When I consider how the interests of the country at large are bound up in the general weal, how essential it is to support them, in order to enable it to hold its place amongst the nations of the world; and when I consider its trifling area in comparison with that of other countries of Europe, I am convinced of its inability to compete with them, without increasing commerce and flourishing manufactures, and I am assured that too much importance cannot be attached to any thing which has a tendency to promote the one or the other. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, there is another subject which has long occupied my attention,—I allude to the trade in corn. Experience has shown, that we cannot proceed by the direct course of removing the restrictions upon it; but it is my opinion, that through the medium of the great question of free trade to the East, we shall be enabled to approach that which I must consider as being of the greatest importance to the country. It is my conviction, that until we re-establish that regular and habitual trade in corn which the present state of the country requires, we can look forward to no degree of permanent prosperity. (*Applause.*) Whether this is a correct view of the question or not, remains to be proved, but it is my decided conviction; and seeing the utter impossibility of attacking the existing monopoly in a direct way, I am anxious to see whether there is not a more circuitous mode of assailing it. The great objection advanced against a free trade in corn, is the great fall in the price of the commodity which it is supposed it would occasion, but it is quite clear, that even if it be impossible to cause a great extension in the consumption of corn in this country, that object may be effected in Ireland, by affording employment to the people; and if that be done, it is quite obvious that such a demand for foreign corn will be created, that the minds of the most timid must soon be convinced that a free trade in corn is not only safe, but absolutely necessary. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I therefore hope that, through the medium of the great extension of commerce and increase of manufactures, which will be the consequence of a free intercourse with the East, we shall not only attain the end of augmenting the wealth and resources of the country, but we shall pave the way for the safe and gradual removal of a restriction attended with the most injurious consequences to the best interests of the country. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, there is another point to which I wish briefly to call your attention. It is not only from a conviction of its advantages in a commercial sense that I have ventured to stir in this question; those advantages are, it is true, sufficient to warrant the exertion of all our powers for their attainment; but there is still a higher view in which it may be regarded, and that is the immense improvement in our enormous empire in the East with which it will be attended. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, is England, celebrated for her morality and religious feeling,—is England, who gives a moral tone to the rest of the world,—is England to hold possession of an empire containing one hundred millions of inhabitants, and be perfectly indifferent to the condition of her subjects? Are we, as was well observed by Burke, if our empire in India ceased to-morrow, to leave there no traces of our dominion which a few short years will not be sufficient to efface? Shall we not attempt to introduce there civilization, moral improvement and intelligence, and religious feeling? Is it not a bounden duty to endeavour to effect this by all the means we possess? I think it is an imperative duty, and I am quite convinced that no means will be so effectual in its performance, (indeed I doubt whether any means would be effectual without it,) as free trade. (*Applause.*) In the term free trade I also include the power of Englishmen to hold lands in India, to employ their capital there, to move about the country to superintend such employment—a liberty so essential to the interests of the capitalists, without which the fruits of free trade cannot be expected to exist. (*Applause.*) Looking at the subject in all the points of view which I have faintly endeavoured to shadow out, it is impossible not to consider the question as the most important that can come under the consideration of the country and the Legislature, it is impossible for me not to implore you all, individually and collectively, to use all the energy of which you are capable, in furtherance of the grand object, the immense, the gigantic object, we have in view. My own efforts are, and must be, feeble indeed, but actuated by the motives which

should guide every honest man—a consideration of the good of his own country, and the advantage of the millions over whom, in a certain degree, he is called upon to rule, such as they are they shall be united to yours, and I will not only not relax in the exertions I have hitherto made, but will redouble them, and will consider this great question as the loadstar of my political life. (*Great applause.*)

Mr. RADCLIFF expressed the satisfaction with which he, as well as the rest of the company, had listened to the excellent speech of their distinguished guest, Mr. Whitmore. He spoke warmly in support of the general principle of free trade, a point which he thought ought to be insisted on in all their discussions with Government, and expressed his hopes that they would not confine their views merely to a free intercourse with the East, but exert themselves to secure the extinction of every species of monopoly, and the general extension of the grand principle of free trade. He called the attention of the company to a member of the House of Commons who had stood forward the honest and consistent advocate of this system, and whatever might be thought of the system itself by some of them, he was sure that there was not a gentleman present entertained any doubt of the goodness and sincerity of his motives. He alluded to their distinguished representative, the Right Honourable William Huskisson. (*Applause.*) He hoped they would not pass over this opportunity of showing their approbation of that distinguished advocate of the principle of free trade, by drinking the health of a gentleman whose connexion with Liverpool was a distinction to the town. He concluded by proposing the health of the Right Honourable William Huskisson. A similar compliment was then paid to General Gascoyne, by the Vice-Chairman, who, as well as other gentlemen present, spoke warmly of the gallant General's attention to the Deputation when in London.

The CHAIRMAN then rose, and said he felt very grateful to the company for the peculiarly kind manner in which, in consideration of his feelings, they had consented to dispense with the mode of toast-giving, usual on occasions like the present. There were many who were more deserving of such consideration than he, but he trusted that none would be found more zealous in the great cause in which they were all engaged than he was, and would continue to be. This question had always appeared to him in a very simple point of view. They knew that great distress prevailed over all the country at the present moment,—and what was the cause of it? Was not the world capable of producing sufficient to render every individual in it happy and comfortable? He was convinced that it was, and that even if its population were four or five times as great as it was at present, it was still capable of producing more than that population could consume. (*Applause.*) What then was the cause of the distress which was now experienced? Was it because the people were unwilling to cultivate the land? Was it because they were unwilling to labour in commerce or manufactures? Was it because they were unwilling to work for their own comforts and support? No; they knew that dispositions exactly the reverse prevailed amongst the people; they were willing to labour from morning to night, and that too for what would not afford one quarter of what they ought to have. It was not, therefore, the fault of the people, nor the absence of the power of production, that gave rise to the existing distress. What then was the cause of it? It was the restrictions laid on the intercourse between one country and another that prevented general plenty and abundance. (*Applause.*) If these restrictions were laid on by other countries, as, for instance, was the case in South America whilst under the dominion of Spain, the people of this country could have no influence in their removal; but it so happened that the restrictions thus preventing the happiness of the country were the work of the country itself, which alone had the power of removing them. (*Applause.*) The whole population of India were exposed to a similar inconvenience also, by the conduct of this country. That population was estimated at 134 millions, and they had heard that of China stated at 150 millions; they had all seen the immense advantage which followed the allowance of free intercourse with 20 millions of people in South America; what then must be the consequence of a free trade with 300 millions in the East? (*Applause.*) The cause of the distress was not the want of employment, for never was there so much cotton spun as at present, and yet that trade was as much depressed as any other; it was not the want of employment, but the

want of remuneration for it, which was the consequence of our being shut out of the great markets of the world, that occasioned the distress. Therefore it behoved them all to exert themselves with energy and perseverance in the great cause in which they were engaged. The rest of the country was looking to them, and it was their duty to use every means in their power to insure the spread of information on the subject, and to cause the general extension throughout the country of the feelings which animated themselves. (*Applause.*)

Mr. JOHN SMITH said, that in all former discussions respecting India, it had been the object of the East India Company, and their advocates and adherents of every description, and doubtless would be their object again, to cast a mist before the eyes of the people, which it was the duty of every man better informed on the subject to endeavour to dissipate. There was one fact which could not be sufficiently urged, and that was, that whatever intricacy there might be with respect to the intercourse with India, connected as it was with the territorial claims of the Company, there was none whatever relating to that with China. There the English appeared degraded as a nation; there they had lost *caste* amongst the nations of the world for suffering themselves to be the only people excluded from a profitable market. There the East India Company had not the shadow of sovereignty; they had there no vested rights for which to claim indemnity, but were rather called upon themselves to make compensation to the people of this country for having so long kept them out of their just rights. (*Applause.*) He then complimented the Chairman on the zeal and ability displayed by him throughout the proceedings respecting free commerce with the East, and concluded by proposing his health, which was drunk with very great applause.

The CHAIRMAN returned thanks.

Mr. WHITMORE wished to propose to the consideration of the company the health of an individual now occupying an exalted situation in India, greatly to his own credit, to the advantage of the people over whom he ruled, and also to the furtherance of the opinions entertained by the gentlemen present, with respect to the East. He need scarcely say that he alluded to the present Governor-General of India, Lord William Bentinck. (*Applause.*) He respected and regarded that eminent nobleman as one of the most sincerely honest and conscientious individuals that was ever placed in high office in this country. (*Applause.*) According to recent accounts, that illustrious individual had seen the great question of the settlement of Englishmen in India in the light in which they all wished it to be viewed, and had extended the privilege of holding and occupying lands in India, which previously was possessed, and that only tentatively, by the indigo planters alone, to every individual anxious to employ his skill and capital in the cultivation of the soil. He was the first that had pursued that course, and he (Mr. W.) had not the shadow of a doubt that it would be attended with immense advantage to India, and also to this country. The only doubt he entertained on the subject was, whether the conduct and motives of that illustrious individual would meet with the approbation and concurrence of those who had hitherto pursued a very different line of policy. He was, therefore, anxious to take the earliest opportunity of expressing his admiration of the liberal and enlightened views which had prompted Lord William Bentinck to take the course he had adopted, and his hope that that course would meet with the approbation of those who were able to set the seal upon it. (*Applause.*) They would then find, supposing even that no progress should be made in the great question until the expiration of the charter of the East India Company, which he neither believed nor feared, they would then find the ground-work laid by the East India Company, for an immense extension of commerce, which must be the result of the effectual application of the principle of free trade. (*Applause.*) He hoped that they would receive warmly the health of the illustrious individual who had shown himself the advocate of liberal and enlightened principles in the East Indies,—Lord William Bentinck. The toast was then drunk with very great applause.

Mr. LATHAM, the Vice-President, after complimenting the Mayor of Liverpool on the manner in which he had come forward and joined with the merchants



of Liverpool on the great question of free trade, and regretting that his Worship had been unavoidably prevented accepting the invitation he had received to dine with their distinguished guest, proposed the health of N. Robinson, Esq., the Mayor of Liverpool.

Mr. RATHBONE expressed a wish that commerce and agriculture, hitherto considered in opposition to each other, might thenceforth be inseparable in their connection, as he was convinced that such connection would be greatly to the advantage of both.

Mr. GRANT thought it would be proper, on the present occasion, not to omit the name of a gentleman to whom the cause in which they were all engaged owed much, and to whom they and the country were much indebted for the zeal, talent, and energy displayed in his different publications. He alluded to Mr. Crawford. (*Applause.*) He therefore proposed the health of Mr. Crawford, and thanks to him for the important services which he had rendered the country, and also for those which were yet to come. (*Applause.*)

The CHAIRMAN, after some brief remarks requesting that other gentlemen would favour the company with their sentiments, called upon Mr. Rushton for that purpose.

Mr. RUSHTON then rose and said, that, called upon in such a way, it would be rude in him to abstain from saying a few words, though he feared that nothing that fell from him could be of the slightest advantage to the cause in which they were all engaged. Inadequately informed as he was on the great points of the question, and adhering to it only from a conviction of the justice of the general principles on which it was founded, he could do it no service by attempting to enter into details respecting it. He would therefore speak not of the cause, but of those who had been its advocates. Whilst persons living and active had been toasted that day; whilst they had heard the Governor-General applauded for the wisdom and policy of his measures in India; whilst Mr. Crawford had been judiciously extolled for the splendid talents and labourous industry he had exerted in furtherance of the national object; whilst they had heard from Mr. Whitmore a speech which did equal honour to his head and his heart, and proved him to be possessed of the spirit which ought to actuate a British legislator, and whilst, as mercantile men, they paid their tribute of gratitude and respect to those to whom their cause was under deep and lasting obligations,—they ought not to forget that there were some men still lingering amongst them who had fought the good fight, and paved the way for the victory for which they were themselves contending,—men who were now sinking into the shade, and preparing to pay the final debt of nature, and that to these men were due their warmest gratitude and applause. (*Applause.*) Twenty years ago, amongst the firmest advocates of free trade, first, because it was a mere act of justice to the labouring population of this country, and secondly, because it tended greatly to promote the progress of civilization and improvement amongst mankind,—amongst the firmest advocates of the measure was their own distinguished townsman, Mr. Roscoe. (*Applause.*) At that time, Mr. Roscoe co-operated with, and was aided by, the father of a friend of his, whom he (Mr. Rushton) had the pleasure of seeing then at table. It should never be forgotten, if the cause in which they were engaged should eventually triumph, that William Roscoe and William Rathbone, and the men who acted with them, were the first to endeavour to rouse the nation to a sense of those rights, the ultimate possession of which he trusted was not then far distant, and the recovery of which would not only benefit their own country, but spread blessings to the remotest regions of the East. It became them, in moments like the present, whilst they eulogized living exertions, not to forget those which were past; and he was sure that it would be grateful to the distinguished man whom he had mentioned, to hear that, though he was absent, and incapable of further active exertion, they had drunk his health at that board with respect and gratitude. He concluded by proposing the health of a man to whom, he said, commerce, freedom, and letters were much indebted.—William Roscoe. The toast was drunk with very great applause.

Mr. E. ROSCOE said he was utterly at a loss for words to express the gratitude

he felt for the handsome terms in which his father had been spoken of, and the kind manner in which his health had been received. He then assured the company that though his father had retired from active life, and was incapable of active exertion, he had carried with him into his retirement the principle which had actuated him from the earliest period of his life—a regard for the general welfare and improvement of mankind. Mr. Roscoe then begged leave to propose as a toast the health of Mr. Buckingham. It was hardly necessary for him to call their attention to the essential services which the exertions of that gentleman had rendered to the cause, or to the extraordinary degree in which he had called the public attention to it in those places which he had visited. He did not know an individual so well qualified as Mr. Buckingham to rouse the country to a proper feeling on this important subject, and he thought that they would be wanting in a proper feeling, if, on an occasion like the present, they did not drink his health. Who was so proper an individual to come forward and denounce the tyranny and narrow policy of the East India Company, as he who, in his own person, had been turned out of the country, robbed, and despoiled by them? (*Applause*) He concluded by proposing, as a toast, the health of Mr. Buckingham, and many thanks to him for his great exertions in behalf of free intercourse with the East.

Mr. ALSTON spoke of the strong necessity of the co-operation of other great towns with the central committee, and commended the zeal and ability displayed by the committees at Glasgow, Leeds, Bristol, Birmingham, and Manchester. He expressed a hope that the time would soon come when every town and village in the kingdom would be duly impressed with the importance of this question, in which case success would be the certain result of unanimous exertion. He proposed, as a toast, the Associated Committees, which was received with great applause.

Mr. HODGSON expressed his opinion, that in very many places the inhabitants were only waiting an opportunity to come forward, and that, when the time arrived, they would show themselves alive to the interest and importance of the question.

Mr. LEATHAM returned thanks on his health being drunk, and proposed the shipping and manufacturing interests.

Mr. HORN begged leave to suggest the propriety of drinking the health of a gentleman who had taken a very active part in the prosecution of the great cause in which they were all engaged, he alluded to their esteemed friend Mr. Gladstone. He expressed his regret that unavoidable circumstances had prevented their having the honour of that gentleman's company, and spoke warmly of the zeal and ability displayed by him on several former occasions on the India question.

Mr. ALSTON returned thanks, and expressed his conviction that Mr. Gladstone's heart and mind were with them on the present question.

Mr. ALSTON proposed the health of the Members of both Houses of Parliament who were friendly to a free intercourse with the East.

Mr. RATHBONE proposed success to the iron trade, to secure the prosperity of which he thought the opening of the trade with the East essential.

Mr. GRANT stated that when the trade was partially opened in 1814, the house in which he was engaged was the first that sent a ship to India. They were somewhat at a loss to know what to send, and they consulted on the subject a gentleman who had resided many years in India, who advised them to send twenty tons of bar iron, five tons of iron hoops, and five tons of cast iron, in all about thirty tons. They accordingly sent this quantity of iron, and no more. (*Hear, hear.*) It sold very well. He mentioned this to show now the immense increase which had taken place, for where there was then only one ship taking about thirty tons of iron each, there were now ten ships taking one hundred and fifty or two hundred tons of iron, all of which was sold in India, and to some advantage. He was fully convinced that five times the quantity would be sold there if they could only obtain returns for it. (*Applause.*)

Mr. DAVID HODGSON made some judicious observations on the great interest of this question to Ireland.

Mr. GARNETT made some observations on the dependent situation in which Great Britain was kept, with regard to the supply of cotton, and remarked that on

the 8th of May, 1815, there were only 4200 bags of cotton in the country, which he said might have been worked up in a fortnight, and in that case, if there had been no fresh supply, the manufacturers would have been thrown entirely out of employment. He was fully convinced that India was quite competent to furnish all the returns required, and that from the extent of her soil and the diversity of her climate she could furnish all the cotton for which there was occasion, and for which Great Britain now depended on the United States of America. He was convinced that the free trade and colonization of India would render Great Britain quite independent of America for a supply of cotton, which was a consideration the more important when they remembered the tariff, and other restrictive measures now in operation in America against this country.

After some further conversation Mr. Cropper left the chair, and the company separated.

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#### INDIAN NEWS—CALCUTTA.

The Right Honourable the Governor-General arrived at Penang, in the *Enterprise*, on the Monday before last, and left it again on Thursday of the same week. Some staff reductions had taken place, and further changes tending to economy were looked for. Captain M., the superintendent of the Government Press, was about to return to Madras, and, rumour says, was to be succeeded in his literary labours by the talented editor of a journal now no more. We have been assured from authority, that there is much latent talent at Penang, and very far be it from us to doubt it; we may observe *en passant*, however, that it must be the most obstinately latent talent ever heard of, when we find an appointment of this kind, spoken of even by the tongue of rumour, telling us, as it does, in language not to be mistaken, that it is the general opinion, that no scintillation has appeared which could guide the choice to any other than a gentleman who has so recently smarted beneath the birch of Government displeasure.

The *Canton Register*, of the 16th March, states, that the *small-pox* was raging at Canton. 'Several thousands,' says the *Register*, 'it is supposed have fallen victims to the distemper; and in the cases of the adults, not one-third of them have survived. The crews of the foreign ships have not escaped, and many deaths have occurred; but the effects would have been much more calamitous, were it not for the timely precaution of vaccination. In many instances the disease has assumed the confluent shape, and has proved very severe.'

*Lodianah, 10th March, 1829.*—An action has just taken place between the army of Kurruk Sing and the troops of the Bhowaulpore Newab, on which about five thousand men have been placed *hors de combat*: the Newab's troops were victorious, and reinforcements are ordered to join Kurruk Sing from Lahore.

An envoy arrived here a few days ago, with an invitation from the Maha Rajah Runjett Sing to the political assistant here (Capt. Wade), to visit Lahore during the Hooley.

The post of Woodney, which for the last five years has been occupied by a detachment from this station, has been given up to Runjett Sing, by which arrangement Runjett Sing has secured a position between Lodianah and Kurnaul.

The French officers in Runjett's employ are busy in new modelling the artillery department, which has lately been made over to them by the Maha Rajah.

It is said that Dhaun Sing, the favorite of Maha Rajah, proposed the introduction of half rations to the troops when in camp at Lahore; but the

Mohā Rajah observed, that he understood that the Company had caused much discontent in their army, by some new system of military finance, and he intended to ask Capt. Wade's opinion upon this subject.

In consequence of the deficiency in the Circulating Medium, and the peculiar mode in which business is conducted in this Settlement, scarcely any sales are ever made for cash; and, it being, therefore, impossible to give the cash price of almost any article, it must be observed that the quotations in the Price Current are invariably made on the supposition, that all sales are effected at a credit of two months, for payment in produce, upon which principle the majority of sales take place in this market.

OPIMUM.—Sales have been made of about 10 chests of Benares, at Dls. 800.

The *Sherburne* has imported 45 chests Patna and 10 Benares.

PIECE GOODS.—Little doing; a few cases of Bengal Chintz have been sold at Dls. 21½ per corgie.

SUGAR.—A large stock ready for shipment to Europe.

SALTPETRE.—In great request.

RICE.—A cargo of inferior sold at Dlr. 50 per coyan, deliverable at Malacca, in barter for Siam Sugar at Dls. 8½ and Tin at Dls. 18 per picul. Also about 500 piculs of first quality of Cargo at Dls. 65 per coyan in barter, for Benares Opium at Dls. 800.

ELEPHANTS' TEETH.—Much wanted.

GUNNIES.—A heavy stock in the market; a lot of very inferior, suitable only for Sugar, sold at Dls. 6 per 100.

WHEAT.—About 1500 bags have been sold, Dls. 3 to 3½ per bag in tended for the Java Market.

Table of New Duties Inwards, by which the Duty on the following Articles of East-India produce has been reduced.

*An Act to amend the Laws, relating to the Customs, 9th Geo. 4th Chap. 76.*

	New Duties.			Old Duties.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
OPIMUM.—the pound . . . . .	0	4	0	0	9	0
RICE.—the produce of, and imported from any British possession, the cwt. . . . .	0	1	0	0	4	0
— in the husk (or paddy) the quarter . . . . .	0	0	1	0	2	0
RHUBARB—the pound . . . . .	0	2	8	0	4	0
— imported from any British possession, the pound . . . . .	0	2	6	0	2	6
SAGO.—imported from any British possession, viz. — Pearl, the cwt. . . . .	1	0	0	1	10	0
— Common, the cwt. . . . .	0	1	0	0	5	0
— Powder, the cwt. . . . .	1	0	0	0	10	0
TORROSESHELL.—unmanufactured, imported from any British possession, the pound . . . . .	0	0	6	0	2	0
TURMERIC.—imported from any British possession, the cwt. . . . .	0	2	4	0	10	0
WAX ( <i>Bees</i> )—imported from any British possession, viz — unbleached, the cwt. . . . .	0	10	0	2	6	6
— in any degree bleached, the cwt. . . . .	1	0	0	6	3	6

CALCUTTA, 21st March, 1829.

Freight to London.—Dead Weight, 3*l.* to 3*l.* 10*s.* per ton.Measurement Goods, 5*l.* to 5*l.* 10*s.* „

The following is the result of an experiment of South American Dollars at the Mint, at Calcutta, viz.—

100 Mexican Dollars, new stamp; either that of				
Iturbide or the Republic wg. Sicca weight				
232	10	10	at 6 worse yield	- - - Sa. Rs. 205 12 1
100 Peruvian new stamp wg. 231 0 7 at 5 worse				
ditto	-	-	-	- „ 208 0 9
100	Old Spanish	wg. 231	4 0 at 6 do. do.	- „ 206 5 11½

Singapore Commercial Register, May 2, 1829.

## EXTRACTS FROM GENERAL ORDERS, CALCUTTA.

*Native Veterinary Assistant Surgeons.*—A native is to be attached to corps of light horse: denominated Farrier Major, and to be allowed the pay and batta of a farrier, with a staff allowance of 5 rupees per annum.—Feb. 23.

*Travelling Allowances.*—The duty of visiting the several works within the limits of divisions, respectively, shall be considered as the ordinary employment of those officers, for which compensation is provided by the salaries of their appointments, and on account of which no separate charge shall be made. Cases which may be deemed extraordinary, will receive due consideration under the notice of the Military Board.—Feb. 23.

*Vacation of Appointments.*—With advertence to the 4th clause of General Orders, No. 163, of 1827, which prescribes that when two captains are absent from a corps in public situations, and a subaltern from the same corps, holding also a detached staff situation comes to be promoted to the rank of captain, regimentally, the officer so promoted shall vacate his appointment; the Governor-General in Council has resolved, that a subaltern, on promotion to a company, shall not be necessarily disqualified from retaining an appointment, which he previously held, and to which he is eligible in his advanced rank, though two captains should already be absent from the regiment in staff situations. This modification, however, is not intended to affect the general principle or conditions of the order under notice, which is to retain its original force, inasmuch as no more than five officers can be permitted to be simultaneously absent from a regiment on staff employ; and when under the exemption above specified, three captains may be absent from a regiment, it is to be understood, that no other captain can be taken from such corps for the staff till the number of its absentees in that grade be reduced to one. It is deemed expedient that the modification be retrospective.—Feb. 23.

*Devices to be borne on the Regimental Colours and Appointments of Corps.*—His Excellency, the Commander-in-chief having submitted for the consideration of Government a return of the several campaigns and actions in which the troops of the Bengal army have distinguished themselves, from the commencement of the British military power in India to the conquest of the island of Java, and having recommended that the names by which the several campaigns and actions are distinguished should be borne as a device on the regimental colours and appointments of the corps who took a part in them, the Governor-general in Council had much satisfaction in adopting his Excellency's suggestion. In conformity with which resolution, the de-

vices to be borne on the regimental colours and appointments of corps will be as follows:—

1st and 2d European regiments, 1st Native Infantry, Plassey; 1st and 2d European regiments, 2d, 3d, 5th, 8th, 9th, and 10th Native Infantry, Buxar; 1st and 10th Native Infantry, Korah; 1st and 2d European regiments, 2d, 3d, 5th, 7th, 11th, and 13th Native Infantry, Guzerat; 4th 12th, and 22d Native Infantry, Carnatic; 4th, 6th, 13th, and 16th Native Infantry, Mysore; 14th, 16th, 36th, 37th, 38th, and 39th Native Infantry, Seringapatam; 7th, 23d, and 35th Native Infantry, Allyghur; 2d and 3d Light Cavalry, 1st, 5th, 22d, 23d, 28th, 30th and 31st Native Infantry, Dehlee; 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th Light Cavalry, 1st, 12th, 21st, 24th, 30th, 31st, and 33d Native Infantry, Laswarrie; 2d and 3d Light Cavalry, 1st and 2d European regiments, 5th, 7th, 9th, 30th, 31st, and 44th Native Infantry, Deig; Governor-General's Body Guard, 25th and 40th Native Infantry, Java.

#### BOMBAY.

*Native Regimental Schools.*—An order of the 4th of April, authorizes an advance to be made of twelve or eighteen months' established allowance for a school room, or shed, at stations where there may be no accommodation available for Native Regimental Schools, on condition that Government be put to no further expense on that account during the period for which such advance may be drawn.

*Re-occupation of Sholapore.*—On the station of Sholapore being re-occupied by the troops of the Bombay presidency, they will be considered a brigade command of the second class, and will form part of the Poona division of the army. The force at Sholapore will consist of the first regiment of L. C.; 2 regiments of N. I.; and 1 troop of Horse Artillery.

The following staff is allotted to Sholapore:—1 commanding officer, 1 brig. major and dep. postmaster, 1 dep. assist. quarter-mast. general, 1 2d-assist. commis. general, 1 dep. paymaster, 1 superint. of bazaars, and 1 chaplain. A deputy commissary of ordnance is appointed to the Poona of the division army to be stationed at Ahmednugur.

*Station of Poonah.*—From the date of Mhow being occupied by the troops of the Bengal establishment, the station of Poonah is to be considered a brigade command of the 1st class, to complete the number of brigade commands allotted by the Hon. Court of Directors to the presidencies of Bombay.

*Divisions allotted to Superintending Surgeons.*—The following modifications are to be made to the divisions allotted to superintending surgeons under this presidency, incident to the removal of the Bombay troops from Mhow and the re-occupation of Sholapore. The N.W. district of Guzerat to embrace Deesa, the provinces of Kuttigar and Cutch, Hursule, Kurra, and Ahmedabad. The S.W. district of Guzerat to embrace Surat, Broach, the Northern Concan, and the island of Salsette. The Poonah or northern division of the Deccan to embrace Satara, Sholapore, Mahabuleshwar, and the stations in the South Concan.

*Brigadiers' Allowances.*—The regulations respecting the allowances of brigadiers, published to the army under date the 26th ult., is to take effect from the 1st December last. Feb. 18.

*Advances of Cost to Officers at Canton.*—No advances are in future to be made officers in China on account of their pay and allowances. Feb. 24.

# CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES IN INDIA.

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—C. Calcutta.]

- Alston, J. S., Ens. 27th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Burford, dec.—C. Feb. 23.  
 Anderson, J., 1st Lieut. Engin., app. to do duty with Sappers and Miners at Allypore.—C. Feb. 11.  
 Aldous, W., Capt. 38th N. I., to do duty at the dépôt Landour.—C. Feb. 16.  
 Ahmutty, A., Lieut. L. Dragoons, to do duty at depot at Landour.—C. Feb. 16.  
 Anderson, G., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 16th Foot.—C. Feb. 25.  
 Agar, G. F., Capt. 49th N. I., on furl. to New South Wales for health.—C. March 13.  
 Annesley, Jas., Surg., to be Superinten.-Surg. Hyderabad, Subsid. force, v. Evans, retired.—M. March 13.  
 Alexander, A. R., Lieut. 33d N. I., to be Qu.-Mas., Interp., and Pay Mas., v. Marshall.—C. March 13.  
 Abdy, J. N., Sen., Capt. Artill., to be Maj., v. Brett, invalid.—M. March 17.  
 Anderson, Alex., Capt. Engin., returned to duty.—M. March 13.  
 Anderson, D., Comm. Mar., to be Capt., v. Walker, dec.—B. Feb. 26.  
 Armstrong, T., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Feb. 19.  
 Barwell, C. R., Mr., to be Judge of Prov. Court of Appeal for div. of Calcutta.—C. Feb. 23.  
 Beatty, H., Lieut., to officiate as Adj. to 62nd N. I.—C. Feb. 16.  
 Bird, L. S., Capt. 24th N. I., to officiate as Dep.-Judge-Adv. Gen. at Cawnpore.—C. Feb. 25.  
 Bracken, John, Lieut. 29th N. I., to officiate as Sec. to Board of Superintendence, v. Hickey.—C. March 13.  
 Bond, Thos., Sen.-Assist.-Surg., to be Surg., v. Horsman, retired.—M. Feb. 20.  
 Bayfield, G. T., Mr., Adm.-Assist.-Surg., and app. to do duty at Fort St. George.—M. Feb. 27.  
 Beevor, H. C., Lieut. 13th N. I., to be Qu. Mas., Interp., and Paymas., v. Fladgate, prom.—M. March 13.  
 Bucke, G., Surg., on leave to sea for health.—M. March 13.  
 Benbow, C., Lieut. 15th N. I., to be Capt., v. Goodliif, dec.—B. Feb. 20.  
 Bates, John, Mr., Adm.-Assist.-Surg.—B. Feb. 19.  
 Baillie, T., Capt., Acting first Assist.-Commis.-Gen., on furl. to the Cape for health.—B. Feb. 18.  
 Brucks, G. B., Lieut., to be Mar., to be Comm., v. Guy, invalid.—B. April.  
 Brown, W. I., Capt. 8th N. I., to act as Brig. Maj. to the forces.—B. April 16.  
 Bude, J. P., Sen. Ens. 15th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Cannan, dec.—M. March 13.  
 Brett, W. T., Maj. of Artill., transfer to inval. estab.—M. March 13.  
 Bellasis, J. B., Lieut. 9th N. I., to act as Interp. to 6th reg., v. Farquhar, absent on duty.—B. Feb. 19.  
 Billamore, T. H., Lieut., to act as Adj. to left wing of the 17th N. I.—B. Feb. 19.  
 Burnes, A., Lieut., Dep.-Assist.-Qu.-Mas.-Gen. at head quarters, to be Acting-Assist.-Qu.-Mas.-Gen. to the army.—B. March 17.  
 Beek, J., Lieut., to be Adj., v. Duff, rem. on prom.—B. March 17.  
 Carstin, H., Lieut. 10th L. Cav., to be captain of a troop, v. Mason, dec.—C. Feb. 27.  
 Clark, A., Mr. R., Assist.-Surg., app. to Med. duties of Civ. Station of Moorabad, v. Laurie, on furl.—C. Feb. 23.  
 Cooper, H., Surg., posted to 22d N. I.—C. Feb. 12.  
 Cox, G. H., Lieut., to officiate as Interp. and Qu.-Mas. to 62d N. I.—C. Feb. 16.  
 Colebrooke, W. H. E., Ens., app. to do duty with 58th N. I.—C. Feb. 20.

- Chauvel, J. E., Sen. Lieut. 15th N. I., to be Capt., v. Heythuysen.—C. March 10.
- Carew, W. S., Sen. 1st Lieut. Artill., to be Capt., v. Abdy, prom.—M. March 17.
- Carr, S., Lieut. 11th N. I., on furl. to the Cape for health.—M. March 13.
- Crickshanks, J. T., Lieut. of Engin., to be Assist. to Superintend Engin. at Presidency.—B. Feb. 9.
- Creed, R., Cadet of Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—B. Feb. 19.
- Clarke, P. W., Ens., posted to 2d Gren. reg.—B. March 17.
- Crawford, John, Comm. Mar. to be Capt., v. Lawrence, retired.—B. Feb. 26.
- Clendon, Lieut. Mar., to act as Boat Master, &c., v. Graham, on sick leave.—B. March 10.
- Campbell, H. J., Assist.-Surg. 2d Fur. reg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. March 9.
- Campbell, D., Lieut.-Col. 19th N. I., to comm. at Sholapore.—B. Feb. 18.
- Campbell, A. B., 17th N. I., to be second Assist.-Commis.-Gen.—B. Feb. 15.
- Deverell, R., Ens., app. to do duty with 49th N. I.—C. Feb. 11.
- Dunbar, J. W., Capt. 26th N. I., to do duty at the dépôt of Landour.—C. Feb. 16.
- De Bude, H., Capt. Engin., to be Exec. Engin. of 8th div. of Public Works, v. Thompson, on furl.—C. March 6.
- Drysdale, Wm., Ens., posted to 15th N. I.—M. March 10.
- Davis, Morgan, The Rev., to be District Chaplain at Dacca.—B. March 23.
- Down, J. S., Capt. 1st Gren. reg., to take charge of office, of Revenue Surveyor at Guzerat.—B. Feb. 26.
- Duff, W. R., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. March 17.
- Duncan, Alex., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. March 19.
- Elliot, John, Major, to be Lieut.-Col. of Inf., v. Smith, retired.—C. Feb. 16.
- Evans, F. R., Ens. 26th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Gahan, prom.—C. March 6.
- Evans, Thos., Superintend.-Surg., perm. to retire.—M. Feb. 17.
- Evans, R. L., Lieut.-Col., on furl. to the Cape for health.—M. March 13.
- Earle, E. W., Lieut. 24th N. I., to be Qu.-Mas. and Interp., v. Briggs.—B. Feb. 9.
- Edward, J. L., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. March 17.
- Elwon, Thos., Lieut. Mar., to be Comm., v. Guy, prom.—B. Feb. 26.
- Fitzgerald, B., Mr., to be Extra-Assistant to resident at Indoor.—C. Feb. 23.
- Fulcher, F. P., Ens., app. to do duty with 55th N. I.—C. Feb. 11.
- Fagan, C. G., Cornet, app. to do duty with 8th L. Cav.—C. Feb. 20.
- Fisher, A., Lieut. 35th N. I., to act as Interp. and Qu.-Mas. to 44th N. I., v. Wemyss.—C. Feb. 24.
- Fender, John, Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. March 6.
- Fortesque, J. C., Lieut. 1st N. I., on furl. to Eur.—M. Feb. 20.
- Fawcett, H., Lieut., Extra-Aid-de-Camp. to Hon. the Gov., to be Aid-de-Camp v. Lang.—B. March 14.
- Fenwicke, G. T., Ens., posted to 10th N. I.—B. March 17.
- Grindall, R. F., Mr., to be Judge of Prov. Court of Appeal for div. of Benares.—C. Feb. 1.
- Grant, J., Surg., to officiate as Superintend.-General of vaccine inoculation.—C. Feb. 23.
- Goldie, A., Capt., to be Superintend. and Pay-Mas. to Invalids for stations of Benares, Dinapore, and Monghyr.—C. Feb. 23.
- Gardner, S. W., Ens., app. to do duty with 55th N. I.—C. Feb. 11.
- Grahame, R., Assist.-Surg., rem. from 22d N. I., to 2d Eur. reg.—C. Feb. 12.
- Gould, W. H., Lieut., to act as Adj. to 42d N. I., v. Campbell.—C. Feb. 16.
- Gahan, J. B. D., Lieut. 26th N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Seymour, prom.—C. March 6.
- Glen, J., Surg., app. to Med. charge of convalescent estab. at Neelgherry Hills.—R. Feb. 19.



- Guy, J. M., Comm. Mar., to be Capt., v. Maughan, res.—B. Feb. 26.  
 Gibson, G. W., Capt. Artill., to be Dep.-Commis. of Ordnance at Ahmednuggur.—B. Feb. 18.
- Hunter, J., Mr., to be Dep.-Collec. of inland customs, and town duties at Calcutta, and Superintendent of Calcutta Salt chokies.—C. Feb. 20.  
 Hickey, John, Cornet 10th L. Cav., to be Lieut., v. Carstin, prom.—C. Feb. 23.  
 Hepburne, W. H., Cornet, app. to do duty with 3d L. Cav.—C. Feb. 23.  
 Hough, W., Capt., Dep.-Judge Adv.-Gen., rem. from Cawnpore to Sirhind div. of army.—C. Feb. 12.  
 Hare, S. B., Lieut., to act as Adj. to Sappers and Miners.—C. Feb. 16.  
 Huish, Geo., Lieut. 26th N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Gordon, dec.—C. March 6.  
 Hay, E., Ens. 35th N. I., to be Adj., v. Sheil, res.—C. Feb. 20.  
 Hicks, T., Maj., app. to comm. 2d Vet. Batt., v. Davis, transferred to pens. estab.—M. March 13.  
 Heythuyson, H. T. V., 15th N. I., transferred to inval. estab.—C. March 6.  
 Hagger, Thos., Veter.-Surg., posted to 4th L. Cav.—M. March 12.  
 Horne, J., Lieut. Artill., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. March 13.  
 Hammond, Geo., Lieut. 51st N. I., returned to duty.—M. March 13.  
 Hawkins, John, Capt. of Engin., to act as Inspecting Engin. of presidency div. of army, v. Dickson.—B. Feb. 7.  
 Henderson, Alex., Surg., app. to Med. charge of Eur. gen. hospital, v. Kembull.—B. Feb. 18.  
 Haslewood, A. M., to act as Interp. to 3d N. I.—B. Feb. 20.  
 Harvey, R., Lieut. 4th L. Drag., to be Interp.—B. Feb. 28.  
 Hagart, C., Capt. 1st Eur. Inf., to be Brig.-Maj., v. Ottey.—B. April 16.
- Jackson, G., Cornet, app. to do duty with 3d L. Cav.—C. Feb. 11.  
 Johnston, H., Capt. 14th foot, to do duty at the depot at Landour.—C. Feb. 16.  
 Jones, John, Capt. 40th N. I., to officiate in Qu.-Mas.-Gen. department, v. Fisher.—C. March 13.  
 Jeffries R., Maj., to comm. 3d Nat. Vet. Batt., v. Simpson, retired.—M. March 13.  
 Jeffreys, H., The Rev., to be district chaplain at Matoonga, and to visit Jannah monthly.—B. Feb. 24.  
 Johnston, J. G. J., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. Feb. 19.  
 Johnson, C. H., Capt. 12th N. I., to be Second Assist.-Mil. Auditor-Gen.—B. March 11.  
 Jarvis, E., Major 3d L. Cav., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. March 19.
- Kenny, J. W. G., Ens. 13th N. I., returned to duty.—M. March 13.  
 Kembail, V. C., Sen.-Surg., to be Superintend.-Surg., v. Maxwell, prom.—B. Feb. 18.
- Laughton, R., Assist.-Surg., app. to 2d L. Cav.—C. Feb. 20.  
 Lavie, T., Lieut. 1st Brig.-Horse Artill., to be Adj., v. Pinchard, res.—M. March 3.  
 Lancaster, C., Sen., 2d Lieut. Artill. to 1st Lieut., v. Carew, prom.—M. March 17.  
 Lys, W. D., Lieut. 22d N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Feb. 20.  
 Le Geyt, P. W., Mr., to be acting register to Sudder Dewance and Sudder Foujdaree Adawlut.—B. Feb. 23.  
 Lerkie, J. D., Eus., posted to 23d N. I.—B. March 17.  
 Lang, W., Lieut. 21st N. I., to take charge of Guicawar Contingent stationed in Kattiwar, v. Inglis.—B. March 17.  
 Liddell, D., Capt. 10th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. March 8.
- Master, G. C., Mr., to be Judge of Prov. Court of Appeal for div. of Calcutta.—C. Feb. 1.  
 Mercer, H. S., Surg., to officiate as Apothecary to the Hon. Comp.—C. Feb. 23.  
 Mainwaring, H. G., Ens., app. to do duty with 7th N. I.—C. Feb. 11.

- Maxwell, H. G., Major, invalid estab., app. to command 2d batt., Nat. Invalids.—C. Feb. 12.
- Mackay, J., Lieut., to be Adj. to 27th N. I., v. Burford.—C. Feb. 20.
- Macleod, T. H. S., Ens., to do duty with 24th N. I.—C. Feb. 27.
- Morris, H., Esq., to be Sub-Collector, and Joint Magistrate of Madura.—M. March 3.
- Maclean, T., Lieut. 39th N. I., to be Qu.-Mas., Interp., and Paym., v. Ottley, on furl.—M. March 13.
- Morrill, Thos., Ens., posted to 15th N. I.—M. March 13.
- Marshall, H., Lieut., app. to 1st batt. Pioneers, v. Alexander.—M. March 13.
- Major, H. P. H., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur.—M. March 13.
- Matthews, A. H. O., Ens., posted 15th N. I.—B. March 17.
- Major, J. P., Ens. 11th N. I., Interp., to be Qu.-Mas.—B. March 17.
- Morgan, T., Lieut.-Col. 7th N. I., returned to duty.—B. March 25.
- Mearns, Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. March 9.
- Marsh, E., Lieut. 10th N. I., to be superintend. of Bazaars at Sholapore.—B. Feb. 18.
- Morris, T. D., Capt. 24th N. I., to be Dep.-Paymas. at Sholapore.—B. Feb. 18.
- Nettleford, W. S., Ens. 3d N. I., to be Lieut., v. Payne, prom.—B. Feb. 19.
- Nixon, W., Major 19th N. I., placed at disposal of Comm.-in-Chief.—B. March 3.
- O'Halloran, J., Brig.-Gen., app. to Sangor div. of army.—C. Feb. 12.
- O'Halloran, W. L., Lieut. H.M.'s 38th foot, to be Aide-de-Camp. to Brig.-Gen. O'Halloran.—C. Feb. 12.
- Orchard, J., Capt., 1st Eur. reg., to do duty at the depot at Landour. C. Feb. 16.
- Omnianney, W. S., Lieut. 2d L. Cav., to act as Qu.-Mas., Interp., and Paymas., v. Phillimore, res.—M. March 6.
- Otto, R. B. sen., Major 1st L. Cavalry, to be Lieut.-Col., v. Walker deceased.—C. March 10.
- Ottley, C. G., Lieut. 39th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—M. Feb. 17.
- Playfair, Geo., Surgeon, to officiate as Surgeon to Presidency General Hospital.—C. Feb. 23.
- Parker, R., Ens., appointed to do duty with 55th N. I.—C. Feb. 11.
- Penny, G. R., Brig., appointed to Barrackpore.—C. Feb. 12.
- Palmer, W., Lieut., Deputy-Judge-Advocate-General, appointed to Cawnpore division of army.—C. Feb. 12.
- Parker, C., Lieut.-Col. 6th Batt. Artillery, app. to command of Convalescent Depot at Landour.—C. Feb. 12.
- Parker, W. J., Ensign, appointed to do duty with 24th N. I.—C. Feb. 27.
- Pond, J. R., Ens., to do duty with 24th N. I.—C. Feb. 27.
- Phipps, W. F., Lieut., to act as Adjutant to 35th N. I.—C. Feb. 27.
- Pinchard, J., Lieut., permitted to resign his appoint. of Adjutant of 1st brigade Horse Artill.—M. Feb. 17.
- Palmer, O., Assistant-Surgeon, to enter on general duties.—M. Feb. 17.
- Phillimore, C., Lieut. 2d L. Cav., prom. to res. app. of Qu.-Mas. and Pay-Mas. to corps.—M. Feb. 24.
- Peacock, T. T. E. D., Ens. 46th N. I., appointed to rifle corps.—M. March 9.
- Paton, R., Ensign, posted to 15th N. I.—M. March 13.
- Payne, Capt., second Assistant-Commissary-General, posted to Bacodu station, v. Penley.—B. Feb. 6.
- Prior, G. N., Lieutenant 21st N. I., to be Adjutant, v. Ennis, on furlough.—B. Feb. 9.
- Pastens, T., Cadet, promoted to Ensign.—B. Feb. 19.
- Pattinger, Lieut. 6th foot, to be Interpreter to 40th foot.—B. Feb. 19.
- Preedy, H. W., Ensign, posted to 25th N. I.—B. March 17.
- Prescott, C., Lieutenant 5th N. I., to have charge of Guicawar Contingent, stationed in Mahce Counta and Pahlapore, v. Nixon promoted.—B. March 17.

- Pattinger, C. T., Lieutenant 17th N. I., on furlough to Europe for health.—B. Feb. 19.
- Parsons, J. E., Lieutenant 11th N. I., on furlough to Europe for health.—B. April 21.
- Reilly, B. Y., Lieut. Engin., to be exec. Engin. of 13th Division of Public Works, v. Trelawney, on furlough.—C. Feb. 23.
- Rice, J. H., Lieut. 41th N. I., on furlough to Europe for health.—C. Feb. 27.
- Rehes, A., Capt. 26th N. I., to act as Paymaster at Trichinopoly, v. Bird.—C. March 10.
- Rait, A., Cornet 8th L. Cav., on leave to sea for health.—M. March 13.
- Richardson, Wm. Mr., to be acting sen. Assistant-Judge and Session-Judge of Poonah.—B. Feb. 23.
- Rawlinson, W. E., Lieut., to act as Quar.-Mas. to 2d Eur. Infantry, v. Stiles.—B. Feb. 17.
- Rowland, A., Lieut. Horse-brig. Artill. to be Adj. and Qu.-Mas. to 2d troop, v. Pontardent.—B. Feb. 19.
- Sage, Wm, Capt. 48th N. I., to be exec. officer of 3d Dinapore divis. of public works, v. Thompson.—C. Feb. 23.
- Sill, H. Mr., admitted Assistant Surg.—C. Feb. 27.
- Stein, R., Ens., appointed to do duty with 49th N. I.,—C. Feb. 11.
- Showers, S. G. D., Lieut., to act as Quart.-Mast. to 72d N. I., v. Boisragon.—C. Feb. 16.
- Shawe, A., Lieut. 31st foot to do duty at the Depot at Landour.—C. Feb. 16.
- Sturrock, H., 2d Lieutenant Horse Artillery, to do duty at the Depot at Landour.—C. Feb. 16.
- Span, O. W., Lieut., to act as Adjutant to 53d N. I.—C. Feb. 16.
- Seymour, R., Capt. 26th N. I., to be Major, v. Elliot promoted.—C. March 6.
- Smith, F. E., Lieutenant and Adjutant, to officiate as station staff at Neemuch, v. Dawkins.—C. Feb. 20.
- Speck, Sam., Capt. 4th N. I., on furlough to Europe.—C. March 13.
- Straton, F., Capt. 8th L. Cavalry, to command escort of Resident at Travancore, v. Faris resigned.—M. Feb. 17.
- Shedden, Wm., Assistant-Surgeon, permitted to enter on general duties, and posted to 4th N. I.—M. March 13.
- Stephenson, S. M., Surg., rem. from 1st L. Cav. to 10th N. I.—M. March 13.
- Scott, W., Lieutenant Engineers, to take charge of Fort Adjutant's Office, at Ahmednuggur, v. Smea, on leave.—B. Feb. 19.
- Stovell, M. Mr., admitted Assistant-Surgeon.—B. March 17.
- Sullivan, H., Lieut.-Col. 6th foot, to command at Poonah.—B. Feb. 18.
- Turnbull, H. M., Mr., to be Puisne Judge of courts of Sudder Dewanny and Nizam Adawlut.—C. Feb. 1.
- Taylor, R. J., Mr., to be Judge of city of Benares.—C. March 3.
- Turner, J., Surg., to officiate as Presidency Surgeon.—C. Feb. 23.
- Tollemache, W., Ensign, appointed to do duty with 24th N. I.—C. Feb. 27.
- Thomas, W., Superintending Surgeon, appointed to Neemuch.—C. Feb. 27.
- Tower, C. F., Ensign 59th N. I., on furlough to Europe.—C. Feb. 28.
- Taylor, C. C., Capt. H. M.'s 20th foot, to be Brigade-Major to European troops at Poonah, v. Stanley, on furlough.—B. Feb. 9.
- Tanner, Thos., Comm. Mar., to be Captain, v. Pruett res.—B. Feb. 26.
- Vaillant, T. N., 24th N. I., to be acting Quarter-Master and Interpreter, v. Prior.—B. Feb. 9.
- Wilmot, E., Mr., to be Assistant to Judge and Magistrate of district of Bareilly.—C. Feb. 26.
- Walker, R., Mr., to be collector of Rajeshahye.—C. March 3.
- Wright, Robert., Ensign 26th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Huish prom.—C. March 6.
- Walker, C. H., Ensign, appointed to do duty with 24th N. I.—C. Feb. 27.
- Wiggins, D., Lieutenant 7th L. Cavalry, on furlough to New South Wales for health.—C. Feb. 23.

- West, F. A., Esq., to be Registrar to Zillah court of Rajahmundry.—C. March 3.  
 Wilson, John, Senior Assistant-Surgeon, to be Surgeon, v. Evans retired.—M. March 13.  
 Wilson, J., Surgeon, posted to 1st Light Cavalry. M. March 13.  
 Watkins, H., Lieut. Artill. on furlough to Europe for health.—M. March 13.  
 Watkins, H. S., Ens. 15th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Benbow promoted.—B. Feb. 19.  
 Walker, Surgeon, in charge of convalescent station on Mahabuleshwer hills, to be placed in charge of Public Buildings, and allotment of Quarters at that station.—B. Feb. 19.  
 Willoughby, J. R. F., Ens. 25th N. I., to be Lieutenant, v. Wilson deceased.—B. March 17.  
 Whitehill, C., Colonel 10th N. I., to assume the command of troops in Candish as senior officer.—B. April 16.  
 Young, H. Mr., to be register at Dharwar.—B. Feb. 23.

#### BIRTHS.

- Anson, the Lady of Lieut. and Adj. 18th N. I., of a son, at Agra, Feb. 26.  
 Allport, the Lady of R., Esq., of a son, Calcutta, Feb. 26.  
 Agar, the Lady of Lieut. and Adj., of a son, at Hingolee, Feb. 5.  
 Adam, the Lady of Geo., Esq., of a son, Bombay, March 8.  
 Butter, the Lady of Dr., of a daughter, at Ghazecpore, Feb. 16.  
 Bryant, the Lady of Lieut.-Col.-Judge-Adv.-Gen., of a daughter, Calcutta, March 17.  
 Benjamin, the Lady of John, Esq., of a daughter, at Pondicherry, Feb. 23.  
 Barlow, the Lady of, Capt 51th foot, of a son, Madras, Feb. 25.  
 Brady, the Lady of Geo., Capt. 33d N. I., of a daughter, Madras, March 8.  
 Bowes, the Lady of Lieut.-Col. 4th N. I., of a daughter, Madras, March 20.  
 Bolton, the Lady of Capt., 20th foot, of a son at Candalla, Feb. 18.  
 Clough, the Lady of J., Capt. 11th N. I., of a daughter, at Bellary, Feb. 26.  
 Edgar, the Lady of J., Lieut. 50th reg, at Belgaum, March 4.  
 Elliot, the Lady of H. R., Esq., Assist.-Surg., of a daughter, Bombay, March 8.  
 Fraser, the Lady of Major G., comm. Sindwana batt., of a son, at Nagpore, Feb. 13.  
 Forbes, the Lady of the Hon. R., Civil Service, of a son, at Barcilly, Feb. 17.  
 Graves, the Lady of H. M., Lieut. 16th N. I., of a son, at Barrackpore, March 8.  
 Hay, the Lady of T. P., Lieut. 22d regiment, of a daughter, at Samulcottah, March 7.  
 Jordan, the Lady of Paul, Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, Feb. 26.  
 Johnson, the Lady of A. F., Lieut. 26th, N. I., of a daughter, at Furlhonopaly, Feb. 6.  
 Jervis, the Lady of George, Capt. of Engin., of a daughter, at Byculah, Feb. 7.  
 Lud, the Lady of A. F., Esq., Civil Service, of a son, at Futtchepore, Feb. 19.  
 Leighton, the Lady of Lieut.-Col.-Comm. (C. B.), of a daughter, at Belleville, Feb. 20.  
 Law, the Lady of Capt., of Artill., of a daughter, at Bombay, March 8.  
 Minchin, the Lady of F., Lieut. Madras Army, at Kamptee, Feb. 14.  
 Roworth, the Lady of Capt., 11th regiment, of a daughter, at Bellary, March 4.  
 Ricketts, the Lady of R. R., Esq., 48th M. N. I., at Bombay, Feb. 18.

- Sinclair, the Lady of J. M., Esq., of a son, Calcutta, March 15.  
 Shuldham, the Lady of A., Major 30th N. I., of a daughter, at Barrackpore, March 17.  
 Sargon, the Lady of the Rev. Mr., of a son, at Mazagon, Feb. 5.  
 Terraneau, the Lady of J. A., Esq., of a son, at Sylhet, Feb. 24.  
 Thomas, the Lady of E. B., Esq., Civil Service, of a son, at Trechonopoly, Feb. 10.  
 Todd, the Lady of George, Esq., of a daughter, at Madras, March 1.  
 Wilson, the Lady of J. H., Esq., Comm. the sloop of war *Coote*, of a daughter, at Bombay, March 3.

## MARRIAGES.

- Barwell, A. C., Esq., Civil Service, to Elizabeth, relict of the late J. W. Martin, Esq., at Chittagong, March 8.  
 Heyslop, A. G., Capt. 3d batt. Artill., to S. Jane, only daughter of Major Frith, comm. that corps, at St. Thomas's Mount, March 9.  
 Knipe, W. J. B., Lieut. 17th N. I., to Charlotte Margaret, eldest daughter of Capt. Grice, H. C. Marine, at Matoonghu, March 9.  
 Lane, C. W. R., Capt. 2d N. I., to Miss Ursula Palmer, at Calcutta, March 18.  
 O'Dowda, Robert, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, to Miss C. W. Fulcher, at Calcutta, March 12.  
 Onslow, G. W., Lieut. Madras Artill., to Miss Mary Murray, eldest daughter of the late Capt. A. R. Hughes, Madras Army, at Hyderabad, Feb. 24.  
 Scott, R. H., Esq., Civil Service, to Grace, youngest daughter of the Rev. H. Fisher, at Meerut, Feb. 16.  
 Stephen, A. T., Esq., of Dacca, to Miss Anna S. Apcar, at Calcutta, March 7.  
 Swanston, John, Lieut.-Dep.-Adj.-Qu.-Mas.-Gen., to Maria, third daughter of Lieut.-Col. Willis, Feb. 16.  
 Wahab, Henry, Capt. 37th N. N., to Miss Beata Zowell, youngest sister of Jas. Zowell, Esq., Garr. Surg., at Masalipatan, March 2.  
 Willis, Henry, Esq., to Julia Stewart, second daughter of Lieut.-Col. Willis, at Dapoolce, Feb. 16.

## DEATHS.

- Allen, the Rev. Henry, M.A., Military Chaplain, at Cuddalore, March 8.  
 Bird, Lieut.-Col., 16th foot, at Colombo, Ceylon.  
 Crofton, S. A., Lieut., 10th N. I., aged 24, at Meow, Feb. 25.  
 Clarke, G. H., Ensign, 15th N. I., at Verdaputty, March 5.  
 Cannan, James, Ensign, 15th N. I., at Madura, March 7.  
 Dawson, Captain, Engineers, at Colombo, Ceylon.  
 Graham, W. J., Esq., Civil Service, aged 26, at Joteegam, February 28.  
 Gibson, Matilda Jane, youngest daughter of Major J. F., 2d European regiment, at Kamptee.  
 Grate, Robert, Esq., Civil Service, aged 23, near Mooradabad, February 23.  
 Kindlinger, J., the Rev., of the Church Missionary Society, at Madras, March 11.  
 Mitchell, Mary Forbes, wife of Major Daniel Mitchell, of Ashgrove, Aberdeenshire, at Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, London, on Thursday, 27th August. This lamented Lady was distinguished through life by unaffected benevolence, and great tenderness of heart.

Manve, D., Lieut., 2d Grenadier N. I., at Suttarah, February 23.  
 Martin, Nancy, daughter of the late James, Esq., aged 17, Calcutta, March 9.  
 Paterson, S., Dr., of the 3d Bufts, at Sangor.  
 Ross, the Lady of John, Captain, Dep.-Assist.-Qur.-Mas.-Gen., at Quilon,  
 March 12.  
 Thornton, T., Esq., M.D., Assistant-Surgeon, of the Madras Establishment,  
 and in the service of his Highness the Rajah of Nagpore, at Bundara,  
 February 12.

## SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

## ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date.
1829.					1829.
Aug. 29	Portsmouth	Susan ..	Holliday ..	Bengal ..	Feb. 17
Sept. 1	Portsmouth	Cornet ..	Ormston ..	Madeira ..	Aug. 8
Sept. 2	Downs ..	Perseverance ..	Male ..	South Seas	
Sept. 3	Plymouth ..	Lang ..	Lush ..	N. S. Wales	
Sept. 3	Portsmouth	Australia ..	Sleight ..	N. S. Wales	
Sept. 5	Downs ..	Cleopatra ..	Young ..	Australia	Mar. 28
Sept. 7	Cowes ..	Calcutta ..	Mollen ..	Batavia	May 9
Sept. 8	Dover ..	Marquis of Hastings	Drake ..	Singapore	Feb. 17
Sept. 9	Downs ..	Hymen ..	Edington ..	Bombay ..	April 26
Sept. 10	Liverpool ..	Mary Hope ..	Farmer ..	Australia ..	April 13
Sept. 12	Downs ..	Henry Wellesley ..	Ireland ..	N. S. Wales	Mar. 28
Sept. 12	Clyde ..	Columbine ..	Wilson ..	Australia ..	April 29
Sept. 14	Hastings ..	Mary ..	Shuttleworth	N. S. Wales	April 27
Sept. 14	Margate ..	Lord W. Bentinck		China ..	Jan. 21
Sept. 19	Downs ..	James Sibbald ..	Cole ..	Bengal ..	Feb. 26
Sept. 19	Dover ..	Preciosa ..	Hjelm ..	Bengal ..	April 3
Sept. 19	Deal ..	Royal Charlotte ..	Dudman ..	China ..	Mar. 24
Sept. 21	Cowes ..	James Grant ..	Inglis ..	Mauritius	June 9
Sept. 28	Cowes ..	Nautilus ..	Nash ..	China ..	April 12

## ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
1829.				
Mar. 25	Bengal ..	George & Mary	Roberts ..	Greenock
Mar. 26	N. S. Wales	Ferguson ..	Groves ..	Dublin
April 2	Bengal ..	Amethyst ..	Thomson ..	London
April 7	Bombay ..	Eliza ..	Dixon ..	London
April 18	N. S. Wales	Mellish ..	Vincent ..	London
April 18	N. S. Wales	Doncaster ..	Middleton ..	London
April 18	N. S. Wales	Wm. Young ..	Reynolds ..	Leith
April 19	N. S. Wales	Thompson ..	Hobbs ..	London
April 26	N. S. Wales	Edward ..	Gilbert ..	Dublin
May 6	N. S. Wales	Lord Melville ..	Brown ..	London

## DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
1829.				
Aug. 30	Downs ..	Bee ..	Wishart ..	N. S. Wales
Aug. 30	Gravesend ..	Wellington ..	Evans ..	Madras
Aug. 30	Downs ..	Alfred ..	Hill ..	Madras
Aug. 31	Downs ..	Samuel Brown ..	Reed ..	Mauritius
Sept. 1	Downs ..	Providence ..	Ford ..	Madras
Sept. 2	Portsmouth	Thalia ..	Biden ..	Bengal
Sept. 6	Leith ..	Greenock ..	Miller ..	N. S. Wales
Sept. 7	Downs ..	Margaret ..	Forbes ..	China
Sept. 10	Downs ..	Indian ..	Harding ..	Singapore
Sept. 14	Downs ..	Chatham ..	Bragg ..	V. D. Land
Sept. 15	Weymouth	Egyptian ..	Lilburn ..	Swan River
Sept. 16	Downs ..	Sisters ..	Duke ..	New Zealand
Sept. 17	Portsmouth	Minstrel ..	Arkcoll ..	Batavia
Sept. 19	Downs ..	Resolution ..	Goldsworth..	St. Helena
Sept. 19	Gravesend ..	Francis ..	Watson ..	Cape
Sept. 20	Liverpool ..	Pacific ..	Prowse ..	Cape
Sept. 20	Plymouth ..	Elizabeth ..	Swan ..	Singapore
Sept. 20	Downs ..	Eagle ..	Pratt ..	Swan River
Sept. 25	Portsmouth	Boyne ..	Warren ..	Bombay
Sept. 25	Liverpool ..	Clyde ..	Oldham ..	Bombay
Sept. 27	Gravesend ..	Lady Blackwood	Dibbs ..	N. S. Wales

## GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

## HOMEWARDS.

Per *James Sibbald*, from Bengal. Lieut.-Colonels Ebington (C. B.), 47th foot, Stoneham, Ben., N. I., and W. C. Ormsby, 63d regiment; Captain John Penny cuick, 47th foot; Lieutenants Charles Lane, John Gordon, W. D. Deverell, and A. Campbell; and Ensign R. Allan, 47th foot; Surgeons A. Millar, 47th foot, Wm. Smith, and P. Stoneham, Esquires; Messdames Penny cuick, and Millar; Misses Penny cuick and Millar.

Per *Mary*, from New South Wales. Colonel Doveton, from St. Helena; Dr. Dixon, Mr. Farwell, Mr. Gordon, and Mrs. Driver.

Per *Henry Wellesley*, from Sydney. Lieutenant Reid; Messrs. Turnbull, Kergh, Hay, Chapman, and Blake; Messdames Blake and Turnbull.

Per *Malvina*, arrived at Liverpool. Captains Betham and Jones; and Mrs. Jones.

Per *Eduard Lambe*, from Bombay. Lieutenant Pottinger; Dr. Mearns; and Mr. Price.

Per *Susan*, from Madras. Captains Harwood and Skirrow; Lieut. Groves Messrs. Burt, Pender, and Johnson; Messdames Burt and Harwood.

# THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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No. 71.—NOVEMBER, 1829.—VOL. 23.

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## HOME GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

WHAT is to be done with India? Is the charter of the Company to be renewed? Has the present system proved conducive to the happiness of their subjects? Has it promoted the interests of Great Britain? Can it be maintained without disgrace and danger? Can it be changed with safety? These are questions daily proposed in all societies, among all ranks and classes of men, and repeated with increasing anxiety and importunity, as the discussion of the great interests of Eastern commerce and empire approaches. We have a pledge from the Minister in the House of Commons, that the preliminary inquiries shall be full, fair, and impartial; that every opportunity shall be afforded for arriving at a just decision upon a subject in which the interests of so many millions in England and in India are involved; we have a pledge in the loud complaint, the restive impatience of the country, manifested by the unanimous resolutions of public meetings, from one end of it to the other, that the evils of the Eastern monopoly are universally felt and resented; we have a pledge in the known spirit of justice, humanity, and religion, which animates the people of England, that if the enormities, said to be perpetrated under the Government of the East India Company be such as have been described, that Government, as a reproach to the British name and nation, shall not be suffered to endure.

The difficulties which beset this momentous question of national policy, are of a nature to dismay the most persevering industry, to baffle the most sagacious understanding. The general outline of our future measures is not yet sketched, the principles of decision are still to be sought, the tribunals to pronounce it ignorant or ill-informed, the witnesses, whose candid testimony were most valuable, interested and unwilling. This last, indeed, is the real cause of the obscurity in which the affairs of India are buried. Those who are most familiar with their details have never been communicative, the scrutiny of the public press has been carefully excluded; on other questions public opinion has been gradually, but safely formed by the concurrent influence of precept and illustration, but of India



the vast majority know little more than its existence; and unless some great statesman—a Burke or Brougham—be tempted, by ambition or philanthropy, to erect to himself a monument, by an India bill, the crude, hasty, undigested suggestions of little men can only produce some miserable abortion of little legislation. Indeed, in this great field of political experiment, we ought to be nervously apprehensive of 'making ourselves too little for the sphere of our duty, and be well assured that if we do not stretch and expand our minds to the compass of their object, that every thing about us will dwindle, by degrees, until at length our concerns are shrunk to the dimensions of our minds. It is not a predilection for mean, sordid, home-bred cares which can avert the consequences of a false estimation of our interests, or prevent the shameful dilapidation into which a great cause must fall, by mean reparations upon mighty ruins.'

In some respects, however, it may be admitted that the prospect of extensive reform is at this time more promising than at any previous consideration of the Company's affairs. The public sympathies, it is true, have not of late years been excited by those wanton excesses of irresponsible authority which disgraced the earlier periods of our Indian rule; there are no criminals at the bar of Parliament charged with delinquencies in public trust, calculated to fix the attention and inflame the passions of the people; the parties of the two great statesmen, to the purposes of whose ambition the India question was heretofore made subservient, have forgotten their ancient animosities; and though this absence of all motive for undue excitement tends, in some degree, to damp that ardour of investigation which is generated in the heat of political contention, yet this disadvantage is compensated by a disposition for calm, patient, deliberate inquiry, and an anxiety to obtain minute and accurate information, without which it is impossible to arrange, in any kind of method and system, the various and intricate considerations of Eastern policy. Indeed, if it were not forced upon us by the approaching termination of the existing Charter, what better opportunity could be chosen for serious application to this important business? We have a Prince not to be diverted from measures of proved utility by the meanness of personal resentment, or the poisonous whisperings of secret influence; we have a Government, backed by the leading interests of the country, strong in the character of its chief, in the absence of all open, the imbecility of all covert opposition, and omnipotent in the 'rich opinion' it has earned of having triumphed over unworthy prejudices, and sacrificed all considerations of personal pride and ease to the urgent exigencies of the empire. Deriving support from patriots of all ranks and denominations, enjoying the confidence of the purest among Whigs, and of all who are respectable among Tories, assailed only by the mercenary hirelings of a defeated faction, leagued in a base conspiracy against religious

freedom, why, in the name of the public good, should they shrink from an enlarged, generous, and comprehensive scheme of Indian policy? They are charged with dissipating the nation's wealth by unwise adherence to the commercial policy of Mr. Canning. They have manfully and nobly spurned the cheap popularity of its abandonment. Is that policy fairly tried while the trade of Asia is in chains? Are not the old navigation laws still in force beyond the Cape of Good Hope? Forbidden, as we are, to 'haunt' the ports of the celestial empire, is our intercourse with South America free? While the United States alone can furnish them with the choice productions of the East, what favour can we expect from the states of Europe? What justice can we hope from Congress while India remains a waste? There is no branch of industrious occupation which is not afflicted with the evil of excessive production. Our warehouses are full of goods, our workmen are sick with the plague of hunger, our manufacturers discontented and distressed, the jealousy of foreign nations has excluded us from all outlets of consumption except one, which we have improvidently closed against ourselves, and surrendered to the chartered company of London merchants trading to the East.

But great as this calamity unquestionably is, it were base to advert to it as the only, or the chief, motive for good government in India. If England can be benefitted, relieved, restored, by extended intercourse with our Eastern territories, mere interest would dictate the abolition of restraint, but we have higher duties to perform. The inscrutable decrees of Providence have subjected a hundred millions of fellow-creatures, to our yoke. To the British Parliament they look up for succour against existing wrong, for a shield against future oppression. Half a century of cruel war has desolated their country, the avarice of rapacious stewards has robbed them of their wealth, they are the victims of a system of taxation, which, in its mildest form, deprives frugality of its just reward, and industry of all inducement to exertion. Of this system the rigour is enhanced by the merciless policy of insolvent rulers, who, harassed by the increasing embarrassments of a ruinous trade, the vigorous competition of successful rivals, and the obligation to provide for necessitous dependents, extort the last anna from the helpless ryots, prodigal of empty wishes for their prosperity, but heedless of all improvement except improvement of revenue. Improved revenue creates fresh means of patronage, and patronage is the main spring of their system. From the time when the Company acquired the territorial revenue of Bengal, commercial profit ceased to be an object of the proprietors. The style, indeed, of a mercantile association was still kept up, but they were merchants only in name. The principle of buying cheap and selling dear, which is the only foundation of commercial thrift, was intentionally, and systematically disregarded. East India stock is now purchased for

no other purpose but to obtain, by a judicious exercise of the right of secret voting, an influence over the Court of Directors. Debtors to the Proprietors for the attainment of the 'highest object of their ambition,' these gentlemen evince; or promise to evince their gratitude, by charging the needy friends and relatives of their supporters on the Indian revenues. So far as it can be contrived consistently with this primary object, they are, no doubt, anxious to promote the happiness of their subjects, and their dispatches abound with philanthropic declarations to that effect; but try the sincerity of these protestations by their conduct, when the purposes of just government, and the maintenance of extensive patronage clash, and the interest of the people of India will be found to be uniformly sacrificed to the interest of the Proprietors of East India Stock, and of the Directors of the East India Company.

This preponderance of considerations of patronage over those of equitable dominion, is by no means new in the history of the Company, and the cause of it is to be sought not so much in any wilful propensity to malversation, as in the inherent and irremediable debility of its constitution. Very soon after the anomalous amalgamation of the sovereign and commercial characters, by the cession of the Dewanny of Bengal, it became apparent to the government in England, that however competent a mercantile corporation might prove to conduct the multifarious details of a distant and extensive traffic, it was by no means deserving of implicit trust in the administration of political affairs. It was foreseen, and, indeed, it could scarcely have eluded expectation, that influence, however small, when once established in the councils of Native princes, must have an inevitable tendency to progressive increase, and that in the contingency of such augmentation, without suitable check and control, the authority of the Crown, of Parliament, and of the Directors themselves, must all be at the mercy of the Company's servants. Respecting them, a well-founded apprehension was entertained, that unless awed by the vigilant superintendence of their employers, and of Parliament, they would infallibly pervert the powers entrusted to them in their political capacity to the attainment of unlawful gain, to be employed on their return to England in providing shelter and protection for those who, in India, had screened their misconduct, or ministered to their rapacity. To guard against the occurrence of this evil which threatened the degradation of the Court of Directors, and the erection of a power in India too strong for their control, it was, in 1773, for the first time, deemed expedient to introduce the inspection of the ministers of the crown into the affairs of the Company. By the 10th section of the 13th Geo. III. c. 63, it was enacted, that every thing in the Company's correspondence from India, which related to the civil or military affairs and government of the Company, should, within fourteen days after the receipt, be

laid before the Secretary of State; and every thing that related to the management of the revenues, before the Commissioners of the Treasury. This enactment, though well intended, and as far as it went well aimed, was, in effect, lame and impotent. The powers entrusted by it to the servants of the Crown, were mere powers of inspection, to be exercised long after the opportunity for timely and productive interference had elapsed, and leading, by their limitation, to the correspondence received, only to a vague, unsatisfactory conjecture of results, long after their causes had become inveterate. This defect was, indeed, in some measure remedied by the Act of 1781, 21 Geo. III. c. 65, s. 34, which provided that the Court of Directors should deliver to the Commissioners of the Treasury, copies of all letters and orders in any way relating to the management of the revenues of the Company, fourteen days, at least, before they were dispatched; and to one of the Secretaries of State, copies of all letters and orders in any way relating to the civil and military affairs of the Company; and that the Court of Directors should pay due obedience, and should be governed and bound in their directions to the Governors and Councils of the several settlements by such instructions as they should receive from his Majesty, by one of his principal Secretaries of State, so far as related to the conduct and transactions of the said United Company and their Governors, Presidents, and Councils respectively, with the country powers in the East Indies, and also to the levying war and making peace. In this act we have the first positive declaration by the Legislature, of the inexpediency of committing the irresponsible government of India to a Joint Stock Company, and the necessity of subjecting the exercise of duties, even purely ministerial, to supervision and control.

It appears from the Ninth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, of 1783, that the apprehensions which led to the above-mentioned enactments, were not without foundation, that during the whole period which elapsed from 1773 to 1783, disorders and abuses of every kind had multiplied. 'Wars, contrary to policy, and contrary to public faith, were carrying on in various parts of India; the allies, dependents and subjects of the Company, were every where oppressed; dissensions in the Supreme Council prevailed, and continued for the greater part of the time; the contest between the civil and judicial powers threatened that issue to which they came at last—an armed resistance to the authority of the King's Court of Justice; the orders which the servants were bound to obey, were avowedly, and on principle, contemned; and, during all this time, the real state of the several Presidencies, and the conduct of their governments towards the Natives, was altogether unknown to Parliament, or even to ministers.'

Such was the state of things when the affairs of the East India

Company, rendered interesting by the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and the contest for power between Pitt and Fox, fixed the attention of the country. A correct apprehension of the objects proposed by Mr. Pitt in his East India Bill, and of the means by which he endeavoured to attain them, is essential to the due understanding of the existing system ; and as the complete failure of all the ends contemplated in its establishment, will, in all probability, soon occasion a reconsideration of the plan to which it was preferred, the following comparison of their respective merits, by Mr. Sheridan, may be read with advantage. From it, it will be seen, that the necessity of depriving the East India Company of all real power, and of reducing them to the mere mechanism of official obedience, was at that time felt by all parties in the state ; that the authority since exercised by them is that of mere stewards, to be restrained and revoked at will, omnipotent for every purpose of mismanagement, but utterly incompetent for the task of vigorous and substantial reform.

1. Mr. Fox's bill discontinued the powers and authorities of the Company for the term of four years, and transferred those powers, and no more, or others, for the said term, to seven. Directors named by Parliament, to be by them exercised in trust for, and for the benefit of, the Company.

Mr. Pitt's bill continued the form of the Company's government, and professed to leave the patronage, under certain conditions, and the commerce without conditions, in the hands of the Company ; but placed all matters relating to the civil and military government and revenues, in the hands of six Commissioners for the Affairs of India, who were invested with the superintendence and control over all the British territorial possessions in the East Indies, and over the affairs of the United Company of Merchants trading thereto.

2. Mr. Fox's bill did not affect to separate the right of nominating and appointing the persons to be employed in executing the measures of government in India, from the right of originating and directing the measures themselves.

Mr. Pitt's bill denied to his commissioners any right of nominating or appointing to any office civil or military, but it reserved to them the power of annulling every appointment of the Company, in a right of recalling every person, civil or military, in the Company's service, as well as an exclusive right to censure or approve, furnish or reward, according to their judgment and discretion.

3. Mr. Fox's bill did not pretend at once to divide the commercial from the political interests, or the trade, from the revenues of the Company ; but provided that nine assistant Directors, nominated by Parliament from among the Proprietors of East India Stock, should form a Board, for the sole purpose of ordering and managing the commerce of the said United Company, under the orders of the superior Board.

Mr. Pitt's bill professed to divide the political and commercial interests of the Company between the Board of Control and the Directors; but denied to the Directors the right to manage, order, or direct their commercial concerns in India, unless their dispatches should have received the sanction of the Board of Control; and in case the Board should directly interfere in the commerce of the Company, the remedy provided for the Directors is an appeal to the King in Council, against the decision of his Majesty's ministers, and his Majesty's decision in Council is final and conclusive. It also gives to the Board of Control, while it professes to leave the trade of the Company independent, an absolute power over the territorial revenues of the Company in India, the clear profits of which, after defraying the charges and expences attending the same, form the principal, if not the sole fund on which the trade with India is carried on.

4. Mr. Fox's bill did not pretend to be founded, in any respect, upon the consent of the Company, nor to produce a system of reform agreeable to, or concerted with, those whose abuse of power it professed to remedy.

Mr. Pitt's bill was avowedly communicated to the Directors of the Company and to the Proprietors, its several provisions were discussed by them, and many material alterations were made in the plan after it had been brought into Parliament, declaredly for the purpose of according to the suggestions, and granting the explanations required by the Company. Upon this ground the bill passed; and since that time there is scarce any one right or power which the Company conceived to have been secured to them, which, in the opinion of the Court of Directors, has not been usurped by the Board of Control—the Commissioners supporting their own construction of the law against the fruitless expostulations and remonstrances of the Directors.

5. Mr. Fox's bill established no fourth estate, nor gave any one power to the Directors therein named, which did not before exist in the Company; but, on the contrary, did limit and restrain the said Directors so appointed by Parliament, in various particulars, in which the Company's Directors were not before restrained.

Mr. Pitt's bill has established a fourth, or new estate, or department of government, with powers infinitely exceeding those possessed by the Court of Directors, or Court of Proprietors, at the time when the said Board of Control was established.

6. Mr. Fox's bill, so far from placing the Directors, named by Parliament, above the executive government of the Company, and out of the reach of its inspection and control, did expressly and distinctly place them under the same obligation to communicate their transactions to his Majesty's ministers for the time being, and did, expressly and distinctly, make them subordinate and amenable to

his Majesty's pleasure, and to the directions of his Ministers, in the same manner, and upon the same footing, and under the same limitations and instructions, as the Regulating Act of 1773 ; and the Act of 1781, and various other Acts, had placed the Court of Directors chosen and appointed by the Company.

Mr. Pitt's bill has expressly repealed all the provisions in the said acts, which gave to his Majesty any right, power, or authority to interfere in any matter or concerns of the British Government in India, and has made the Board of Control wholly independent in the exercise of their offices of the general executive government of the Company ; they being neither bound to abide by his Majesty's will and pleasure, or even to communicate with his Majesty upon any one measure or matter relating to India, of any sort whatever.

7. Earl Fitzwilliam, and the other Directors under Mr. Fox's bill, could neither have had transactions with any of the country powers in the East Indies, nor have directed hostilities against, nor have concluded treaties with, any states or power, but subject to the orders of his Majesty ; and his royal will and pleasure, signified to them by the Secretary of State, they were bound by him to obey.

Mr. Dundas, with any two more Commissioners, may transact matters of any sort with the country powers ; may treat with, or ally with, or declare war against, or make peace with, all or any of the powers or princes of India ; may levy armies there to any extent, and command the whole revenues of all our possessions for their support, without taking his Majesty's pleasure upon any of these subjects in any shape, and without acting in his name, or under his authority ; and these things he may do against the will of the Directors, and without the knowledge of Parliament ; so that, in truth, the present Board of Control have, under Mr. Pitt's bill, separated and usurped those very imperial prerogatives from the Crown, which were falsely said to have been given to the new Board of Directors under Mr. Fox's bill.

8. Mr. Fox's bill placed the whole of the powers taken from the Company in the new Government established at home, in order that they might be executed under the inspection and control of the legislature and the public.

Mr. Pitt's bill, assisted by the explanatory Act of 1786, beside the new and extraordinary powers given to the Board of Control at home, has given to the Governors and Presidents abroad the most despotic and extravagant authorities, unlike any thing that could have been supposed to originate in a free state, and utterly irreconcilable to the spirit of the British Constitution ; by virtue of which despotic authority, among other enormities, which, under the name of Government, may be committed, the Governor, or President of the Council, may, upon his single pleasure, seize and secure any British subject in India, of whatever rank or situation, and upon the

accusation only of any one person, cause him to be thrown on ship-board, or imprisoned, until there shall be a convenient opportunity of sending him to England, where, by the same bill, a new tribunal and proceeding, equally unheard of in the Constitution, are provided for his trial.

9. Mr. Fox's bill established no system of mystery and concealment in the management of affairs of any sort; but, on the contrary, did expressly provide, that the conduct of the Board established by his bill should be clear and open, that their opinions should be given in no covert manner, and that their motives of conduct, as well as their measures, should stand recorded on their journals, signed with the name of each Director, thereby making them responsible to Parliament and their country by the best pledge and security for responsibility—an explicit avowal of their purposes at the time they resolved on their measures.

Mr. Pitt's bill has provided a Secret Committee in the Court of Directors, who are bound by a solemn oath, from which the Board of Control alone can release them; and through this Secret Committee, who are bound to obey all orders of that Board, as the servants in India are bound to obey all orders of the Secret Committee, all the enormous powers and prerogatives before mentioned may be exercised without a possibility, should the Commissioners so please, either that the King, the Company, or Parliament, shall ever hear of any such orders until they shall have been carried into full effect.

10. Mr. Fox's bill *was a measure of experiment, the term of its duration limited to four years; and during that period the affairs of the Company were placed so immediately and intelligibly under the eye of Parliament, that a permanent and well-digested system for the future government of those valuable possessions might reasonably have been expected from the wisdom of the legislature*, before that term should have been expired; a system that might have restored to the Company all the rights and privileges which, consistently with the ends of good government, they could possess, and have provided real and effectual securities to the Constitution, whenever the judgment of Parliament should have found it necessary to add to the power and influence of the Crown.

Mr. Pitt's bill, and all its explanatory and supplemental acts, are perpetual laws, and profess to be a final arrangement for the government of India, by which means the Company is wholly at the mercy of the Board of Control, not only with respect to the renewal of their Charter of exclusive trade, but with respect to their claims of property in the territorial revenues in India, as well as in their corporate capacity as merchants, entitled to a free trade in common with the rest of the King's subjects, although their monopoly should not be renewed; and in this situation they are placed in direct violation of the faith of the legislature engaged to them for



a valuable consideration, upon a solemn compact, while neither against the Board of Control, acting on purposes of exclusive power and ambition, nor against the Crown, acting in collusion with the Board of Control, and covertly directing its measures and its influence, is there any provision made for the danger which may arise to the Constitution.

Never was a measure more studiously misrepresented, or more generally misunderstood than Mr. Fox's bill. It was resisted as an invasion of chartered rights, an unwarrantable interference with the Company's affairs, an attempt to create an unconstitutional power in the country, omnipotent when allied, unmanageable when opposed to the legitimate influence of the Crown. Rendered odious by the violent invectives of Mr. Pitt, disabled by the avowed hostility of the Court, by whose minions he was traduced, Mr. Fox was driven from the helm of power by a conspiracy to alarm the King and delude the people, than which none more unworthy or unprincipled is recorded in our national annals. There was nothing in the principle or details of the measure, which he submitted to the House of Commons, which deserved the terms of violent reprobation applied to it by Mr. Pitt and his partisans. Its object was merely to do that effectually, the expediency of which had already been repeatedly declared by the legislature; the necessity of which was proved by the reports on which the bill was grounded, namely, to transfer the government of India from hands incompetent to conduct it, to the management of a Board of Directors appointed by Parliament, protected from the influence of clandestine intrigue by the publicity of their proceedings, and amenable to the direct and constant superintendence of the legislature, from which their power was derived. Mr. Pitt attempted to arrive at the same point by an indirect circuitous route, and, contenting himself, in the first instance, with the assertion of the principle of control, proposed to do by degrees, what he was reluctant to effect at once. Fettered by the close intimacy which had grown up between him and the Company during the short administration of his rival, and the earnest support he had received from them while the issue of the contest was in doubt, he was compelled to consult their wishes in the general outline of his plan, and to preserve to them as much of the exterior insignia of authority as was necessary to justify their retention of a large share of the Indian patronage. With this view he left them in the undisturbed possession of the nominal sovereignty of India, the monopoly of the trade, the administration of the territorial revenues, and of civil and military affairs, subject only to the control of a Board of Commissioners appointed by the King. If his scheme had stopped here, he would in truth have done little more than was done by the Acts of 1773 and 1780, the inefficiency of which had already been experienced, but as he felt his strength he increased his pretensions, and by the Acts of 1786 and 1793, he reduced the Courts of Directors and Pro-

prietors to a state of absolute subservience to the Board of Control. By the first of these Acts, 36th Geo. III. c. 16, every member of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, appointed by the Act of 1784 to correspond with the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, was bound by oath not to disclose the orders and instructions transmitted from the Board to any persons not members of the said Committee; and by the twenty-third section of the 33rd Geo. III. c. 52, it was enacted that no order or resolution of the Court of Directors, concerning the civil or military government, or revenues of India, after it shall have received the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall be rescinded, suspended, revoked, or varied, by any General Court of Proprietors.

Of this notable expedient to govern India, without violence to 'chartered rights, and with safety to the British Constitution,' the results have been precisely such as Mr. Burke anticipated. This scheme, said he, of reconciling a direction really and truly deliberative, with an office really and substantially controlling, is a sort of machinery that can be kept in order but a very short time. Either the Directors will dwindle into Clerks, or the Secretary of State will leave every thing to them, often through design, often through neglect. If activity should be affected by both, collusion, procrastination, delay, and in the end, utter confusion must ensue.\* That such has been the character of the relation between the Board of Commissioners and the Court of Directors since the passing of the charter of 1793, no one at all acquainted with the history of the Company's affairs can entertain a doubt.\* Deprived of

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\* 'Of two bodies,' says Mr. Mill, 'when one has the right of unlimited command, and the other is constrained to unlimited obedience, the latter has no power whatsoever, but just as much, or as little, as the former is pleased to allow. This is the relative position of the Board of Control and the East India Company. The powers of the Board of Control convert the Company's Courts into agents of its will. The real, the sole governing power of India, is the Board of Control; and it only makes use of the Court of Directors as an instrument, as a subordinate office, for the management of details, and the preparation of business for the cognizance of the superior power. The real nature of the machine cannot be disputed, though, hitherto, its movements have been generally smooth, and the power is considerable which appears to remain in the hands of the Directors. The reasons are clear. Whenever there is not a strong motive to interfere with business of detail, there is always a strong motive to let it alone. There never has yet been any great motive to the Board of Control to interfere; and, of consequence, it has given itself little trouble about the business of detail, which has proceeded with little harm, and as little benefit, from the existence of that Board. So long as the Court of Directors remain perfectly subservient, the superior has nothing further to desire. Of the power which the Directors retain, much is inseparable from the management of detail. The grand question, relates to the effects upon the Government of India, arising from an authority like the Board of Control, acting through such a subordinate and ministerial instrument as the Court of Directors.'

all power really deliberative, by the superintendence of the Board of Control, not one scheme of rational improvement, not one attempt to raise the character of their subjects, to give them an interest in the permanence of our power, or the welfare of their own country, has hitherto emanated from the Directors. In every department of our administration, fiscal, judicial, military, or political, the Natives of India are proscribed. The avowed object of the two East India bills of 1783, was to rescue them from the state of misery and degradation in which the misgovernment of former rulers, their own ignorance and superstition, and our oppression, had involved them. Has that been done? Is it likely to be effected by men, whose only object in seeking the direction is to provide for relatives and friends by the emoluments of those offices to which the Natives, if competent, might aspire?

The President of the Board of Control, and the Secret Com-

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‘It is evident, that so far as the Directors are left to themselves, and the Board of Control abstain from the trouble of management, the Government of India is left to the imperfections, whatever they were, of the previously condemned system, as if no Board of Control were in existence. In that part of the business, in which the Board takes a real share, it is still to be inquired, what chance exists that better conduct will proceed from the Board of Control, than would have proceeded from the Court of Directors?

‘Motives to application on the part of the Board of Control, can be discovered none. And application, accordingly, such as deserves the name, a careful pursuit of knowledge, with incessant meditation of the ends and the means, the Board has not even thought of bestowing. If Mr. Dundas be quoted as an objection, it is only necessary to explain the circumstances of the case. The mind of Mr. Dundas was active and meddling, and he was careful to exhibit the appearance of a great share in the Government of India; but what was it, as President of the Board of Control, that he ever did? He presented, as any body might have presented, the Company's annual budget; and he engrossed an extraordinary share of their patronage. But I know not any advice which he ever gave, that was not either very obivious, or very wrong.

‘The institution of the Board of Control, as it gave no motives to application in the members of that Board, so it lessened prodigiously the motives to application in the Court of Directors. Before the existence of the Board of Control, the undivided reputation of good measures, the undivided ignominy of bad, redounded to the Court of Directors. The great sanction of public opinion acted upon them with undivided energy. Men are most highly stimulated to undergo the pains of labour, when they are most sure of reaping the fruits of labour; most surely discouraged from labour, when they are least sure of reaping its advantages: but in taking pains to understand the grounds of action, and laboriously to frame measures adapted to them, the Court of Directors, before their subjugation to the Board of Control, were sure of reaping the fruits of their labours in the execution of their schemes. What motive, on the other hand, to the laborious consideration of measures of government remained, when all the fruits of knowledge and of wisdom might be rejected by the mere caprice of the President of the Board of Control?—*History of British India*, vol. iv. p. 489.

mittee of the Court of Directors, are, no doubt, under the control of Parliament and of public opinion, competent to govern India with honour to themselves and advantage to the empire. Give them some higher motives for exertion than the participation in Indian patronage, emancipate them from mean obligation to the Proprietors of East India Stock, free them from the perpetual embarrassments of a ruinous trade, associate with them men whose stake and character in the country is a security against corruption, approach, in fine, as nearly as the altered circumstances of affairs may permit, to the wise, generous, and magnanimous policy of Mr. Fox, to rule our Asiatic empire in the King's name, and half the difficulties which have been created by the present weak and involved system of mystery and concealment will speedily disappear.

The ferment raised throughout the country by the objections urged against that enlightened resolution is now well understood to have been created by fraud and imposture. It is indeed scarcely possible to learn from any of Mr. Pitt's speeches, what was the precise nature of the apprehensions which he professed to entertain. It is more than probable that the attainment of power at all events, *quocunque modo*, was the real motive of his opposition, and that in this he was encouraged and abetted by the personal enemies of Mr. Fox, the 'reptiles who burrowed under the throne.' Be this as it may, the 'fourth estate,' 'the monster in the constitution,' and other hard names of equal sound and meaning, which were lavished on Lord Fitzwilliam and his Board, are now felt by every intelligent reader of the history of that day, to have been utterly misplaced, and the undue influence which was said to have been secured by it to Mr. Fox, in case of his dismissal from office, was unquestionably a mere chimera of his rival's imagination. When therefore we are told, by those who would perpetuate the present iniquitous system, merely to preserve the power of appointing writers and cadets to vex, and tease, and plunder the people of India, that we are unable to suggest any plan more likely to effect the purposes of good government—we answer, that there is at least a plan of provisional arrangement, devised by men whose names will be held in honour in this country so long as honour is any part of its concern, the leading features of which are as applicable to the present, as to any past condition of affairs, by which the true interests of India may be reconciled to the interests of England, without danger to the just influence of the Crown or the independence of Parliament.

The adoption of that plan now, would occasion no hasty or inconsiderate innovation in the frame, or form, of our provincial authority; it would not, in awkward eagerness to reform, rashly discredit or degrade the Government, to which our Indian subjects pay obedience; but it would enable us to conduct a searching inquiry into every crevice of the Company's system; it would place

the affairs of India clearly and intelligibly before the legislature and the country, and provide for the discovery and correction of abuse, by men to whom its existence is not attributable, and who are not interested in its continuance. Let us be well assured that we cannot much longer keep India from our thoughts, that all our attempts to separate it from our public interests, and our national reputation, will end in disgrace and failure. We must remove the screen by which the miserable condition of a hundred millions of fellow-subjects is hidden from our view ; or it may soon, very soon, be torn in pieces. Better, surely, that the former should be done, in pursuance of a wise, generous, and timely resolution to devote ourselves to an arduous, but importunate duty, than that the latter should occur, in the sudden calamity of events, which may shake this empire to its centre. The struggle to support the Company's supremacy, if it chance to totter, would infallibly crush the credit, and overwhelm the revenues of this country. It is yet in our power to prevent that misfortune, to unite in cordial attachment to our government millions who still expect justice at our hands, but whose deferred hope begins to sicken, and may, ere long, give place to resentment and revenge.

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THE CAPTIVE'S RETURN.

Home of my youth ! how chang'd you greet me,  
 No more, alas ! my home art thou ;  
 Where are the friends should flock to meet me ?  
 Dear to my heart, where are they now ?  
 Keener than steel, the thought comes o'er me,  
 Hard is the truth my lips must own ;  
 All to the grave are gone before me,  
 Cheerless and old I'm left alone.—

Wide o'er the vale mine eyes extending  
 Seek for each spot, each tree they knew,  
 Vainly they seek—my bosom rending  
 Nought but a desert meets my view :—  
 Soft o'er my soul remembrance stealing  
 Calls up the days, the joys of yore,  
 Cold grows my heart, the chord of feeling,  
 Broken within vibrates no more.—

Fast to the grave my steps are speeding ;  
 Strangers will see me droop and die ;  
 On my low grave will gaze unheeding,  
 Drop not a tear nor heave one sigh ;  
 Oh, not a friend is nigh to hear me,  
 None comes to soothe the hour of gloom,  
 Friend of the hopeless ! Death be near me,  
 Home, I shall find thee in the tomb.

F. M. L.

SACRED CRITICISM—INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE—MASORETIC  
PUNCTUATION—ANCIENT VERSIONS AND MSS.—RABBINICAL  
INTERPRETATION—MODERN INTERPRETERS—THE REFORMATION.

No. II.

I HAVE already given an account of the nature, object, and importance of Sacred Criticism. I have also given an account of what has been accomplished in this department of Sacred Literature, from the earliest times down till the publication of Griesbach's second edition of the Greek Testament. I am now to pursue another branch of the history, by giving an account of what has been done with regard to the criticism of the Hebrew Scriptures. I have already glanced at the labours of the Masorites. During the fifth and sixth centuries, and even for some centuries after, they did all that men could do, in order to secure the integrity of the sacred text. But every thing human is imperfect; and accordingly the belief that no error could take place, after the text was fixed by the Masorites, affords only an instance of the weakness of mortals, and of the strong force of prejudice. It is proper to remark, that when the study of the Hebrew language was revived, Jews were naturally applied to as teachers; reverence, more than they deserved, was paid to the dicta of their learned men, and it was not till Christians became themselves proficient in the knowledge of the Hebrew language, that any one ventured to call in question their authority.

The first instance of disobedience to the supreme authority of the Masoretic Jews, and the first example of independent thinking, was set by Elias Levita, a learned Jew, who called in question the divine authority of the points. Masclef, a Roman Catholic, and Cappellus, a Protestant, improved the suggestion; and both pursued the subject with great ardour. The two Buxtorfs, father and son, maintained with obstinacy, what they had learned with great labour and expence—the divine authority of the points and accents. The brothers, Lewis and James Cappellus, replied to the Buxtorfs. The whole subject was thoroughly discussed in this dispute; and the sum of what was advanced on both sides may be learned from the grammars of Robertson, a follower of Buxtorf, and Sculters, on the one hand; and from Dr. Wilson, a follower of Masclef and Cappellus, on the other. The subject has since been exhausted. The doctrine of Masclef and Cappellus, with regard to the authority of the Masoretical punctuation, was considered for a while as the most dangerous of heresies; but time and more deliberate study, have produced such effects on the minds of men, that, at the present day, there are not perhaps many individuals acquainted with the subject, who would hesitate a single moment to pronounce the Masoretical points and accents a mere human invention. They

are useful, in so far as they enable us to ascertain in what sense the Jews, who lived in the fifth and sixth centuries, understood the Scriptures. But no one now hesitates to depart from that sense, when another and better meaning, and more accordant with the scope and connection of the Scriptures, can by that means be obtained.

The Hebrew punctuation is so different from any thing in the languages of Europe, that it is exceedingly difficult to convey an idea of it to any one who has not studied the subject. Suffice it to say, that such was the power attributed to these points, that they have been allowed to take the place of the letters themselves, to make a letter sound or be silent, according to their position; and, in a word, to make the simplest language in the world the most complex. Such were the hindrances which the slavish observances of the Masoretic punctuation and accents opposed to the acquisition of the Hebrew, that it may safely be asserted, that by devoting one hour in the day to the study of that language without the points, greater progress will be made in three months than could in as many years be attained, when the old method is pursued.

Another evil arising from the slavish regard which was paid to this system of punctuation may be noticed. So long as the points were considered of divine authority, the various copies of the Hebrew Bible were, without examination, tacitly held to be perfectly identical; and to have hinted the possibility of a various reading would have been thought heretical. The rejection of the points made way for many improvements in the translation; and the collection of MSS. proved that the text itself not only admitted, but required correction.

The publication of Walton's Polyglot, which contained, in parallel columns, the Vulgate Latin, the Septuagint, the Chaldee Targums, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Syriac, and Arabic translations, together with the Ethiopic and Persic, where these could be procured, with a Latin translation of each, produced a variety of readings. These excited public attention to the examination of Hebrew MSS., which were found in many instances to agree with the cognate dialects, and other versions of the Old Testament, where these differed from the Masoretic copies and printed editions: this gave rise to the Herculean task of Dr. Kennicot. Morinus, a father of the Oratory in Paris, gave a most gloomy representation of the state of the Hebrew text. He took for granted that the Septuagint and the Vulgate were both correct, and consequently that the Hebrew text was faulty in all instances in which it differed from these. Cappellus modified the sentiments of Morinus, and justly maintained that ancient versions were only one source of emendation. Walton's Polyglot prepared the way for a more certain and philosophical discussion of the question. In 1667, Athias, a learned Rabbi, published a Hebrew Bible, for which he collated some an-

cient MSS., Sablonski, Vander Hooght, Opitices, and Michaelis, severally published editions of the Hebrew Bible, on which considerable critical pains were bestowed. Houbigant, about the middle of the last century, indulged in conjectural emendation to such a degree as no critic could approve.

In the same year Dr. Kennicot published his dissertation on the state of the Hebrew text, in order to show the necessity of collating the Hebrew MSS. and ancient versions, for the emendation of the Old Testament, in the same manner as had been done for the New. In 1759, he published his second dissertation. The propriety of the measure was by this time generally acknowledged; and a subscription, to the amount of 10,000*l.* sterling, was raised to defray the expence. About six hundred Hebrew MSS., and sixteen Samaritan, were collated, either in whole or in part; and the variations were printed along with Vander Hooght's edition. The first volume was published in 1776, and the second in 1780. He had recourse also to the quotations of the Old Testament, in the Talmud, and other Jewish writings. The number of the various readings thus obtained is immense; but they consist chiefly in various modes of spelling, and if readings of this kind are neglected, such as make any variation in the tense, will be reduced to a very narrow compass. The result of the whole may briefly be stated to be, that no ancient book has been preserved so entire as the Hebrew Bible has been. Kennicot's edition brings down the history of this department of 'Sacred Criticism' to nearly the same period with Welstein's edition of the New.

In 1784, and from that time till 1788, John Bernard Dé Rossi, at Parma, published a Hebrew Bible, with additional various readings; and, in 1793, Poedarlein and Meisner published, in a cheap form, an edition, in which the most important variations of Kennicot and Dé Rossi were embodied, and the whole brought within the reach of almost every Hebrew scholar. What is wanted to complete this edition is, a collation of the ancient versions which Walton's Polyglot affords, and which might be accomplished at small expence.

In addition to the labours of Walton, Kennicot, and Dé Rossi, it may be proper to mention Dr. Holme's edition of the Septuagint, with the collation of MSS. and the continuation, by M. Parsons. This work, which is not yet completed, will be an important accession to Biblical criticism.

There are other sources of emendation—the Talmud, the Mishua and other Jewish writings; but these are now considered inferior in value to what they once were.

Some have proposed an additional source, viz.—conjecture. This has been employed by Lowth, in his translation of Isaiah; and even those who explode this source in the criticism of the Greek *Oriental Herald*, Vol. 23.



Testament, are generally disposed to admit a limited and sober use of it in the criticism of the Hebrew Scriptures.

With regard to the present Hebrew characters, the question has been proposed, whether they are original or borrowed from the Chaldeans; or whether the Samaritan characters are in fact identical with those which the Hebrews anciently used? This question, in one point of view, is of no importance, being only equivalent to the similar question, whether an old English writer employed the common Roman character or the Italian? In either case, the character is equally legible, and the language equally intelligible. If any one will take the trouble to compare the fac-similes of the autographs of our kings and nobles, in the copies of the ancient laws of this country, with the style of writing in modern times, he will immediately discover the changes that have taken place in the orthography and also in the conformation of the letters; and hence we may legitimately conclude, that similar changes have taken place with regard to Hebrew writing. But whether these changes took place among the Hebrew or the Samaritans, or both, is now a matter of conjecture. Inscriptions and coins have been produced, which seem to indicate that the Samaritan were the ancient Hebrew letters; but whether these coins and inscriptions are the productions of the early age to which they lay claim, or the fabrication of a more recent period, is uncertain.

One question, however, connected with this enquiry is important, and as it is the previous question, it ought, in the first place, to be settled and disposed of. If the Samaritan be the ancient Hebrew character, is not the principle of accounting for various readings, from the similarity of the present letters, altogether precluded? And this is one source of various readings, on which much confidence is placed.

It is further worthy of remark, that there is a fashion in writing, as in most other arts; and even in type founding and printing the taste is so frequently varied, that one who is at pains to study the subject, may decide with tolerable accuracy, the age and country in which a book was written or printed, although the title page were lost, from the internal evidence which the style of the writing or typography afford. In this way critics have judged of the origin and comparative antiquity of MSS., and the accuracy of their decisions has frequently been confirmed from other sources. To illustrate once more by a reference to analogy: books printed two centuries ago, are easily distinguished by the circumstance that, the same character is used indiscriminately for *U* and *V*, and that *V* is used for *W*. Books printed in France, since the Revolution, are known at first sight by the manner in which the 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9th figures are formed—rising alone, or descending below the line, as in writing. Ancient Greek MSS. are known by their being all written in capital letters, without points or accents, and by the

letters filling the whole line, without any vacant space being left at the beginning or end of words. Ancient Hebrew MSS. are known by similar characteristic marks. But these peculiarities in the style of writing do not affect the accuracy of the reading derived from them. A faulty composition may be beautifully written, and a very correct copy is not by any means uniformly distinguished by its manual execution. Few learned men, it may be said, excel in penmanship; whilst on the other hand, many superficial composers, who cannot even spell correctly, possess the art of forming their letters with the most consummate taste and elegance.

In the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, for example, there is a Hebrew MS. of the Scriptures, incomparably more beautiful than any printed copy; but neither so ancient nor so valuable as many that are far less tastefully executed. There is also, in the same collection, a Latin MS. of the Apocalypse, illuminated and adorned in such a manner, as must have required the labour of great part of the writer's life. To the admirers of fine books, this beautiful relic will appear inestimable; but by the biblical critic it is accounted of far less value than many others, on which the graces of the pen, and the decorations of the artist, have been less profusely lavished.

There is one source of Hebrew criticism of peculiar value, and of which learned men have diligently availed themselves—the Samaritan Pentateuch. The separation of the Jews and Samaritans took place upwards of 400 years before the birth of Christ. Both the Jews and Samaritans possessed copies of the five books of Moses, or Pentateuch, previous to their separation, in the days of Nehemiah. From that period till the birth of Christ, they not only continued to maintain this separation, but refrained from all intercourse with each other. The variations betwixt their respective versions, although considerable in point of number, are yet so unimportant as not materially to affect the integrity of either version, and each of them has successfully been employed to correct mistakes in the other. A short account of the principal variations, may serve to give a general idea of their extent and character.

In the first place, it may be observed that many of these variations are merely accidental—arising from the orthographical mistake of one letter for another, which is liable to take place in the most studied transcripts, from the similarity of letters even in the same Alphabet. In such cases, a little attention to the scope and connection of the passage, will generally enable us to decide on the true meaning, and to correct the mistake.

There are three variations in the Samaritan Copies, which are generally considered preferable to the reading of the Hebrew text. Genesis iv., v. 8. 'Let us go into the field.' . . . . . Exodus xii., v. 40. 'Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was 430 years.' The Samaritan has 'The sojourning of the children of Israel and of their fathers in

*the land of Canaan and in Egypt, was 430 years.* This, from Acts vii., and Gallatians iii., is evidently the true sense, if not the precise words of the original. Exodus v., vii., and viii., the messages of Moses are, in the Septuagint, twice recorded; first, as delivered to Moses from God; and secondly, as repeated to Pharaoh by Aaron. This we are certain was the case; but whether Moses wrote them down twice, or only once, can make no difference in the sense.

A third class of variations are considered to be wilful corruptions on the part of the Samaritans. In the chronology of the lives of the Patriarchs, the Samaritan differs from the Septuagint, and both of them differ from the Hebrew with regard to the age of the Patriarchs, at the time of their children's births. But on both of these points the Hebrew is generally allowed to be correct, making in all, 1656 years from the Creation to the Flood.

But by far the most important variation, is in Exodus xx. v. 19, and the corresponding passage Deut. v., v. 21, where the Samaritans insert the following words, 'When the Lord thy God shall have brought you into the land of the Canaanites, which you are going to possess, thou shalt erect two great stones, and plaster them with lime, and write upon these stones all the words of this Law; and when thou passest over Jordan, thou shalt set up these stones which I command thee this day, in Mount Gerrigrin; and thou shalt build there an Altar to the Lord thy God, an altar of stone, thou shalt not lift up an iron tool upon it; of rough stone shalt thou build this altar to the Lord thy God, and shalt offer upon it whole burnt offerings to the Lord thy God, and sacrifices of peace, and shalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God, in that Mountain beyond Jordan, towards the way of the west, in the land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the plain over against Gilgal, near the oak of Moreh, towards Sychem.' Instead of the 'oak of Moreh,' some copies have the 'valley of vision.'

That the whole of this is an interpolation is generally acknowledged, and the purpose contemplated by this wilful corruption is obvious; namely, to give a sanction to the temple which they had built on Mount Gerrigrin, in opposition to the Jewish temple at Jerusalem. But that this interpolation was not generally known, at least not generally acknowledged, is evident from the anxiety of the woman of Samaria to receive a better sanction for this worship. John iv., v. 20.

With the same view they altered the passage, Deut. xxvii. v., 4. The words in the Hebrew are, 'Ye shall set up these stones which I command you this day in Mount Ebal.' For Mount Ebal, the Samaritans have substituted Mount Gerrigrin. All other versions agree with the Hebrew in these places; and that the Samaritans are sensible that these are interpolations and wilful corruptions, is evident from a circumstance which Maundael records, of a Sama-

ritan priest endeavouring to justify them; by an argument drawn from the appearance and topography of the place. He pointed out Ebal with a south exposure, arid and barren; and Gerrigrin with a north exposure, verdant and fertile; and from thence endeavoured to persuade him that the curses were pronounced upon Ebal, and were the cause of its barrenness; and that the blessings were pronounced upon Gerrigrin, and were the cause of its fertility. Dr. Kennicot, in this dispute, takes the side of the Samaritans, against the Jews, contending that the Hebrew, not the Samaritan, is corrupted, and that the Jews, not the Samaritans, have been the corrupters; and it is singular enough that amongst other reasons he employs the very argument of Maundael's priest.

Having mentioned the principal variations of these two versions, and accounted for them, it may now be observed that the Samaritan Pentateuch is a valuable document in proof of the correctness and integrity of the Hebrew Scriptures. For, notwithstanding the variations I have noticed, and, perhaps, some others of minor importance, it coincides strictly with the Hebrew, in 999 cases out of 1000. But there is a peculiarity in the attestation which this document affords, that cannot be overlooked. Is the favourable testimony of an enemy above suspicion? Then the Samaritan version is the testimony of the bitterest enemies of the Jews to their fidelity in preserving their sacred books. Is the concurrent testimony of two impartial witnesses sufficient legal evidence? Here is the independent testimony of two classes of witnesses, being in different countries, and who have had no intercourse for upwards of two thousand years, agreeing exactly with regard to the truth of every material fact, and even transmitting it in the same identical words, except in the few instances already mentioned. It is impossible to account for this upon any other hypothesis, but that of the antiquity and authenticity of the Mosaic records. The Samaritans have preserved one word, which has been lost out of those Hebrew copies, which were known when our English translation was made, but which has since been found in five or six of Kennicot's and one of De Rossi's, and the propriety of whose insertion is confirmed beyond dispute, by Paul's quotation of the passage, which is Deut. xxvii., v. 26, in Gallatians iii., v. 10, "Cursed is every one that continueth not in *all* things, written in the book of the law to do them."

In the course of these lectures, we shall have many similar opportunities of illustrating the light which the collation of different versions affords in fixing the original text; and this is one very important object of sacred criticism, not only to ascertain and explain the words of inspiration, but also to furnish proof of the most satisfactory kind, of the genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures. No two versions of any classic author, resemble each other so closely as the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuchs, and yet the authenticity of the former is never questioned.

Next in importance to the Samaritan Pentateuch, is the Targum of Onkelos. The name *Targum* signifies *interpretation*. Generally the Targums are close translations of the Hebrew into the Chaldee language. But occasionally they partake of the nature of a Paraphrase, and on that account are highly important for ascertaining the sense in which the ancient Jews understood the Scriptures. The practice of translating and interpreting the Scriptures into Chaldee originated during the captivity at Babylon, where one read the Hebrew text, and another explained it in the language of the country. The Jews, who remained in the East after the captivity, needed such translations into their vernacular language, and those who returned into Judea needed them not less, inasmuch as they carried with them, and continued afterwards to use a mixed dialect, more nearly allied to the Chaldee than to the Hebrew: hence the Targums were committed to writing. Of these translations; or paraphrases on the different parts of Scripture, no less than eight have come down to our times; that of Onkelos, and the Jerusalem Targums on the Pentateuch; Jonathan Ben Uziel on the Prophets; and four others, anonymous, on the Hagiogiapha, and the books of Chronicles. Of these the Targums of Onkelos and Ben Uziel are most esteemed, as being more exact, their style more pure, and their paraphrases not so offensively interlarded with fables, as most of the others are.

These paraphrases are highly useful for corroborating the authority, and explaining the sense of many difficult passages. For example, Zaphnath-paneah, the name which Pharaoh gave to Moses, Onkelos, translates, 'one to whom secrets are revealed.' In the passages, Exodus iv., v. 25, the words 'A bloody husband art thou unto me,' are paraphrased 'Beware of the blood of circumcision, my husband is given unto me;' intimating that, by the circumcision of her son, her husband's life was saved.

The Targums, especially the more ancient, are particularly important in all disputations with the Jews, as they generally refer to the Messiah the same texts from which Christians derive the arguments to prove that Jesus of Nazareth is the true Messiah, the force of which the Jews are unable to resist, except by directing the application of these prophecies to some other subject. The Targums are also important, as suggesting the rise of many peculiar opinions and practices among the Jews, at the time when these were composed. Next to the Samaritan Pentateuch, they afford the strongest proof of the integrity of the Hebrew text.

The next source of interpretation in the order of importance is the Septuagint. The name given to this version has its origin in the fabulous account of Aristeas, respecting the seventy-two translators; the time and authors of this translation are uncertain. The most probable account of its origin is, that it was made for the use of the Jews, in Egypt, after the conquest of Alexander the Great,

and from thence it afterwards spread into Greece. It is probable that, like the Targums, it was composed by different persons, at different times, and that the several parts thus composed were subsequently compiled and collected into one volume. That it is the work of various authors, like our own translation of the Scriptures, is evident from this, that, in the translation of different books, the same phrases, as well as words, are differently rendered. It is generally acknowledged that the Pentateuch is that part of the Septuagint which is best translated.

The style of the Septuagint has been called Hellenistic, that is, distinguished for expressing Hebrew idioms in Greek words. It was necessary it should be so, for two reasons; first, because the Hebrews, in common with every other people, *thought in their own language*; and therefore, although they had learned the Greek, must still have retained a tincture of their native tongue, and a predilection for its peculiarities. Secondly, the Greeks were idolators, and therefore the ideas and worship of the true God could not have been accurately expressed in what is called classical Greek. This difficulty has been experienced by all the missionaries who have undertaken the similar task of translating the Scriptures into other languages. Indeed, when it is considered that the Scriptures contain terms, phrases, and figures, for which many languages afford not symbols which are strictly equivalent, or even closely analogous, it is obvious that a literal translation is often not less inexpedient than a more licentious use of language is hazardous.

The Greek translation combined great faults with numerous excellencies. The translators themselves, or their copyists, are accused of wilful corruption, in adding an hundred years to the lives of six of the antediluvian patriarchs, by intercalating that period previous to the birth of their first sons, and thereby extending the antediluvian period to upwards of 2000 years. This *might* have arisen from mistake; but it is generally supposed to have been intentional. And the object of this corruption seems to have been a desire to gratify the Egyptians (who, like the Chinese and Hindoos, laid claim to an incredible antiquity,) by accommodating the Mosiac chronology to their extravagant traditions. Upon the same ground, some have accounted for the introduction of the name of Canaan among the number of the post-diluvians, for which there is nothing to correspond either in the Hebrew or Samaritan. This version agrees with the Samaritan, in representing Cain as saying to Abel, 'Let us go into the field.'

The Rabbins accuse the Septuagint translators of wilfully corrupting a great number of passages; but of the charges that have been preferred, there are only four, which seem to have any just foundation. Genesis ii., v. 2, for the seventh, they use the sixth day. The sense of the passage does not require this change; *seeing* the verb 'finished' is rendered in the pluperfect tense. Exodus iv.

v. 40, 'Moses took his wife and his sons, and set them upon an ass, and he returned to the land of Egypt.' With this agree all the other versions. The Septuagint alone renders it, he set them upon 'beasts of burden';—fearful, it is to be presumed, that by translating literally, they should represent Moses as travelling in too humble a style. Exodus xii. v. 40. In this instance they agree with the Samaritan, with regard to the period of the Israelites sojourning in Egypt; whether they give the identical words or not, there is no doubt that they have given the true sense. Numbers xvi., v. 15, 'I have not taken one ass from them,' is rendered in Greek, 'I have taken nothing desirable of them.' But this variation might originate in the mere mistake of one letter for another which closely resembled it, *Hemed* for *Hemer*. If it is a fact, that the Septuagint translation was made in the days of Ptolemy Philadelphos, and that his Queen's name was *Lagos* (signifying a hare), this circumstance will explain the reason why, instead of using this word as the name of an unclean animal, they rendered it *Xeirygryllon*, that is, *rough foot*; thus, by a paraphrase, getting rid of what would, in this case, appear an offensive allusion to the titles of majesty.

But though a greater number of similar instances should be pointed out, such unimportant variations will not destroy the value of this venerable version. In many cases it coincides accurately with the quotations of Christ and his Apostles; and that too, in some instances in which it differs from the Hebrew copies. The comparison of the following passages will afford examples—

Habakuk ii. v. 4. . . . . with . . . . . Hebrews x. v. 38.

Habakuk i. v. 5. . . . . Romans ix. v. 33.

Amos ix. v. 11, 12. . . . . Acts xv. v. 16.

It has long been a desideratum in Biblical criticism, to have a correct revision of the Greek Septuagint, with a view to restore to its primitive purity a version, so highly esteemed by Hellenistic Jews, so generally regarded by Christians during the earliest and present times, and which is rendered still more important, from the light it reflects upon the New Testament Scriptures, which are written in the same style of Hellenistic Greek. This important work was begun about forty years ago, by Dr. Holmes, Dean of Winchester; and is still continued by the Rev. J. Parsons. The work is said to be valuable, not only for its splendour, but also its accuracy; and is conducted on the same approved plan as Wetstein's and Griesbach's Greek Testaments. It is to be hoped we shall soon have copies of it in some of our public libraries.

The fourth version is the Syriac—a dialect of the Hebrew; but differing from it still more than the Chaldee. This version is very ancient, having been made probably about the end of the first century, or beginning of the second. The translation is very literal; and generally the version coincides with the present Hebrew text.

In common with the Samaritan Septuagint and Vulgate, it has the words, Genesis iv. v. 8, 'Let us go into the plain.' Besides this Syriac version, there is the fragment of another, which was made from Origen's Hexapla. Part of this copy is thought to be irrecoverably lost; the part which has been preserved, is deposited in the Ambrosian Library, at Milan.

Fifth, the Arabic version. The Arabic is another cognate language, and on this account useful for ascertaining the true reading. There are several Arabic versions. The first is by a Jew, which elegantly explains some Hebrew phrases. The meaning of the Divine name, *I am that I am*, is aptly and significantly conveyed in the paraphrase, 'the Eternal, who can never pass away or change.' *Aleim*, the plural name of the Divine Being, when used as the name of idols, is translated by a feminine word, in order to denote the distinction. Second; an Arabic translation, by Christians. Third; one by the Society De Propagandá, at Rome. This latter, from whatever source it was drawn, differs from the Hebrew in numbers; in proper names, substituting sometimes the modern for the ancient name of places, as for example, Naplous for Sychem; and in some instances giving the interpretive sense for the literal form of expression, as in Genesis vi., v. 3, the words, 'my spirit shall not always strive,' are rendered 'shall not always dwell in these men.' The Arabic, as well as the Syriac, gives different titles to many of the Psalms. But in general it tends, like the others, to confirm the integrity of the Hebrew text.

Sixth, the Æthiopic and Ancharic, a cognate language and dialect of the Hebrew. This version was first brought to Europe by Ludolph, afterwards by Mr. Bruce; but has not yet been examined with all the care it deserves. Mr. Tate contemplates publishing a correct edition of it.

Seventh, the Persic version, is still in MS., it is believed to be very faithful.

Eighth, the Armenian, from the Alexandrian Septuagint. This version has been attributed to Chrysostom, and has been collated for Dr. Holmes's Septuagint.

Ninth, the Coptic New Testament, has been edited by Wilkins. There are several copies of it in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.

Tenth, the Slavonic, or old Russian language. This translation is as old as the ninth century.

Eleventh, the Latin Vulgate, reckoned authentic by the Church of Rome. In the same session, in which this version was determined and declared to be the supreme standard of faith, a decree was made for the revival of it; thus, in the same breath pronouncing it infallible, and yet admitting that it had many faults which required correction. This version had been so extensively spread, and so



universally used before the Reformation, that all the subsequent Latin versions, and most of the first editions of the Greek Testament were, to a great degree, regulated by it.

The Church of Rome estimates the value of the Vulgate version too high, by reckoning it infallible; most Protestants in modern times, sink it too low. For, whilst on the one hand, it is neither infallible nor inspired, it is nevertheless very useful and valuable, especially when collated with ancient Italian MS. Carpyovius has quoted from it some hundreds of instances of mistranslation; whilst Alcuin, Lanfranc, Isidore, Sextus V., and Clement VIII., have all laboured to defend and correct it.

Such is a rapid and comprehensive sketch of the most prominent and important ancient versions. To enter upon a detailed consideration of modern versions, would be a Herculean task. Of the most correct and important of these, some notice will afterwards be taken, from which, although nothing can be drawn to fix the original text, yet much light may be derived for the use of illustration.

Already have we given you a general account of critical editions of the Old and New Testaments, and have traced the history of them down to the present times. In surveying the labours of the Biblical critic, and their satisfactory results, we find that much has been done to fix the text of Sacred Scripture, and to place it on a sure basis; that a complete critical apparatus has thus been formed, and the labour of the Biblical student rendered comparatively easy. The man who is able to procure a Hebrew Bible and a Greek Testament, and who will be at the pains to study these languages, has within his reach, and may examine for himself, the evidence which a succession of learned and industrious scholars have collected to his hand. The symbolac of Griesbach, or even the Prolegomena, printed along with his Greek Testament, will give him the canons of criticism which were employed, and from which he may form a judgment, in every case, whether these materials have been judiciously and candidly used, and what degree of confidence ought to be placed on the results deduced from them.

The situation of former critics, resembled that of the man whose interests and feelings are deeply involved in the issue of some important trial, where the evidences are scattered over different countries of the world, and cannot, without much inconvenience and delay, be brought together to the same place. In such a case, it is customary and necessary to appoint a commission to go in quest of evidence, and (under the eye of persons whose honour and interest are alike pledged for the accuracy of the scrutiny), to examine the witnesses upon the spot. For three hundred years, or more, the examination has been going on; as the scrutiny proceeded, new witnesses were found, and examined in their turn, till at length

all the known materials of criticism have been exhausted, and from the ardour and extent of the investigation, there is now little hope of any further evidence ever being discovered.

The late critical editions, then, (to pursue the comparison), are like the summing up of the evidence, and the charge thereon; and each of us, as jurors, are bound, by the most sacred ties, to examine and weigh the evidence thus brought forward, and to return an impartial verdict. The generality of those who have given in their verdict on the most material points at issue, are perfectly unanimous in their opinions; and, with regard to minor points, on which any difference of opinion exists, it is, in most cases, evident that the difference does not arise from defect or discrepancy in the evidence itself, but from the peculiar character and circumstances of the individuals. One man, for example, feels such paramount reverence for the particular version or copy of the Scriptures to which he has long been accustomed, that he cannot tolerate the thought of giving way to evidence, however strong, which requires him to admit a single alteration or amendment. One instance may suffice for illustration.

The boisterous wind which drove the ship, in which Paul voyaged, out of her course, mentioned, in the Acts, by the name of *Euroclydon*—a compound Greek word, signifying an Eastern tempest, is, in one ancient MS., and in several ancient translations, styled *Euroaquilon*, that is, a north-east wind. Now, both internal evidence, from the direction of the course in which the vessel was driven, and the subsidiary evidence afforded by the prevalence of that wind in the Mediterranean Sea, and still known to mariners by the name of the Levanter, unite to give the preference to the latter reading. It can, therefore, be only prejudice against emendation, or predilection for an ambiguous word to one which is at once precise and significant, that can induce any hesitation in adopting it. The example now given may, perhaps, seem to some insignificant; but let it be recollected, that it is by such plain and familiar instances that the purposes of illustration are most effectually and easily served. We shall have fuller and more suitable opportunities afterwards of showing the light which a knowledge of the geography, and other statistics of countries, throw upon the interpretation of the Scriptures.

But the current of prejudice does not invariably run counter to the tide of innovation. There are some who are no less prejudiced in favour of that which is new and strange, or that may serve to support a particular hypothesis. What else could have induced the authors of the Unitarian version to reject as spurious, and leave out of their copies, the two first chapters of Matthew's Gospel, in opposition to the authority of all the MSS., in opposition to Griesbach, whose copy they avowedly follow, and in opposition to Bishop Newcombe, whose translation they profess to make the basis of their own.

The duty of the critic is like that of the judge, to examine accurately, and to determine impartially, without fear, favour, or affection, according to the evidence before him. The ground of disputation has now become so narrowed, that few disputes about different readings can now be preferred. The chief ground of dispute is now, the meaning of those texts, the authenticity of which is acknowledged by all. On this ground discussion is likely to continue; indeed, while human passions and human prejudices remain, it can hardly be expected that it should be otherwise. Different degrees of learning, and of intelligence also, will naturally produce diversity of opinion, till the period promised, Hebrews, viii., v. 10 and 11, shall arrive; and that this period is approaching, we have evidence, both decisive and encouraging, in the increasing affection of Christians towards one another, and their unanimity in promoting the best interest of mankind.

It may be entertaining and instructive, to such as are capable of availing themselves of the information, to describe briefly a few of the more ancient and valuable MSS. which have been discovered since the first editions of the Greek Testament were printed.

Ancient manuscripts were written upon cotton cloth, or upon vellum, and were wound upon rods; from this they obtained the name of *Rolls*; and in the etymology of the word *volume* (which comes from the Latin *volō*, to roll), we still retain a trace of the practice—the term *volume* signifying literally, the portion of a book contained in one *roll*. This circumstance renders at once intelligible and significant those numerous allusions to writing in the Scriptures, which would otherwise seem obscure and inconsistent.

The ancient Greeks, like the Hebrews, had only one kind of letters, which Jerome calls *uncial*, that is, initial, or, as we call them, capitals, from their generally being placed at the beginning of books, chapters, and sentences. The practice of writing in a smaller characters did not commence till about the ninth or tenth century. All MSS. of this kind, that is, written with uncial letters, must accordingly be at least eight or nine hundred years old; some of them, we know, are of much higher antiquity. I have already pointed out this variation in the style of writing, as one of the data which enable us to fix, with great minuteness, the date and comparative antiquity of ancient MSS.

We have twenty MSS. of the Gospels of this description; of the Acts of the Apostles, seven; of Paul's Catholic Epistles, nine; and of the Apocalypse, three or four. A detailed enumeration and particular dissertation of these will be found in Griesbach's *Prolegomena*, before referred to, and amongst the works of Kennicot, Michaelis, Dé Rossi, and others. I shall only instance the two following:—

1. The Alexandrian, denoted by the letter A, in Wetstein and

Griesbach. The writing of this MS. (which is preserved in the British Museum) is, by uniform tradition, ascribed to Thedla, who lived 1,300 years ago. It is generally acknowledged, that it cannot be earlier than the fourth, nor later than the sixth century; it was, most probably, written in the fifth century, and before Egypt was overrun by the Saracens. This MS. was highly valued by Wetstein, and Wade has published a *fac-simile* of it.

2. The Codex Argenteus, so called because of its being written in silver letters, by Ulphilas. This version, which is ascribed to the sixth century, is a literal translation of the Gospels into the Gothic language. It is still preserved at Upsal, in Sweden. This department of 'Sacred Criticism' presents a wide field for dissertation, but I must confine my remarks to the above narrow precincts, and proceed to a new branch of our inquiries.

I have now finished that part of these Lectures, which I consider a necessary introduction to their grand design, which is the *Interpretation of Scripture*, and more especially to explain difficulties, to reconcile apparent contradictions, and to elucidate and establish such plain rules, as will enable the biblical student to pursue his enquiries in such a manner as will lead him, with ease and certainty, to satisfactory results regarding the objects of his investigation. It is now my business to mention these rules, and to point out their application, in a few such well-defined instances as may render them plain, and satisfy your minds with regard to their propriety and importance. But before proceeding further, I think it useful to give a short history of the methods of interpretation that have been followed in the ages already past.

I shall begin with the history of *Jewish Rabbinical interpretation*, a subject comparatively interesting in itself, were it not for the influence which the example of the Jews has had upon Christian Theologians.

From the discourses of our Lord, we learn that the Scribes and Lawyers had "taken away the Key of Knowledge," by the principles of interpretation which they had adopted; that is, they had explained the Law in such a superficial and accommodating manner, that a man might be considered as blameless, according to their views, and walking after the straightest sect of their religion, while destitute of true and vital piety. In one word, they emphatically 'made void the laws of God,' by their traditions.

The error of the Scribes and Pharisees did not consist merely in their entertaining a respect for the opinions and writings of learned men, who had been distinguished for their skill and diligence, in the exposition of the Scriptures. Such a respect, properly regulated, may, and ought to be cherished, and ought even to have considerable influence with the Scripture Student in every age. The man who does not think it worth his trouble to consult the works, and to avail

himself of the labour of those who have devoted their talents and lives in smoothing the path of inquiry before him, manifests a pride of understanding altogether inconsistent with that humility, which becomes such weak and erring creatures as we are. But the Jewish Rabbins erred, in receiving with implicit faith, and without examination, whatever had been delivered by their fathers; and in order to vindicate their conduct, they maintained that these traditions were of equal, or superior authority, to the Scriptures themselves.

Hence originated the false glosses, and practical errors, of the Jewish interpretation. The Rabbins maintained that Moses received a three-fold Law. The first, was the written Law, delivered upon Mount Sinai. The second, was the *Misnah*, or traditionary Law, delivered also upon Sinai; not committed, like the first, to writing, but handed down orally from father to son, through the whole succession of ages, from the time of Moses; and to this they apply the words of the Prophet Malachi, 'The Priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the Law at his mouth.' The third was the *Kabbala*, which they maintained to be the highest attainment, in the knowledge of the Scriptures. These two last, the *Misnah* (Tradition), and the *Kabbala* (Reception), are the constituent parts of the Talmud (Learning), which last, contains the whole body of Jewish doctrine. The high esteem, or rather superstitious veneration in which they held this traditionary compilation, may be learned from the manner in which they speak of it. The written Law they compare to the bark, or shell; the Talmud, to the pith, or nut, inclosed in this external covering; the written Law, they call the bone; the Talmud, the marrow which it contains.

To illustrate this by an example. Deut. vi. 7 & 8. The written Law says, 'Thou shalt teach them (the words which God had commanded) diligently unto thy children; and thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes.' The plain meaning of this command is, that by continual meditation upon the Law of God, it should ever be present to their minds, and that their whole lives, should be regulated by it; and the Psalmist evidently alludes to this command, when he says, 'I have chosen the way of thy truth, thy judgments are before me.' But the Rabbis say, it is a command to make Phylacteries—that is broad pieces of linen or parchment, on which some sentences of the Law are written; and literally to bind these on their hands, or about their foreheads. And not only do they go to the uttermost of the literal words of this passage; they go farther, and say that the written Law is in this passage defective, as not describing the size or shape, or manner of constructing these Phylacteries. All these particulars, however, and several others, are, according to the Jews, to be learned from the Oral Law; which, (to take an example from the case before us), provides, with all the circumstance of a minute and pompous detail, that these Phylacteries must be made

of black leather,—must consist of four folds,—that they must have certain sentences written on them,—and that they must be bound with four cords, or ties, about the head, and with two about the arm. This may serve as a specimen of the manner in which they 'made void the Law, by their traditions.' The man who wore the broadest Phylactery, was considered the most eminent for his piety, however ignorant he might be of the words of the Law written upon it, or however neglectful of the duties which it enjoined.

Our Lord takes occasion to mention and to expose a very glaring species of this hypocrisy. The fifth Commandment requires us to honour our father and our mother, which sacred duty, (taught even by nature), includes maintenance when our parents' necessities require it. But the Oral Law provided a mode of eluding both the letter and the spirit of this precept. An undutiful and ungrateful child, had only to say of anything he could afford for the support of his indigent parents—it is *corban*, a *gift*, or rather, an offering to God. This vow did not prevent him from spending his fortune in self-indulgence, yet, according to their traditions, it exempted him entirely from any obligation to contribute to the maintenance of those, to whom he was indebted for life and protection in infancy. Nay, although he repented of the unnatural vow, and wished to return to the performance of filial duty, they would not suffer him to do ought for father and mother. Well then might it be said of them, that they had made void the Commandment of God, through their traditions.

This may be considered as a sufficient specimen of the *Misnah*. The *Kabbala* was still worse. And yet the Jews considered it superior to the other, the very pinnacle and highest perfection of religion. The *Kabbala* was of two kinds, the theoretical and the practical. The former of these they termed *Gimatria*,—a word evidently borrowed from the Greeks, and of the same derivation with our word Geometry, but extended in its signification, so as to denote a wonderful variety of devices for torturing the Scriptures, in order to expiscate and extort from them sentiments, which the Spirit of God never intended.

They took, for example the initial letters of the words in a sentence, and out of these compounded a new word; as, from *Mi camacha be Aleim Jehovah*, forming *Maccabi*, the name of one of their Apocryphal books. They took the letters of a word, as the initials of other words. Thus, they have attempted to prove the doctrine of the Trinity from the word *Bra*—he created—in the beginning of Genesis, *Ben-ruach-ab*, which, by transferring the order of a word, is Father—Son—Spirit. By reversing a word, Psalm xxi. 2, from the word *ishmi*, they make Messiah. By transposing the letters of a word, they form new combinations. By substituting numbers for letters, and letters for numbers, they produce an endless variety of conceits and dogmas, which have no foundation in

Scripture: and this sort of punning upon words, which resembles the sports of children, rather than the serious employment of wise men, they account the highest attainment of knowledge. The written word, say they, is a candle which may be purchased for a farthing, but the Kabbala is a valuable discovery, which may be made by the candle when burning.

The practical Kabbala, however, is still worse. It consists in the pretended power of performing supernatural wonders, by pronouncing certain words, or incantations. For example, they pronounced certain mysterious words, as a charm, to drive away evil spirits. They prescribed writing out the third Psalm with olive oil, anointing the head, and tying the writing about it, as a cure for the headache. The suspending certain parts of Scripture about the neck, was held to be a specific and sovereign remedy for all diseases. They maintained, that Jesus performed his miracles by the use of the name Jehovah, which he purloined out of the Temple. The modern Jews assert, that they have renounced these superstitious dogmas and practices. If this be true, we must conclude that the mantle of their superstition has fallen from them only to light upon the heads of the Papists, who seem to have imbibed an equal, if not a double, portion of their spirit. The first verses of John's Gospel, written on a scrap of paper, sewed up in a piece of leather, and suspended about the neck of a child, has, by them, been esteemed an amulet, or charm, whose virtue will expel every disease, and guard the helpless infant against every danger. From Park's travels in Africa, we learn, that the ignorant Mohammedans there, have the same faith in certain sentences of the Koran, applied in the same way.

The inferences which must be drawn from what I have now narrated, are: First, that however much we are indebted to the Jews, for the preservation of the Scriptures, they are very unsafe and unfit guides to follow in the interpretation of them. And, secondly, that we ought to admire the wonderful Providence of God, in affecting so much good, by means apparently so inadequate; and in transmitting to us his lively oracles in such a measure of purity, through the instrumentality of men, who seem to have placed so little value upon the sacred deposit committed to their care.

The second period in the history of Scripture interpretation commences with the Christian era. At the very time when the Jews had taken away the key of knowledge, and made void the commandments of God by their traditions, Christ appeared as the light of the world; and they who followed him no longer walked in darkness, but had the light of life. In what manner Christ and his Apostles explained the Scriptures, it is important to know. The whole of the New Testament affords abundant information on this point; and the comparison of the one mode with the other, will

furnish the subject of some interesting remarks in the course of these lectures.

Those Jews, who believed in Christ, possessed the true key of interpretation, and by the teaching of the Spirit, were enabled to open up the meaning of the Scriptures, which, obscured as they had been, by the false glosses and traditions of their fathers, had long been a sealed book to their countrymen, as well as to the Gentile nations. These enlightened Jews became the most useful and successful missionaries of the Gospel; for, by their sermons and writings, they spread this knowledge so far, and diffused it so widely, that, long before the end of the first century, Paul assures us the Gospel was preached in all the world, and wherever it was preached, brought forth its correspondent fruits.

In this prosperous and progressive state matters continued till the middle or end of the second century. It is true, indeed, that many gross errors sprung up, even in the Apostles' times; but these were immediately confuted and exposed, as we learn from the New Testament. Philetus and Hermogenes, we are informed, had begun to allegorize the words of Christ, denying the resurrection, pretending that it meant only a spiritual change, saying, that the resurrection was already past; and by this means overthrew the faith of some. Numbers of the Jewish converts held the necessity of circumcision, and of the observation of other Jewish rites. Others, who were tinctured with the philosophy of the Gentiles, endeavoured to introduce the most dangerous errors. The Ebionites, so called from the degraded opinion which they entertained of Christ, like the modern Unitarians, considering him to be a mere man, rejected the first and second chapters of Matthew's Gospel. The Corinthians, and Gnostics; the latter so called from their pretension to a higher degree of illumination than others, and who, like some of the monastic orders, placed the whole of religion in contemplation, to the neglect of practical piety. The Nicolaitans, and others, who taught that it was lawful to imitate heathen practices, to indulge in licentiousness, and to eat things sacrificed to idols. These errors originated in the Persian philosophy; which taught, that matter is naturally evil, and that bodily pollution was consistent with mental purity.

But these errors were solidly and successfully confuted by the Apostles, while they lived, and after their times, by those who held fast the faith, once delivered to the saints, in the purity and integrity in which they received it. So that, although many errors sprung up in succession, and sometimes several at once, they were not able to continue long, but died away almost as soon as they were born. Those sensual men, who had not the Spirit, were not suffered to abide in the Church, and, therefore, were obliged either to renounce their errors, or to separate themselves from the Christian community.



Another fountain of many errors, had its origin among the Greeks, in Egypt. Philo, a Jew, having imbibed a strong predilection for the Platonic philosophy, attempted to allegorize the Scriptures, in order to discover in them, or rather, to extort from them, a coincidence, or resemblance to his favourite system. His example was afterwards followed by many professing Christians. Of those, whose writings have come down to our times, Origen is the most distinguished. He was the first to invent, at least to throw into a tangible form, the doctrine of the manifold sense of Scripture.

Some idea of this tenet of Origen's may be formed, by giving a few examples of his mode of interpretation. The history, in Genesis xxvi, v. 15, to any man of common sense, appears abundantly plain. We are there told that the Philistines envied Isaac, because of his prosperity, and filled up the wells which Abraham, his father, had digged in the country of Gerar. But this plain historical fact did not satisfy Origen. The wells which Abraham had digged, he tells us, are the allegorical sense of Revelation; the Philistines, who filled them up with earth, are the literal interpreters of Scripture; and those who discover new senses, are Isaac, and his servants, who dug new wells on that occasion. In this manner he affected to find out astonishing mysteries in the plainest passages; and thus he proceeded from one false step to another, till he persuaded himself, and endeavoured to persuade others, that there would be a restoration of devils and of wicked men to happiness, in the progress of ages.

Some of the modern Unitarians seem to have imbibed the fanciful spirit of Origen. A prominent advocate of that doctrine lately displayed a striking resemblance to Origen's manner of reasoning, in commenting upon the fourth chapter of Joshua. In that passage, we are told, that twelve stones were taken out of Jordan, and erected as a memorial of the miraculous passage effected by the Israelites; upon which, he reasons in the following manner: Jordan signifies the River of Judgment; these twelve stones are emblems of those who have perished in the Dead Sea, into which the Jordan runs; and the taking out the twelve stones, is an emblem of the future salvation of the condemned. He forgot, however, to mention that Joshua set up the twelve stones in the very place from which the others were taken; and that, therefore, according to his own reasoning, the passage points out the condemnation of the saved, at least as strongly, and as legitimately, as the restoration of the condemned.

The followers of Origen carried matters to a still more extravagant height. Origen admitted a literal or historical sense, although he preferred the allegorical: but some of his followers rejected the literal meaning altogether, and attached themselves entirely to the allegorical. The creation, the fall of man, the intermarriage of the

descendants of Seth with the daughters of Cain, the wickedness of whose progeny brought on the deluge, and the deluge itself, have been allegorized, and refined away, till they ceased to be regarded as matter of history, or even the subject of credence. All this, too, has been done under the pretext of superior wisdom and piety, until, beneath the rubbish of allegory and fiction, the foundations of piety, in the belief of the being of a God, and of our relations to him, of the entrance of sin and death, and the revelation of a Saviour, were almost entirely buried. There were, however, many eminently wise and good men, who successfully opposed the errors of Origen, and who explained the Scriptures in a sober and enlightened manner: such as Epiphanius and Chrysostom, among the Greeks; Augustin, Jerome, and Theodoret, among the Latins; whose valuable writings have descended to our times.

On the other hand, there were some who carried the literal interpretation too far: among whom was Theodore, of Mopsuesti, who erred in confining the fulfilment of prophecy to times and events near at hand. It has been justly remarked, that Grotius, one of the most learned men who ever undertook to expound the Scriptures, embraced the system of Theodore. He represents the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah as a prophecy foretelling the character and sufferings of the prophet Jeremiah, in the primary sense, and applicable to the character and sufferings of Christ only in a secondary sense. As extremes usually beget one another, Cocceius again leaned to allegorical interpretation, which gave occasion to a common saying, that Cocceius, in the Old Testament, finds Christ *every where*, and Grotius, *no where*. The remark, although not strictly correct, contains much truth as well as quaintness.

After the Roman empire had generally embraced Christianity, the study of the Scriptures gradually declined. The dominant party, armed with civil power, by which they were able to crush every opponent, disputed and decided questions, not by argument, or appeal to Scripture authority, but by votes of conclave, and intolerant decrees, enforced by persecution. The Arians and the Athanasians, both employed these unchristian weapons when in power. In a short time, the authority of the Pope was generally reckoned paramount to that of the Emperor, in civil matters, and in affairs of religion, was almost universally acknowledged as supreme. The expositions of Scripture in these days, were what is called *catenas*, that is, the opinions of fathers, decrees of councils, ancient traditions, and more modern decisions of Popes, linked together into a sort of chain, without order, and without consistency.

The Platonic philosophy had now given place to the Aristotelian, from whence arose the schoolmen, as they have been styled. These treated an immense number of intricate, abstruse, and useless questions, by the pompous logical apparatus of the category and syllogism, in which little account was made of Scripture, and none at

all of the original languages. A corrupted Latin version, with the addition of Apocryphal books, and forged writings of the fathers, were substituted for the authentic Scriptures. To such a height had these corrupt opinions and practices risen in the dark ages, that, at the revival of learning, a monk, in one of his sermons, warned his hearers against two books which had lately been published; the one, said he, is the Greek Testament, which makes all who read it *heretics*, and the other the Hebrew Bible, which makes all its readers *Jews*.

It must not be forgotten, that even during the darkest periods of these *dark ages*, there were some illustrious individuals, and several persecuted societies, in different parts of the world, who still held fast, and earnestly contended for the faith once delivered to the saints. Alcuin, and the venerable Bede, in the eighth century, Lanfranc, in the eleventh, Bradwardin and Oecam, in the fourteenth, may be mentioned, whose writings spread a ray of light over the general gloom. The Waldenses, in the valleys of Piedmont and Savoy; the Beguins and Hussites, in Germany; the Wickliffites, in England; and the Culdees, in Scotland, held a more orthodox creed. But amidst the persecutions to which their persons and opinions were exposed, it is not to be expected that their writings should have been spared. Of their opinions, therefore, we know little more than what is to be learned from the writings of their enemies, and more particularly from the articles of accusation which these contain; from which it is evident, that they died as martyrs for the faith of Jesus.

The revival of learning in the sixteenth century, was followed by the study of the Scriptures; and the study of the Scriptures, by an appeal from human authority to the Divine Original, produced the Reformation. A multitude of learned, pious, indefatigable students of the Scriptures sprung up at this time in every country of Europe. The Catholics were alarmed, at that day, as much as they are in the present, at the progress of the Bible, and the spread of inquiry; conscious, then, as they are now, that the system which they held was unscriptural. Armed with the unholy alliance of civil tyranny and bigotry, they attempted to stop, by persecution, that change of sentiment, with regard to doctrines and practices, which the diffusion of the truth, through the medium of the Word of God, had effected; and which commended itself only the more to the understandings and consciences of men. For this purpose, they prohibited the use of the Scriptures to the common people; a fact which has been called in question, but a fact so notorious, that one cannot help being astonished at the effrontery of the man who attempts to deny, or even affects to disbelieve it.

But though from this period the study of the Scriptures became common, and though the Catholics also were compelled to study them, in order to defend themselves, (and, to do them justice, many of them have afforded, by their writings, considerable assistance in

elucidating such parts of Scripture, as did not directly condemn the Vulgate version, which they preferred to all others, or the errors of the Church of Rome, the honour of which they preferred to the Scripture itself; yet the success was not, in every instance, answerable to what might have been expected. Nor is this altogether unaccountable. Placed in circumstances the most perilous and unpropitious, the early reformers, instead of prosecuting with requisite ardour the critical study of the sacred originals, confined their attention too closely to particular parts of Scripture, and to points in dispute between Papists and Protestants, or between the different sects of Protestants among themselves. The want of common and well-established principles of interpretation, was another circumstance which retarded the study of the Scriptures. Some, who had acquired the knowledge of the Hebrew language, under Jewish masters, acquiesced too implicitly in the authority of Rabbinical opinions and traditions; and thus, unfortunately, encumbered themselves with a load of adventitious and unprofitable rules. Such were the Buxtorfs, and many of the earlier German divines.

Another class attached themselves more exclusively to the study of the ancient Greek and Latin fathers; among whom, we may chiefly reckon those who retained an attachment to Episcopal government. It is, I believe, a maxim with English high churchmen at this day, that the rule of faith is not the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament alone, but these as they were understood by the fathers of the three first centuries.

There is yet another class, who are still numerous, and who boast of being *rational* Christians, because they give a supremacy to reason, in matters of religion. It is the province of reason, they say, not only to examine the genuineness and authenticity of the sacred records, to investigate their divine inspiration and authority, to ascertain their precise meaning, and to deduce inferences, which follow from express declarations of Scripture; but further to judge and decide, by its own authority, *what*, and *how many*, of these doctrines are worthy to be received. Dr. Priestley, in his *History of Early Opinions*, has declared, that if the doctrine of the Trinity were found in Scripture, no reasonable man ought to believe it; because it implies a contradiction, which no miracles can prove. Another writer, of the same school, has advanced a maxim, which has since become hackneyed by repetition—that where mystery begins, religion ends. Truly, if the Bible is to be subjected to the alchemy of such arbitrary and incongruous rules of interpretation, instead of diversity of opinion being a matter of astonishment, the wonder would be, if in any two instances there should be found agreement.

It has often been the aim of the sceptic to disparage the authenticity and authority of divine revelation, by pointing to the differences and gradations of opinion amongst professing christians. But however much these differences of sentiment and of practice

are to be lamented, it is unfair and illegitimate to ascribe them, in any degree to imperfection or discrepancy in the Word of God. The sources of religious difference originate in ourselves. If we could remove these, we should abolish the grounds of discrepancy. Indeed I will venture to assert, that no two men who are honestly and candidly agreed with regard to the rules of interpretation, who possess a competent share of needful learning and industry, and who sit down seriously, and with humility, desiring to know the mind of God in his word, will materially differ with regard to any fundamental point of doctrine or of duty, and rarely even upon points of lesser importance.

Among the ancients, Chrysostom and Theophylact; among the Latins, Jerome, Augustin, and Theodoret, in their genuine works, are instances of sober and intelligent interpreters of Scripture. Among the early reformers, Luther, Brentius, Calónius, and several others, have thrown much light on the sacred text: Calvin, Beza, and Piscator, among the Calvinists; and among the Catholics, Jansenus, Estius, and Calmet, are worthy to be consulted. But the number of Scripture interpreters whose names and writings have been handed down to us, is too great to allow of a detailed enumeration.

There is a point which I slightly touched upon in a former lecture, which now seems to deserve a more particular *eclaircissement*, namely, to ascertain and determine the meaning which we attach to the expression, *sense of scripture*. The Jews, as I have already observed, fix a great variety of senses upon particular passages of scripture, by the Misnah and Kabbala; which, in addition to the written law, afforded two others derived from tradition. Philo, the Jew, and the Platonizing christians, professed a double sense, in imitation of the Isoteric and Esoteric doctrine of that philosophy—the one adapted to the people—the other proper only for the adepts, or initiated. Agreeably to this theory, they divided the hearers who attended their religious assemblies into two classes; the enlightened, who were received into full communion; and the Catechumens, or such as were candidates for baptism; and to each of these classes a peculiar mode of instruction was respectively applied.

But the schoolmen afterwards refined upon this system, and maintained that the sense of Scripture is fourfold. First, the literal, or grammatical sense, which presents itself to every one who understands the words of which the sentence is composed; Second, the allegorical, including within their literal meaning, some occult allusion to Christ and his church. Third, the tropological, referring to life and manners; and Fourth, the anagogical, relating to a future life.

This division of the sense of Scripture gave rise to a fourfold commentary on the sacred text. The creation of light, according to Thomas Aquinas, may be taken, literally, for the production of

material light; allegorically, for the mission of Christ; tropologically, for divine teaching; and anagogically, for the future glory of heaven. This system professes to be built upon the words of the apostle, 2 Tim. iii. 16.

One great object of this mode of interpreting Scripture, was, to found upon the Old Testament what cannot be founded upon the New—the directions for building and furnishing the Tabernacle and the Temple, the vestments of the priests, and other particulars pertaining to the ceremonial economy of the Jews. This class of interpreters held that, literally, these laws regulated the worship of the Old Testament dispensation; allegorically, Christ, his church, and sacrifice; but that, in their tropological acceptation, they authorise and prescribe splendid temples for christian worship, with an altar and sanctuary, together with sumptuous dresses for their priests, without which their ministrations would be unlawful and unavailing.

In opposition to this uncertain and erroneous mode of explaining the Scripture, and the advantage which it affords to sophists to give a show of argumentation in support of superstition, the Westminster Divines maintain, that the sense of Scripture is not *manifold* but *one*. This opinion, of the correctness of which I am fully satisfied, requires to be illustrated.

Take, for example, the very instance which was applied to illustrate what is meant by the manifold sense of Scripture—the injunctions respecting the Jewish Priesthood and Tabernacle. These injunctions, taken literally, point out what Moses and his successors were commanded to do; and nothing more. But the things themselves had a higher intention: they ‘served for the example and shadow of heavenly things;’ and this is the reason why they are so minutely detailed. This latter sense, however, is not the meaning of the words of this passage, but is deduced from other declarations of Scripture, pointing it out as the meaning and intention of the things themselves. The same may be said of all typical persons and of all typical things.

The institution of the Passover in the 12th of Exodus, is a literal narration, and ought to be so understood: although from the New Testament we learn that it was intended to prefigure Christ; because he is called ‘our Passover sacrificed for us;’ and several other circumstances attending this ordinance must convey the analogy to the mind of every attentive reader of the New Testament. But we dare not, on this account, say, that the lamb which the Jews were commanded to sacrifice, was literally Christ, or that Christ was the Passover lamb; for this would be saying, in other words, that the command to slay the Passover lamb, literally authorised the Jews to put Christ to death.

The parabolic style of the sacred writers has been supposed to favor the doctrine of a double sense of Scripture; but the mistake

originates in ignorance of the true sense and import of Parables. In the Parable of Jotham, for example, in which the trees are represented as assembling in order to choose a ruler over them, it is manifest that the apparent, or grammatical, is not the *real* and literal sense of the passage. Viewed in the former light, it could not be literally true; and therefore literal truth, in the obvious sense, was not what the speaker intended. His design was, to shame the people of Israel, for their folly in making choice of such a worthless man as Abimelech to be their king, and to proclaim the fatal consequences of such a foolish choice; and to this end the moral of the Parable is adapted.

Similar observations will apply to Nathan's Parable, the Parables of our Lord, and the symbolical visions of the Prophets. The consideration of these, and other topics connected with them, will fall under a subsequent and more appropriate division of the Lectures.

#### A FRAGMENT.

They found Geneva dead,—if it be death  
To lie without a motion, pulse, or breath,—SHILLLEY.

'Tis a fair morning,—the glad soul springs up  
Light as the bubbles of the red wine-cup,  
And, freshening in the beam of that bright eye,  
Which showers its golden bliss from yon far sky,  
Goes forth in joyousness, perchance too wild  
To bless the world, and worship, as a Child!  
'Tis a fair Garden—where the fruits and flowers  
Hold converse with their peers, the Summer Hours;  
And every lowly shrub, and haughtier tree,  
Echoes the reckless song of bird and bee;  
Forgetting in its honey chase to listen  
To the cool founts that laugh out, while they glisten.  
'Tis a fair Garden!—wanting not one prize  
Which Eden held, to make a paradise!  
For lo! upon that green, low, rustic seat,  
Where the clear waters mar the offending heat,  
And flowers spring thickest, gathering light and life,  
From sun and fountain, heedless of their strife,  
There lies, all motionless, and pale, a thing  
Pure as an Angel in imagining;

As beautiful as Eve; the first who cast  
That light of Heaven on Earth, which has not past  
Away like Eden's other gifts---but, still  
Hovers above our war of good and ill,  
Above the wreck of madness---guilt---despair---  
Shedding its healing beam of calmness there.  
A little star above a wilderness,  
Which earthly lips profane when they would bless.

\* \* \* \* \*

There drew one nigh that moveless lady, there,  
(You might have deemed him bridegroom by his air)  
And softly stole his footstep, as in fear  
To break the slumbering of one so dear.  
Awhile, he hung above her,—but her cheek  
Holds not the hue, his eager eyes would seek.  
'So very pale! some roses must be worn  
'To deck my bride, upon her bridal morn.  
'Wake!—for the eyes and hopes which wait for thee  
'Are faint, and fearful, till thy smile they see!'  
He shuddered as he spoke:—the hand which hung  
Like a fair flower upon the breezes flung,  
Drooping and lone, he grasped, but loosed his hold---  
It was too snowy-white---alas! too cold.  
He felt that coldness check at once the tide  
Which heaved so late in happiness and pride:  
He deemed---no! durst not deem---that chilly cheek,  
Too cold---too lonely---and too still---too deep!  
'Wake!'---but she moved not---'Wake! if not in scorn,  
'Sleep---a poor mask for fickleness---is worn!'  
There came no answer there, from lips whose breath  
Could wile away Despair---and ~~ill~~---but Death.  
There is within his heart a touch of fear,  
Which, but till now, he sternly wrung from there.  
It could not be---that love and life and light  
Had left their glorious mansion lowly quite;  
He dashed the living stream above her brow,  
And, if he doubted—he can doubt not now;



Not the cold fountain, or the freshing air  
 Brought life again, but added coldness there !—  
 Changeless and fixed, that blue and ' heaven-raised eye,'  
 As it were melting in that scornful sky—  
 Which seemed to mock the beauty which must die !  
 It comes upon him—sullenly—at last—  
 The truth—that hope and joy from him have past.  
 They told him oft—but once he would not deem  
 ' Hope but a name, and happiness a dream.'  
 There could not be a cheat in things so fair,  
 No fear—when she was smiling on him there.  
 A form to fire the youthful and the old,  
 To teach that human hearts can ne'er grow cold !

\*     \*     \*     \*     \*

Go ! wander far away, ye cold, ye stern,  
 Nor scowl upon the lesson all must learn.  
 Hence ! nor in scornful silence wander by,  
 Mocking the tear that gushes carelessly ;—  
 Carelessly gushes !—like the winter rain  
 Which falls—but brightens not the turf again.  
 The ' giant wrench ' from all we know of bliss—  
 The long—long watch of midnight loveliness—  
 The ' fever of vain longing '—and the void  
 Gaping—where hopes and prospects lie destroyed—  
 The vivid memory of each glowing charm,  
 In mildness mighty, even in sorrow warm,  
 And then, the thought that all those charms must be  
 Even now, the food for earth-worms' revelry—  
 All—must be borne—but the wild heart which bears,  
 Breaks 'neath its burden—if it has no tears.  
 Curse not the wretch who scorns such drops as these—  
 Curse not his lack of human sympathies—  
 That poison lurks securely—latent—slow—  
 O'erflooding his whole heart,—then let it flow !

THOMAS M—S.

## TRADE WITH INDIA.

[Substance of two letters addressed to the Editor of 'The Edinburgh Observer,' in continuation of those published in the last number of 'The Oriental Herald.']

SIR,—It appeared by the Custom-House statement of the inspector-general, that the imports into Great Britain from India and China, during the year 1828-9, were actually worth 11,220,500*l.*, of which the East India Company imported somewhat less than one half, or 5,576,900*l.*, and whereof considerably above 3,600,000*l.* arose from their monopoly of the Chinese trade, and consisted of tea alone. Having given the leading articles of that importation, we have now to enumerate and compare the state and particulars of our exports. If we have been at all successful in explaining the principles essential to a just comparison of our present and former commerce; the increase of our outward trade will be found not less gratifying than was that of our inward.

We have already shown that the "real or declared value" of exports to India and China from Great Britain, was

By the free trade, (including the privilege trade,)	£4,085,400
By the East India Company,	1,126,900
	<hr/> 5,212,300

Although it may seem unnecessary, we beg to remind our readers, that the trade to India was thrown open in 1813-14; it is therefore with the previous period that we have to draw parallels. The real or declared value exported from Great Britain during six years, from 1805 to 1810,\* inclusive, averages for

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\* Average Official value of exports from Great Britain, in the six years from 1805 to 1810, distinguishing the countries. *a.*

Average of exports to Continent of Europe	-	£15,996,400
Ditto ditto Asia	-	1,798,096
Ditto ditto Africa	-	824,061
Ditto ditto America	-	10,006,875
Ditto ditto the West Indies	-	6,448,281
		<hr/> £35,073,713

Exclusive of Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey, and Man  
 . . . . . £4,287,506

British merchandize to India	-	-	-	-	£1,923,100
Foreign ditto, to ditto	-	-	-	-	195,200
					<hr/>
					2,118,300
Merchandize to China	-	-	-	-	1,143,400
					3,261,700
during the same period our exports to the whole of Asia stand by					
Official value at	-	-	-	-	£1,798,100

The reader will at once perceive that in these good old times of monopoly and war, the Declared value of British shipments must have been above 32 in relation to the Official value below 18, or as 177 to 100; but in these latter times of much business and small profit, when the manufacturer has become merchant, and the merchant turned broker; in these our times, the relative positions are somewhat more than reversed, the real being at 46, to the official at 55; or (to compare it with the above,) as 15 to 18, or 83 to 100 on the exportations of the United Kingdom for the last nine years\*, as the subjoined average shows. The real value

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Official value of the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom, exported from Great Britain 1828-9. <i>a</i>	-	-	-	-	£52,029,150
Ditto of Foreign and Colonial merchandize	-	-	-	-	9,928,654
					<hr/>
					£61,957,804

So that the improvement of British commerce (exclusive of Ireland) since 1811, is as 35 to 61.

*a* P. P. No. 101, finance account, 1828-9.

\* Real value of the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom, exported therefrom from 5th January 1820 to 5th January 1829,

9 years	-	-	-	-	£328,318,743
Foreign and Colonial merchandize, by the official value					
(the real is never stated, but presumed to be rated as imported),	-	-	-	-	88,242,932

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£416,561,675

Annual average is therefore for the <i>real</i> value	-	-	-	-	£46,284,630
Official value for the same period, exported—					
Manufactures and produce of United Kingdom	-	-	-	-	£409,152,225
Foreign and Colonial merchandize	-	-	-	-	88,244,532

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£497,397,157

Annual average of official value	-	-	-	-	£55,266,339
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The proportions of the *real* to the *official* value being now as 46 to 55.

The inquisitive reader will find the particulars, from which the above

shipped between 1805 and 1810, therefore stands to the real value of our time as ours as 200 to 81.

To place these on a fair par of comparison, let us again measure them by the same standard, and assign to the high priced exports of by-gone days, the real but depreciated value of our own generation. These relative proportions will bring the corresponding amounts to stand thus, viz. :—

The Real or Declared value of our exportations £3,261,700, (for the six years before 1811,) was no more contrasted with our exportations, than - - - - - £1,523,800  
While the shipments of 1828-9 are - - - - - 5,212,300  
making a gross increase on our eastern trade of 240 per cent., while the general commerce of Great Britain has not advanced more since 1810 than from 35 to 61 millions, or 75 per cent., as will be seen below.

Our outward traffic to the Indian Peninsula has thus risen 165 per cent. over and above its share of the common improvement.

During these six years, the shipping cleared out from Great Britain for India and China,\* averaged 45,400 tons, (as below), while last year was above 80,500. From which conjunction of facts we may conclude that all along there has been a great amount of tonnage sent out in ballast to bring home the extra bulk of tea; but still there has been no corresponding exchange of values. Could our merchantmen get free access to the port of Canton, they

summations are derived, in an official account, of which there is a copy in the Scotsman of 13th May last, titled "Trade of the United Kingdom."

It is a curious fact, that while the real and declared value of the manufactures and produce of the United Kingdom, as exported 1820-1, are announced at - - - - - £36,000,000  
(the official value stating them at - - - - - 38,000,000;)  
the real value of the year 1828-9 stands also at - - - - - 36,000,000  
while the official value is - - - - - 52,000,000

*Query.*—Has the loss of PROFIT amounted to fourteen millions on fifty millions, in the course of nine years? or does it proceed from improved machinery, cheaper corn, greater competition, and a fall in the price of raw materials? Since landlords can buy manufactures and produce 28 per cent. cheaper now, they can afford to reduce their rents in the same proportion; and yet (like the attendant of a once worthy Highland chieftan), and yet "hae a their ain at least."

\* The number of ships cleared outwards for the six years 1805 to 1810, are 307 ships, amounting to 272,661 tons, and averaging per annum 51 ships of 45,443 tons; of these it appears 243 ships of 195,575 tons belonged to the Honorable East India Company, and averaged 40 ships of 32,595 tons.

c P. P. No. 193, 1812-3, vol. 8.

d P. P. No. 178, 1828, vol. 23.

would (like the Americans) find a cargo out and home, and reduce the freight of our favourite beverage by one half.

I shall say nothing about the improvement of morality and sobriety, since (however undeservedly) tea has somehow got the *vite* of all the scandal which the fair sex are alleged (as undeservedly) to indulge in, over their cups.

The following particulars of our exports may interest our commercial and manufacturing readers :—

Statement of a few Leading Articles exported from Great Britain to the East Indies and China, together with the Mauritius, in the year ending 5th January, 1829 ; specifying the separate amounts exported by the East India Company, and by the Free Trade :—

<i>Description of Goods.</i>	<i>By the Hon. East India Company.</i>	<i>By free trade including pri- vilege trade.</i>
Beer and ale, - - - -		£99,077
Brass and Copper, - - - -	£17,085	213,283
Cotton manufactures, cotton twist, and yarn		
Foreign, - - - -		15,601
Cotton manufactures, British, - -	9,905	1,646,846
Ditto twist and yarn, ditto, - -	10,363	382,771
Earthen and glass ware, ditto, - -	3,749	137,873
Haberdashery, hats and apparel, lace, linen, and silk manufactures, - -	18,644	124,856
Guns, lead, pistols, shot, swords, ordnance, apothecary's ware, &c. - -	226,806	54,536
Iron, bar, bolt, cast, and wrought, -	79,276	196,665
Opium, - - - -		49,275
Plate, jewellery, and watches, British	190	50,709
Spelter, Foreign, - - - -		59,486
Stationery and printed books, - -	40,992	66,329
Spirits, foreign, - - - -	146	45,337
Wines, - - - -	907	203,114
Woollen manufactures, British, almost en- tirely for China, - - - -	622,774	263,254
Ditto ditto, foreign, - - - -		12,726

The total of these and other articles is stated above.

The amounts sent to China, consist of cotton manufactures and yarn, British - - - - £92,697

Iron, bolt and bar, ditto - - - - 22,025

Lead and shot, ditto - - - - 27,108

Opium, ditto - - - - 39,987

Woollens, ditto - - - - 618,412

All other articles, ditto - - - - 63,265

Carried forward - - - 863,494

Brought forward	£868,494
Leaving the amount shipped to India	4,348,859
Total exports	£5,212,353

The account from which the above particulars are taken, is signed

WILLIAM IRVING,

Inspector General of Imports and Exports.

And dated—*Custom House, London, 25th April 1829.*

The different sorts of woollens and cottons sold in the East will be given separately, meantime it may be useful to compare the preceding items with the total exportations of Great Britain.

Description of Goods exported from Great Britain only.*	DECLARED VALUE.	
	Exported to Foreign Parts.	Exported to India, China, and Mauritius; by the Company, and Free Trade
Beer and ale, - - -	£239,200	£99,000
Cotton manufactures and yarn, British,	17,140,500	
Ditto, by Company and free trade, ditto,		2,049,800
Earthen and glassware, ditto, -	992,800	141,600
Plate, jewellery, and watches, ditto,	184,800	50,900
Stationery and printed books, ditto,	305,500	107,200
Spelter, Foreign, - - -	217,100	59,400
Spirits,† ditto, - - -	935,200	45,400
Wines, ditto, - - -	287,200	204,000
Woollen manufactures, British,	5,120,200	886,000

Having given the detail and amount of our trade with India, we now propose to recapitulate our former observations.

But before proceeding farther, I beg to impress upon your readers, that our enumerations are not gratuitous estimates, taken on partial data or vague assumption, but are the true and actual figures, summations, and returns presented officially to Parliament, signed and dated, having the numbers and volumes specially referred to that all who do us the favour to peruse this may satisfy themselves by turning to the national records. Further, our calculations of former, and comparisons with present trade, are not made on the excess or deficiency of some one year, but on an average of several successive years, all previous to the renewal of the Honourable Company's charter; and drawn up from documents furnished by the India Board itself, or by the general Custom-house of Great Britain. It is obvious that we have expatiated little on the subject;

\* P. P. No. 101, 1828-9, finance account of trade and navigation.

† The real value of spelter, wine and spirits not being given, the official amount is taken.

considering it better that the reader should first compare the items, than that we should substitute declamation for count and reckoning; but from these items appearing only at intervals, it may be necessary to recapitulate somewhat; but we must also request the reader to refer to our former statements.

It will be recollected that we made allowance for the general improvement in the trade of the country, before summing up the immense increase which has accrued to our Oriental imports and exports, during the last fifteen years, since the partial opening of our intercourse with the East; and that we exhibited the several amounts of the East India Company's commerce distinct from that of the 'Free and Privilege Trade.'—Free and privilege trade!—a custom-house designation which is surely very ill-applied, for the private traders are undeniably the very reverse of free; and the Honourable Company continue doubtless the retainers, the jealous retainers of the privilege in tea, tribute, and territory.

It will also be recollected, that the 'Official, or Government Valuation,' enabled us to contrast the 'real or declared value' of exports, during six specified years of the close monopoly, with the real or declared value of last year's; and that the numerical data on which these were confronted was also stated in accompanying notes. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, the result stood thus,

## IMPORTS.

Highest estimate of the imports for the year 1828-9,	
on an average of the Company's trade for the	
six years before 1811.....	£8,340,150
Actual imports for the year 1828-9, according to the	
prices then obtained.....	£11,320,500

being an increase of 35 per cent. since 1813-14, over and above the general increase of the kingdom—the latter amounting also to about 35 per cent., say in about *twenty* years; the former having reached this per centage in *fifteen* years, and having reached it, too, in an increasing *ratio*, gives therefore so much the greater promise for the time to come. Nor must it be forgotten, that the greater part of this increase is by the free trade from India, and that, too, while the Company's importations have decreased by two-thirds, as will be shown. Which, then, may we ask, is the most capable of extending our imports—the Free Trade, or the Honourable Traders? Which is the most capable of competing with the other—wealth, privilege, long possession, and uncontrolled power on the one part; or industry, intelligence, limited credit, individual responsibility, and personal influence on the other? What should the former have to fear from the latter? The members of the first class ought, each of them, to possess the same advantages as the last, with all their corporate capabilities superadded. But the free trade has been limited to almost the three principal ports of British India—Calcutta, Madras,

and Bombay, at these our own colonial ports, Englishmen are limited to the wide boundary of ten miles from the Presidency, in a state, 4000 miles long and 1600 broad! English merchants are forbidden to go up the country, "for the temporary purpose of disposing of consignments!" and, for the same prohibitory object, bridges, roads, canals, and internal communications are making just about as much progress now as they were doing two centuries ago;—the millions of rupees that had accumulated in the Treasury chest being spent, not in general improvement, but in teaching the Burmese the art of European warfare. Then of these £11,200,500 sterling imported, we find that

The Free Trade brings home, 10th July. . . . . £5,643,600  
And the Honourable East India Company bring. . . . £5,576,900

These sums appear pretty equally balanced, and seemed to speak as much in favour of the one as of the other. But, gentle reader!—above £3,600,000 of the latter sum consisted of tea alone—from China alone—imported by the Company alone—to say nothing of other articles from that excluded corner of the globe; so that, while the Chartered Company's India trade was £1,900,000, the free, or rather, the not free trade, was nearly three times that sum, in spite of its shackles! In short, the free traders, with their limbs fettered, have, notwithstanding, stepped into the Company's shoes, and found their buskins much too small for their progressive advance; nor do we doubt that in getting a like footing in Canton, Nankin, and Pekin, we would soon feel the iron slippers of the Anglo-Chinese much too tight for our enlarged understandings. And, since there is nothing like a little probation, perhaps our intelligent Ministry might admit us to Canton in the first place; and (as a premium for good conduct, till British sailors show they can behave themselves as well as the Americans), after other three or four years' trial, we may be farther allowed to sail up the Blue River to Nankin in the second place; and three or four years afterwards, to navigate the Yellow Sea, below Pekin, in the third place; and, lastly, to sail all the world over. Ere then, we doubt not but the Company's interest would consist in retiring from active business, leaving the concern to be managed by the junior partners. Some such arrangement would, at least, allow them to wind up, or re-model, if they chose; and would introduce the great body of the people, and the great bulk of our goods so gradually into market, that the extending demands of the Chinese would be widening for us in the East, while all speculation, overtrading, and difficulty of sales would be prevented from the West.

But, Sir, we find that the joint imports of both trades, valued,  
From India and Mauritius, . . . . . £6,923,900  
From China only, . . . . . 4,296,600  
that is to say, that what we barter with a poor and oppressed population of eighty or a hundred millions exceeds, by one half, what we



bring from a much wealthier and more civilized people of 200 millions of individuals, at the lowest computation.

Now for our Exports :—

The exports amount in all to	£5,212,300
in payment of	11,200,500
To be sure the freight and profit has to be added to the first, or deducted from the last ; but we leave those of the least experience in business to balance them if they can now-a days. Of the above there is taken out	
By Free Trade	£4,085,400
By the Company	1,126,900
But of the latter sum, and by the latter Company, the largest amount of all their articles to Hindostan (according to the Custom-house) is, for guns, pistols, swords, lead, shot, ordinance, &c. and amounts to, 21st July,	
	£226,800
and this is much within the mark, for, by the India House classification, great part of the iron, stationery, &c., consisted of 'stores,' to the amount of above	
	£462,300
Reducing their export of 'merchandize,' to	636,400
or by the Custom-house clearance) to below	664,600
so that, while the exports by the "free trade," so called, are above	
	£4,085,400

the unlimited exports of the Free trader (within the wider 'limits of the East India Company's charter,' which limits embrace the whole of Southern Asia and part of Southern Africa), these unlimited exports are below - £700,000 And, if the reader will only use his pencil and his eyes, he will find that the greater part thereof consisted of woollen cloths, not for India but for China ; and we will farther see, that the remainder of our Chinese exports must have been taken out by the free traders\*.

There is another curious circumstance, that although the Company grow opium, and give every encouragement to their surgeons, and other servants, for its improvement and extension ; (and although they, as the self-styled 'conservators of the Morals and Happiness of Asia,' smuggle large quantities of this drug into China, in spite of the Emperor's proclamations to the contrary, and in spite of its demoralizing and crime-producing influence); although they encourage the Indian growth of opium, yet there appears £49,000 worth of it exported from England (by the said free trade), of which nearly £40,000 finds its clandestine way through them to China also.

Then, with regard to the article of cotton manufactures and yarn. Asia (the country from which we brought the art and the article), Asia absorbs one-eighth of our whole exportations,—this eighth

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\* The total export to China is - - - £863,500

The total ditto of the Company (of Merchandize) is £664,600, the greater part is of Woollens.

amounted last year in all to	£2,049,800
of which there was earned out by the free trade	2,039,600

## ALE.

Among other articles, nearly one-half of all the beer and ale we export goes to the east. This is peculiarly a British commodity; and without needing to mince the matter, the Mohammedans make no scruple of asserting, that although their great prophet forbade them the use of wine, yet he had no commission against a draught of porter. Anent this trade, we cannot but wish that Scotland could get its little finger in a little farther, for then the fine amber produce of Caledonia might sparkle as beautifully, and be prized as devoutly, beside the water of the Ganges, as are the Cashmere shawls and Golconda diamonds of India.

The exports of ale would more especially benefit our north-eastern coast, as it is a notorious fact, that not only the north-western quarter of the Island, but London itself, is supplied by Edinburgh and its two auxiliaries, Leith and Alloa. We shall say nothing in recommendation of our unadulterated beverage for the health and hilarity of the Peishaws of the Peninsula, as every medical work on the East dissuades from the use of ardent spirits. It is of little consequence whether these be superseded by Hodson's beer, or our own Berwick's, or Fowler's, or Muir's Entire, since we perceive that the description exported is almost wholly of *foreign* spirits.

## WINE.

As to wine, the total export of it from Great Britain, amounts in all to £280,200; of which £204,000 passes beyond the limits of the East India Company's charter. The trade in that branch ought to lay between London and Leith; and no countryman who appreciates the genuine character of the latter, would prefer the manufactured mixtures of the former, where, of Port, for instance, there is more made throughout the year for its consumption alone, than the whole British empire imports.—Look then at jewellery, stationery, haberdashery, iron, copper, earthenware, &c. (a); and if

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(a) 'Report on the Commerce of British India, 1802-3,' forming part of the 'Extract from Mr. Brown's Report,' pp. 17 and 18. Exclusive of the security of property at the three Presidencies, the most perfect toleration prevails in every subject relating to religion. The town of Calcutta is thereby increasing in population, from various parts of India;—a family of Asiatic Jews from Jeddha, of considerable opulence, have lately settled in this emporium of commerce, and many more are expected from the numerous ports of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs. This accounts in some measure for the increase of wealth, population, and general commerce, carried on by the Natives at present, in comparison to the period when a degree of criminality was attached to any person engaged in commerce, who exchanged his commodity for the bullion brought by foreigners from other parts of the globe. The value of imports has certainly increased progressively since 1798-9, (see this date in next note,) which is principally

we have done so much amidst difficulties and falling markets, what may not be done by liberal Emancipation, British Colonization, free Navigation, and the lawful cultivation of cotton, sugar, coffee, indigo, and what not?

## COTTON.

B. P. cotton, (with a duty of only 4d. per cwt.) has sold for the last six years below 6½d. per lb. at the East India Company's sales, while F. P. has been ranging from 8d. to 11½d; nor, during the height of speculation, do we ever find it quoted in the general market above 10d. to 1s.; while Uplands, and Orleans and Egyptian are 20d., and 30d. to 40d.\*—the latter paying a duty, (although small on the whole), yet eight times more than the former. Nor have we any right to blame the soil as the cause of inferiority, till we have fairly tried what care and culture can effect.

## SUGAR.

Among a mass of other information regarding commerce, the following occurs in 'Extracts from Mr. Larkin's Report from 1803-4,'† forming part of 'The Extracts from the Report of the Reporter of External Trade in Bengal.' 'There is a falling off in the export of sugar; the decrease is in consequence of the restriction on country shipping; sugar will scarcely bear the *freight payable on an extra ship*, unless the accounts of the state of the market at home are so favourable as to induce the merchant to speculate in this article, which was not the case at this period.'

Now we learn that the freights by the private trade were £16 per ton‡ in 1798-9. From that period to 1802, we find the Company paying £25 to £40 for the 'Coast and Bay,' we presume out and home, being on vessels of 800 and 1200 tons. But at present the freight of sugar from Bengal is not above £4, 4s. per ton. (On the subject of freights see Note (B). Now we have seen that this

to be ascribed to the increase of the inland trade, and the demand for very many articles of British manufactures among the Natives, both at Fort William and the out-stations, who seldom have less than one or two rooms in their dwelling-houses that are not ornamented with looking-glasses, lamps, pictures, &c., in the European style; which equally prevails at the other Presidencies, but particularly at Bombay, where the Parsee merchants, from their general trade, have imbibed notions of luxury and extravagance, unknown to their ancestors.

\* See London Price Current of May, June, and July, 1825.

† See Pp. No. 171, p. 21. Vol. viii. 1812-13.

‡ See pp. 10 and 11.—Pp. No. 163, ordered to be printed 18th July, 1803.

(B) Report on the private trade between Europe, America, and Bengal. From 1795 to 1798, the quantity of Sugar shipped at Hamburg and Copenhagen, supposed to be principally on account of British subjects residing at Calcutta, was 103,031 cwt. If this quantity had been shipped to London, and if the piece goods and other articles, shipped on freight to Hamburg, Copenhagen, &c., in those three years, had also been sent to

article (the produce of free labour, as far as India is concerned,) has advanced in consumption, within the last twenty years, from 52,000 hundred weights per annum, to 356,000, in spite of a heavy extra duty, and notwithstanding that want of practical skill, and immediate interest which it obtains from the West India planter. Yet, in spite of these disadvantages, it has been enabled to trench greatly on the forced labour of the slave. A ready supply of shipping, and a little more capital, machinery and experience, may soon come to improve the quality, increase the quantity, and reduce the price of this most valuable product of the tropics. But this and other colo-

London, it may be estimated that the British revenue of customs on the terms of the last warehousing act, (before 1800 we believe), 'would have been benefitted £500,000 sterling, by the trade thus forced to foreign ports by means of the higher freight on gruff articles, and the heavy duties on piece goods in London. The large quantities of

## SUGAR

shipped in 1795-6, in American ships, to Hamburgh, was in consequence of the lower rate of freight obtainable at that time;—this was prior to the operation of the American treaty in Calcutta, which took place in September, 1796. In 1798-9, when British merchants in Calcutta were permitted to load their own ships, or to make their own arrangements for freight to London, there was not a single bag of sugar or bale of cloth shipped by them to any foreign port. Whereas if such permission had not been granted, the shipments in Anglo-Danish vessels would have been continued; as merchants in every part of the world will run many risks sooner than allow their ships to rot in the harbour, if employment can be obtained for them.—(If we recollect aright this was the period of the Northern coalition against British commerce.)

To the low rate of freight in 1798 to 1799, (£16 per ton) may be attributed the additional quantity of raff goods shipped to England, those for London exceed one-fifth of the whole exports; whereas in the year preceding, the proportion was less than one-seventeenth, which clearly shows the advantage derived to British trade, by affording it the means of conveyance at a low rate of freight; and the reason why the amount of tonnage occupied in 1798-9, was so much larger than 1797-8. In 1799-1800 British subjects provided a larger quantity of goods than usual in expectation of the same indulgence in shipping them, as in the preceding years. In consequence of the high rates of freight, considerable quantities of sugar and other goods intended for the London market were resold in Calcutta. \*It is then remarked again regarding the shipments of 1798-9.—'In 1798-9, when British merchants were permitted to send their own goods in their own ships, in the manner they desired, then the trade which had formerly been carried on in ships under American colours to Hamburgh, and subsequently under Danish colours to Copenhagen ceased, in so far as respected the trade carried on by British merchants, residing in Calcutta to those ports.'

The imports from Hamburgh and Copenhagen in the first of these years, (before 1798 we presume,) 'are principally the produce of Great Britain, shipped by merchants in London, partly on account of the low freight, and partly to avoid the forms of office at the India House, to which the goods would have been subject if shipped under the British flag.

Calcutta, 24th Sept. 1800.

(Signed)

Jos. THOS. BROWN, R. E. C.

REAL articles of British export might be very considerably extended by a less prohibitory system of duties on CONTINENTAL merchandise; on some descriptions of which it is 33, 66, 100, and (as on rough wood, for instance) above 200 per cent., besides a heavy freight.\* When the northern nations take goods from us, it is evident they will prefer our manufactures,—other circumstances being equal; since, besides other reasons, our consumpt. being narrowed, they can exchange their peculiar growths for coffee, rum, cocoa, &c., just as advantageously at Hamburgh, Rotterdam, or Havre, as they can do at London.

## INDIGO.

The transactions in Asiatic indigo, averaged per annum :—

	(†) Importation.	Exportation.
In the years 1792,	581,800 lbs.	280,500 lbs.
————— 93,	890,700 —	443,900 —
————— 94,	1,403,600 —	1,018,500 —
Average 1795 to 8,	3,094,000 —	1,785,700 —
Ditto 1799 to 1804,	2,498,200 —	1,736,600 —
Ditto 1805-10,	4,224,100 —	2,163,300 —
Quantity of—1828-9,	9,683,600 —	4,442,500 —

We learn from the 'Report on the Private Trade between Europe and Bengal,' that 'the indigo contracts of the Company ceased in 1794-5, which occasioned the whole indigo of 1795-6 to be shipped in PRIVATE trade, except deficiencies of contracts delivered to the Company.'

For the sake of further comparison we make another extract from the 'Report' of the state of matters in 1803-4. 'Among the Exports to London,' there is an amazing increase in the article of indigo; it amounts to the considerable sum of sicca rupees, fourteen lacks, fifty thousand, eight hundred and twenty-one (S.Rs. 14,050, 821, or £181,358 Sterling). The season was favourable and the plant productive in consequence; ~~add to~~ to which the demand at home was great, and far beyond what it had been for many years. The quantity sent home this year was Mds. 42,291; which, though a large consignment, is not equal to the demand, the annual consumption, both for home and foreign purposes, being estimated at 70,000, Mds.

\* The shipping price of fir timber in the Baltic ports is from 20s. to 25s. per load. The duty on importation into Britain is 55s.; or what costs below 6d. per foot in Prussia, pays above 1s. 1d. here. Zinck, or spelter, of which we import £225,600 per annum, although reduced in duty, still pays so nearly cent. per cent. that it yields below £5800. On these, and many other articles, there is great room for reduction, without withdrawing protection, (where protection is either required or can be available,) and without injuring the actual produce of the revenue.

† Pp. No. 191. Vol. viii. 1812-13.

‡ See Observer of 17th July.

'There is scarcely an indigo planter that has not made additions to his works; even the cautious Native is laying out his capital in erecting factories for its manufacture, principally with a view of disposing of it in Calcutta. That made by the Natives is generally of an inferior quality; the best may answer the European market, but generally it is best adapted for the trade of the two gulfs.\*

We may remark, in passing, that one cause of its increase appears also to have been in the Company making advances on this and other manufactures, probably, at 10 per cent.—the usual interest—and doubtless with money borrowed in this country at five per cent,—all very fair in its way.

## TEA.

We learn from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that the quantity of tea imported into Great Britain and Ireland, during the last century, was about the year 1726, nearly

1726,	-	-	-	700,000 lbs.
1746,	-	-	-	1,200,000 do.
1766,	-	-	-	6,000,000 do.
1786,	-	-	-	12,000,000 do.

And our preceding letters have shown that from

1805 to 1810, it averaged	-	-	-	23,424,900 do.
And was, in 1829, above	-	-	-	32,678,700 do.

It may also be recollected that I made some allusion to the direct trade of British Asia and our colonies in North America, and alluded also to the export of tea by the United States.

We have since laid our hands on some printed circulars, from which we shall take the liberty to quote.

'MONTREAL, 28th December, 1822.—The navigation of the St. Lawrence being now closed, (and as this event may be said to sum up our commercial business for the year,) we beg leave to hand you a report of the state of our markets, &c. Tea is this year a decrease of 850 chests upon the average imports of three previous years, and has been on the decline since 1814. This diminution is not the effect of diminished consumption, but the increase of smuggling from the United States. The consumption of both provinces is estimated at above 12,000 chests, of which about 10,000 are smuggled, the prices rating about one shilling under that of the imported teas. This article, as well as all other East India productions are prohibited importation from the States, under the monopoly of the British East India Company, by which the colony suffers in its revenue, and the morals of the people are sapped by the daily infringement of positive laws by a bounty held out to crime. 'This certainly calls for Legislative interference.' Now for this object an Act was passed in 1824, authorising direct importation; of which the good effect was, that whereas the imports of 1820-1-2 and 4, averaged

\* Pp. No. 171, p. 10, vol. viii. 1812-13.

only 2,100 chests; those of 1825-6 and 7 averaged 16,160 chests and boxes; as it appears from said circulars, dated Quebec, 19th November, 1825, and 29th January, 1828.\*

Thus, by a wise measure of the mother country, we have prevented our American rivals from forestalling us in our own dependencies; though that does not prevent them from doing so in other markets.

COMERCIANTE,

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\* The first from Messrs. Handysides, and the two last from Messrs. Heath and Moir, dated Quebec, &c., as above, of which quantities, &c. any Canada merchant on referring to their old files may satisfy themselves.

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### THE GREEK SLAVE.

*From 'The Caledonian Mercury.'*

'The slave of Hætz lay dead before him. When in life she was bright and beautiful as the sun—but in death she was even more lovely than she had ever been in life.'

I NEVER saw a living thing so beautiful as thou,  
 Nor gazed upon a sight so fair as thy cold placid brow;  
 The lily flowers within thy hand, that bloom while all beside  
 Is cold, and pale, and motionless as some unchanging tide—  
 That struggle in thy grasp to be what thou wert once to them,  
 A living thing, a growing flower, a sweet but fading gem,  
 Are emblems of the purity that liv'd in thy young breast,  
 And, emblems of thy fading state, they'll sink with thee to rest.  
 The sun, that gilds thy auburn hair and smiles upon them now,  
 And lightens all that death has left of thy transparent brow,  
 Will sleep beneath the western wave till his next light shall see  
 A change come o'er their fading hue like this last change on thee,  
 The smile upon thy parted lips---the tinge upon thy cheek---  
 Are still so calm and beautiful that fancy deems they seek  
 To cheat the gaze that rests upon that cold and marble face,  
 And make it dream 'tis any thing save death's unerring trace.  
 But where is all the life that shone in those blue eyes of thine,  
 That shrouded in obscurity will not reply to mine—  
 That meet my gaze, but changeless now, are cold and dull to see,  
 And not like those bright stars that once so kindly beamed on me.  
 O'er them the only change has come that yet the king hath wrought---  
 The victor King---whose conquest now has been so dearly bought;  
 The only change---yet one that comes like some dark thing of night,  
 Cold on the heart, the fearful change that robs thy spirit's flight.  
 What wert thou once?---A priceless gem, first in a kingly crown---  
 What art thou now?---A lifeless thing, dust unto dust brought down.

## VOYAGE ON THE NILE, FROM CAIRO TO THE CATARACTS.

## No. IX.

[From that portion of Mr. Buckingham's Unpublished Manuscripts, from which the materials of his Lectures on Egypt are drawn.]

*Town of Keneh—Arab Schools—Coptic Party—Egyptian Vases—  
Apollinopolis Parva—Approach to Thebes.*

Kenah, Nov. 20.

THE calm of the day had been succeeded by an evening breeze, which now blew fresh and strong; and without even attempting to sleep I remained up to profit by it, in proceeding for Kenah, which we reached about an hour before day break. My first enquiry was for the bath; it was just opened; my change of dress was prepared in a few minutes, and I hastened with pleasure to enjoy a gratification so peculiarly sweet after fatigue. The establishment had been very recently founded, and, like all new ones, was well conducted and supplied; there was an air of neatness, propriety, and comfort in it that I had not yet seen in Upper Egypt, and the servants were as attentive as they were numerous. Another circumstance, which contributed greatly to my enjoyment, was the perfect freedom from interruption that was secured. The rooms were better lighted, the marble mosaic of the seats and pavements smoother, and the waters more abundant in their supply, and various in their temperature, than I had found them even in Cairo: my attendant, too, seemed versed in all the finesse of his profession, and I passed two hours in the bath with a pleasure I was even then willing to prolong. The couch, the prepared pipe, the refreshing coffee, and rich sherbet, detained me as long and as agreeably as the bath itself, so that it was nearly ten o'clock before I rose to leave it.

On waiting on Signor Raffaelli, a Coptic writer to the Keacheff here, and collector of the taxes, to whom I had a letter from Sivert; we found him in the Divan, or public office. One can scarcely imagine any thing more contrary to European manners than an establishment of this kind. On a square terrace of earth, raised a few inches from the ground, and in the open street, enclosed with a simple wood railing, about a foot high, and shaded by a roof of straw, sat the Secretary of Finance, with from fifteen to twenty attendants, all cross-legged, on mats; an inkstand fixed in their girdle, a strong reed pen, and single sheets of highly glazed paper, books being seldom used. Accounts were here passed round, like their manner of writing, from right to left, each alternately calling out the substance of the paper he holds, giving it the necessary corrections and additions, and ultimately passing it to the chief, who, dipping the ring, which he wore on his little finger, into a black paste, like thick printing ink, set his seal upon it, instead of affixing any signature.



There were neither desks, drawers, nor furniture of any description, beyond the mats on which they sat; and while they held the paper breast-high in the left hand, and their right was engaged with the pen, every mouth was furnished with a pipe, which, from its extraordinary length, rests on the ground, and is steadied by the opposite wall or railing of the terrace, the tobacco bag and the flint and steel, being always at hand to renew it.

Ibrahim Pasha, the Governor of Upper Egypt, and son to Mohammed Ali Pasha, the Viceroy, was about to depart from hence at noon for Cosseir, and I had just time to pay him a hasty visit before he mounted. His object in performing this journey was to impress every species of boat on the coast, to employ them in the corn trade from thence to Jedda; the whole of Arabia now receiving its supplies from Egypt—a branch of commerce monopolised by the Government here. I regretted much the shortness of our interview, as Ibrahim seemed to have none of that reserve which in general characterises the Turk in power, and answered the questions I proposed to him with great freedom; he observed, that as his stay at Keneh would probably equal the time I should take in visiting the Cataracts, we might possibly meet again at this place on our return. The secret of all this condescension was afterwards explained to me, as arising from the fear of offending any individuals of the English nation who might be connected with the Government, and who might deprive the Egyptian Pasha, and his family, of the lucrative connections they had latterly enjoyed with us, in the supply of our troops in the Mediterranean with grain. The uninformed and unenquiring men suppose all English travellers to be Lords, and consequently connected with the English government, so that, judging from their own system, they deem all superiors capable of changing the accustomed course of things, and altering national measures to promote their private views, and to gratify individual revenge.

He departed, however, amidst the salute of four rusty six-pounders, and the shouts of the Arab multitude, accompanied by about fifty horsemen and as many camels, while I visited the bazaars to complete our provisions for the voyage, and went to the great earthenware manufactory to execute a commission for a friend in Cairo, promising to dine at sun-set with Signor Raffaelli.

The bazaars, as usual, furnished me with infinite amusement; indeed, there are few places in which greater diversity of character can be found: but among other objects that detained me was an Arabic school, held in the public market, in which it was difficult to say whether the noise of the water-carriers; the public auctioneers, who traverse the streets with goods, proclaiming the last price offered; the tin-plate workers and kettle menders; the noon-day invitations of the Imaams from a neighbouring mosque to prayers; the mingled cries of the despairing scholars, or the harsher voices

of their scolding masters, could be most plainly heard. Such a medley of sounds hardly ever saluted the ears of man; and if artificial discords be advantageously introduced in musical compositions, as preparations to harmonic effect, Haydn might have found here a perfect idea of chaos for his sublime opening of the Creation.

In a square space of ten or twelve feet, elevated from the ground, and enclosed like the divan, or custom-house, were eleven children and three Arab teachers. Each of the boys held in their hands a painted board, not unlike our horn-books in shape, but much larger, on which were written the Arabic characters and figures; and on some a few words of one syllable. Every one sat cross-legged; the masters armed with whips of rhinoceros' hide, occupied the centre and extremes of the room. The children, acting in concert all at the same time, with a rocking motion of the body, by which their foreheads almost touched the ground, repeated their lesson with an audible voice, and every one having adapted his pauses to a different tune, it was the strangest medley that could be heard. Those who were not perfect received the *bastinado* on the soles of the feet; this not only inflicted pain on them, but inspired others with terror: so that while some roared from actual sufferings, others cried in anticipation of what was to come; and the tyranny of the teachers had ample gratification in finding, at every examination, some unhappy culprit whom they thought deserving of flogging. I ventured to ask these little sultans in their own domain, how it was possible for their terrified pupils to learn any thing under such treatment? they replied, that when they were children learning had been flogged into them, and they were therefore now determined to flog it into those who followed them! adding, 'if these stupid heads are ten moons in learning an alphabet under such excellent discipline as ours, how long would they be if left to themselves?' As I did not immediately reply to this it was a matter of triumph to the head master, who exultingly added, 'though some of my scholars have remained with me only five years, yet not one has departed from my care without being able both to read and write!' For myself I felt persuaded, that while a child was acquiring only those simple elements of learning, amidst the confusion of an Arab school, he might, in almost any other country, become a classic as well as a mathematician.

From hence we visited the jar manufactories, to execute a commission which I had been charged with from Cairo. At a short distance from Kench are several pits of a fine compact marl, which furnish the material in abundance for those jars and vases, known through all the Levant for the quality they possess of cooling and sweetening water, by allowing it to filter through their pores. This fat earth undergoes no other preparation than that of being trodden by the feet in heaps, and afterwards worked by hand into the desired form, when the vessels are dried in the sun, and slightly burnt with

~~a straw~~ fire. In this state they are formed into rafts, and exported in immense quantities to Syria, Anatolia, Constantinople, and the Archipelago of Greece.

Like almost all the mechanical labours of the Egyptians, this making of earthen jars is performed sitting. A father of a family, with his lower extremities buried in the clay itself, is attended by all his children, who renew the supplies of material as he consumes it—take from him the jars when finished, and fill his pipe when empty; all of these operations of equal importance, and without the last of which the rest would never be performed. Since, however, the labour constitutes the whole expense of the manufacture, the jars are supplied here at a few paras each; and houses are even built of them by the poorest peasants. The length of the voyage, and the risk of breakage on the way, occasion them to increase in value at Cairo fifty, and at Constantinople a hundred-fold. They vary but little in shape or design, and preserve nearly the same figure as those which have been found in the most ancient manuscripts, and on the tablets accompanying Egyptian mummies.

We had completed the circuit of this little village, which derives its whole importance from being the depôt of Cossier, when approaching evening reminded me of my engagement, and I hastened accordingly to fulfil it. Signor Raffaelli had been waiting for me; but few apologies were necessary, and we soon surrounded the table. This man, from holding one of the most lucrative posts in Keneh, was considered to live equally well with the governor himself, and to have by far the best house of the two. The entrance to it was, however, so dark and intricate, that it appeared to have been constructed for a labyrinth; and the apartment in which we dined, was a small room, lighted by an aperture of fifteen inches square, with mud walls, a clay floor, and no other furniture than a straw mat. A small stool was set in the centre of this, upon which was placed a large metal salver, of about four feet diameter, and on this a variety of made dishes, with bread, raw vegetables, &c., were laid. Each taking his place, we drew round it on the floor; and when Signor Raffaelli had changed his blue Coptic head-dress for a Cashmere shawl, which they are forbidden to wear in public, unless of the darkest colours, he broke bread with his guests, in the ancient manner of the Apostolic feasts, and said a short prayer. As we all dipped our fingers into the same dish, and each dish was small, they soon disappeared, and succeeded each other, with a rapidity that was only to be equalled by the variety of the flavours they contained, as they serve up fish, fruits, pickles, stews, and pilaws without any regular order of succession, bringing whichever is ready first. Most of the party, to the number of eight or ten, ate heartily; but Signor Raffaelli, attended by a slave at his elbow, chewed only the dried seeds of melons, and drank small cups of aqua vitæ—finishing, in less than half an hour, three wine

bottles, and this of equal strength with our proof spirits in England! About the quantity of three wine glasses, which I was compelled to drink, rather than give offence, had the effect upon me of so much brandy; yet all these men swallowed five times the quantity, with apparent indifference, and thought it delicious.

The Copts, though Christians, closely affect the manners of the Turks in the domestic life, and, consequently, we saw none of the women of the family, though Signor Raffaelli possessed a wife and daughters; but such is the habitual tenaciousness in this respect, that the very inquiry after the health of any female of the family is considered a great breach of decorum; and any thing like an expression of compliment, or good wishes toward the wife or daughter, would be construed into a desire of intrigue, and produce serious misunderstandings.

After passing an hour over our pipes, in obtaining from those gentlemen some particulars relative to the route to Cosseir, the passage of the Red Sea, the seasons, of winds and weather, I left the party at nine o'clock, and embarked on board my boat, notwithstanding their pressing invitations that I should remain on shore to sleep. The reis, or captain, was unwilling to depart, the crew were scattered in all directions, and we had much difficulty in collecting them, as several of the men were detained by the embraces of those whom they were very reluctant to quit at the mere call of duty. All were on board, however, and the sail was loosed; discipline was soon restored. We continued under sail until the fall of the breeze at midnight, passing several low islands and villages, and reaching Deir, where we brought up, and moored to the bank for the night.

Kous, or Apollinopolis Parva, Nov. 21.

On passing beyond Deir, which we left at sun-rise, towing along shore in a dead calm, we saw rapid streams on both sides the river coming down from the interior, and augmenting its waters; and learnt that these had this year, for the first time, issued from the mountains. On enquiring whether any of the Arabs in the neighbourhood had been led by curiosity to the source of these streams, in order to ascertain whether they were springs, or the effects of rain only, they replied, that they knew no difference between water and water, from whatever source it came; but that the hills on the Arabian side had, for several days previous to its appearance, been covered with the clouds so as to render its summit invisible.

Our progress was so extremely slow, that I was enabled, by landing at Bairout, to visit the village of Kous, without occasioning detention, and taking my servant with me, we walked thither over a mile of extensive melon ground. We had scarcely entered the village, before we found ourselves in the midst of a grand bazaar, or cattle-fair. Here were young camels, buffaloes, and asses, of excellent quality, and at low prices; and for the recreation of those

who were disposed to indulge on the gains of their bargains—there was a mixture of rural diversions, especially of dancing and noisy music. The appearance of Franks in an assembly of this kind, was for a moment the most attractive part of the spectacle; but as there were many Coptic Christians among the buyers and sellers, our hands were kissed with all due veneration; and we passed through the thickest of the crowd unarmed and unmolested.

This village of Kous has been fixed on as the site, both of the ancient Coptos and of Apollinopolis Parva. That it has been the position of an extensive city, its widely scattered ruins amply testify; but their destruction is so complete, that the only considerable fragment remaining, is a colossal gate in the centre of the town, buried up to its very cornice in rubbish. This is surmounted by the winged globe, in a full fluting, and is grandeur itself in decay. Its principal entrance faced the south. From the rudeness of its hieroglyphic sculpture, it would seem to rank among the earliest efforts of that art, which was, no doubt, subsequent to architecture itself. The figures yet visible, shew gigantic priests sitting to receive the offerings of worshippers, and bearing the sacred bonnet and augural staff. Denon has given a tolerably accurate view of it, and has emphatically observed, that the bulk and magnitude of this ruin present a contrast with all the objects that surround it, which speaks more to the purpose on the subject of Egyptian architecture, than would twenty pages of encomium or dissertation.

Leaving the town after a short stay, we embarked at El Mischehra, where are also scattered ruins, with hieroglyphic figures; but though the foundations of buildings may be traced, nothing remains perfect: bricks and rubbish, the indisputable evidences of former population, are strewn around, however, in every direction.

The crocodiles of the Nile, still larger and more numerous than we had found them below, afforded us employment for the afternoon. I landed repeatedly on the sand banks, in the centre of the stream, to approach them more silently than could be done with the boat; but after firing more than thirty balls, two only were wounded, and even these escaped into the water, and baffled all our endeavours to take them.

The calm of the day was undisturbed by the slightest air or wind, and the heat was still oppressive,—a combination of causes that greatly retarded our progress, allowing us to reach no farther than Hagaze, where we anchored at the close of day.

Approach to Thebes, Nov. 22.

By an unusual change in this climate, the freshness of the breeze had usurped the empire of night, and gradually lessened with the rising sun, so that we had the mortification of remaining moored, at the only moment when we might have made some progress; the moon being in her wane, the navigation of the river becoming more

difficult, and every thing combining to retard our passage. We cast off our moorings, however, with the dawn, and towed along the eastern shore.

The whole of the mountain scenery, after leaving Keneb, becomes more and more broken and picturesque. It is there that the Arabian chain becomes lower, and retires farther off toward the Desert, leaving a wider space for cultivation on the river's banks, while the hills of the Lybian range approach nearer to the stream in the same proportion. The banks of the river become more and more elevated; the Doum Palm is more frequently seen in groves; the low islands in the centre of the stream begin to appear, and storks, vultures, geese, ducks, Numidian cranes, and crocodiles, alternately inhabit them. We still employed the morning in the chase of the latter animal, and were overjoyed to find that success had at length crowned our endeavours to take one: for having fired a double-balled musket at one of at least twenty-five feet length, as he lay extended near the water's edge, and seeing him first struggle and then remain tranquil, we advanced with confidence to secure our prize, when, as if totally uninjured, he sprung from the sand at a height of at least six feet, and to our surprise and disappointment, plunged into the stream.

[For the sake of greater completeness, the approach to Thebes will be incorporated with the description of the Ruins of that splendid City, in the ensuing Number.]

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#### ESTATE IN FRANCHE COMTE.

FRANCHE Comté has for some years been agitated by the question, as to who shall inherit a fortune amounting to no less than 75,000,000 of francs. Another question, however, has previously to be resolved, viz. does this contested inheritance actually exist? Our readers may be enabled to judge, when we remind them that Claude François Bonnet, the well-known sovereign of Madagascar, is supposed to have been born at Fontenis, near Bioz, which he left 100 years since for India. Having died without direct heirs, his wealth is said to be now deposited with the English East India Company, on which supposition every body in the vicinity of his Majesty's birth-place, would fain prove himself related to the fortunate Bonnet. In order to arrive at some certainty in this important matter, the numerous claimants have each contributed towards defraying the expences of delegates sent to London and Paris, for the purpose of procuring information.—*Galignani's Messenger*.

## THE LAND OF MY BIRTH.

BY THE REV. MR. RAFFLES.

From "The Blackburn Gazette."

ODD England for ever!  
 No power shall sever  
 My heart from the land of my birth;  
 'Tis the land of the brave,  
 Which none can enslave,  
 'Tis the happiest land upon earth!

'Tis the land of the Free—  
 So it ever shall be,  
 Her children no fetters shall bind:  
 Ere Britons are slaves,  
 She shall sink in the waves,  
 And leave not a vestige behind.

If the African stand  
 But once on her strand,  
 That moment his shackles are broke;  
 A captive no more,  
 He leaps on her shore,  
 And shakes from his shoulders the yoke.

'Tis the land of the Brave,  
 And the patriots' grave,  
 And heroes, and sages of old;  
 We hallow their dust,  
 And esteem it a trust,  
 More precious than jewels and gold.

'Tis the land of the Fair,  
 And beauty is there,  
 And the gladness that woman bestows;  
 When the circle is bright,  
 With the heart-cheering light,  
 From the eye of affection that flows.

'Tis the land of the Wise,  
 With the glorious prize  
 Of genius her temples are bound;  
 And she beams from afar,  
 Like a bright morning star,  
 To give light to the nations around.

Hail, land of my birth,  
 Brightest spot upon earth!  
 Shall I leave thee for others?—no, never!  
 Where'er I may roam,  
 Still thou art my home,—  
 Old England, my country, for ever!

## INVASION OF BRITISH INDIA\*

At no juncture in the political affairs of Europe could a work have made its appearance calculated to excite a more intense degree of interest, in some quarters, than the one before us. The Ottoman Empire lies prostrate before a victorious rival, whose future conquests will unquestionably be directed towards the regions of the East. Were the views embraced by Colonel Evans merely speculative, the dangers he deprecates remote or contingent, and the results apprehended of trivial import, they might doubtless be discussed with the same diplomatic indifference and indecision as government is known to have bestowed upon less serious questions.

This temporizing policy, unfortunately, the colossal growth of Russian ascendancy will no longer permit; and that energy, which neither an overwhelming establishment loaded with enormous debt, nor grievous monopoly and taxation have been deemed sufficiently important to arouse, seems likely to be called forth by the near prospect of the loss of empire in the East. Were the English dominion, indeed, over those vast regions, comprising not less than 100 millions of subjects, and 25 millions of revenue, employed to any truly national or beneficial purpose, in place of enriching one grasping and cruel monopoly, and reducing a native population to the lowest scale of human wretchedness, such a prospect might well produce national alarm and regret.

Under the present aspect of affairs, however, the approaching struggle for Eastern supremacy rests between the avaricious spirit of a junta, supported by a distant and limited power, and the slow, but still onward march of a comparatively contiguous and mighty rival, flushed with conquest, and extending its deep laid schemes, its rapid and irresistible encroachments, on every side. Here, then, is a power with whom even imperial France in the zenith of her triumphs could boast no sort of comparison—a rival infinitely more formidable to us both on the ocean and in the field; and a single one of whose expeditions, threatening our Indian frontiers, might prove far more effective in its results than all those undertaken by Napoleon, (whether against England or Egypt) during his splendid, but short-lived sway. Of this truth the ex-emperor seems himself to have been aware, and with that political sagacity for which he was so remarkable, more than once alludes to it in his memoirs. Russia, and not France, he contends, was the rival whom England ought to dread; that her true policy was to resist and drive back that rival

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\* 'On the Practicability of an Invasion of British India; and on the Commercial and Financial Prospects and Resources of the Empire. By Lieutenant-Colonel Evans. London: 1829. J. M. Richardson, Cornhill.



out of Europe, and that the time was not far distant when England would see her error; when the imperial dynasty, and the German Confederation no longer lay between the northern giant and her dominion of the sea.

The invasion of Persia, the blockade of the Dardanelles, and the subjugation both of European and Asiatic Turkey, are events that have but too speedily fulfilled the fearful prognostics of the illustrious exile; to say nothing of those diplomatic intrigues, ever active and ever fruitful, that have appropriated Greece, as a fiefdom, (through Turkey) for a Russian minister; betrayed England and France into the insane act of destroying the fleets of their old ally, and successfully fulminated despotic threats against the constitutional freedom of almost every European state; a power which rivetted the chains of Italy, dictated the French crusade against Spain, and of the latter power against constitutional Portugal. That such a power, formidable alike from its vast physical energies and its consummate political duplicity, will more highly respect the institutions or possessions of England, beyond the exact point where she ceases to be feared, no sound reasoning observer will presume to maintain, any more than to question the policy incumbent on an English ministry to have boldly committed England in the struggle to preserve the integrity of European states in alliance with her, in preference to meeting her powerful rival single handed, as she is sometime destined, on her Indian frontier, on the shores of the Oxus and the plains of Samarcand.

As a free government and a nation, at least, not of slaves, we should not then have suffered the humiliation of lending our resources to prosecute the grasping designs of our fated rival; of beholding her triumphant armies returning laden with ten years' spoils—the whole wealth of Turkey—to resume at the first fitting season the route for Persia, and the eastern shores of the Caspian, previous to their possession of the keys of India at Khiva and Bokhara. By Russian armies a favourite and successful general is revered almost as a god—their devotion and obedience to him know no bounds, they are carried even to self immolation, and to express servile and willing obedience, they familiarly term him father—one on whom they implicitly rely and must obey. That such an army, and such a chief, as have lately carried terror into the strong holds of the Ottomans, will not long remain inactive, calls for little penetration to divine, any more than the theatre of their future operations, beyond the borders of Persia and Khorassan. The career of Russian conquest cannot stand still; it must find vent somewhere—and having successfully completed its operations in continental Europe, crowned by the flourishing despotisms of Ferdinand and Don Miguel, what quarter of the globe holds forth a more promising and wider sphere for enterprize than the unlimited, ill-defined, ill-regulated, and easily conquered peninsula of India.

The sole and fearful question, therefore, upon which the work of Colonel Evans mainly hinges, is no longer the probability, but the practicability of such an undertaking, and this he has ably examined at considerable length. Not the least unwelcome feature of these his enquiries consists, we most reluctantly premise (as regards, at least, their general results) in their concurrence and unanimity with preceding authorities, and others still more recently adduced upon the subject—alike, from professed missions, the best informed travellers, and the most intelligent writers on Indian affairs; all of which go to strengthen the supposition of the feasibility and formidable character of a Russian invasion of Hindoostan. Casual differences of opinion, unhappily too few, are such as merely relate to minor points; for instance, as to the easiest and most convenient routes, the most approved plans, the obstacles arising from the temper of the Native tribes, &c. &c., but none as to the probability of reaching the scene of action.

Thus, instead of the supposed dangers, as in many instances, having been overstated by popular fears or prejudices, and having diminished in proportion as they were submitted to cautious and correct examination, those of a practicable invasion of our Indian territories become more obvious and impressive on a nearer view, and of a character such as only the same blind system of government, overweening confidence, and love of despotic misrule, hitherto in force, can longer consent to disguise. But it is an enduring system, and one to which the speedy and repeated losses of colonial territory is to be mainly attributed—the system of master and slave—of a master whose violence and cupidity invité fresh aggression; and of a slave ever ready to change his master, and prove the slight tenure of his power. It is thus, that the instructive lesson held out by the vanished power of their Portuguese, Dutch, and French predecessors, appeals to the present rulers of British India with vain and powerless voice; and, thus the very report of a Russian army on the banks of the Indus, would of itself suffice to shake to its foundation the government of Hindoostan.

In discussing the views and character of the work before us, it will be our primary object to convince the reader of the justness of the foregoing remarks, by adducing some of the authorities it contains; and after shewing the imminent and existing peril it points out, incalculably increased by the state of British affairs in India, the corruption of its government, and the utter prostration of its unhappy Natives, proceed to point out the sole remedy, and the best preparations still available to diminish the chances of those dangers, to resist the attacks of a powerful enemy, and to preserve entire those conquests achieved by the capacity and courage of a Clive, a Hastings, and a Wellesley.

The celebrated French political economist, *M. Baptiste Say*, has

written an Essay a very few years ago, the professed object of which was to "*dispel illusions*," which he conceives exist on the continent, relative to the supposed facility of expelling the English from India, and which he apprehends are "*likely to involve Europe in a vain expenditure of blood and treasure*."—Even the "*governments of the continent*," he says, share in this erroneous opinion, and imagine, "*that they have only to appear in arms (in India), and overthrow (there the) hated and unstable power (of Britain)*. This was *Buonaparte's intention by the expedition to Egypt, and it has TWENTY TIMES OCCUPIED THE CABINET OF ST. PETERSBURG*."

"European forces," he says, "could only be sent by land; and let any one calculate the delay, the expense, and the loss which must attend an army in such an expedition! Not to speak of the nations it would have to fight with on its road, of the men, horses, and artillery lost in the burning sands, the trackless swamps, and impassable rivers," &c.

"Herein is comprised the sum of the local or topographical information on which the Professor founds his dictum on this great operation. To the history of "Mr. James Mill" he declares himself indebted for the chief part of his statements. Mere professional soldiers, whatever degree of practical experience they may be possessed of, usually require more detailed and authenticated data, and trust less to their genius.

'1. What particular line of country Mr. Say refers to, he does not state. But as that which it is intended to trace in the sequel of these pages, passes through the territories of three states, (Khiva\*, Bokhara, Caubul,) the climates of which are spoken of in terms of admiration, as "*delightful, salubrious and invigorating*," by the Russian and English envoys and officers who have lately visited them, it may be conjectured, that the sands do not burn so very intensely as to destroy an invading army.

'2. Not a word about *trackless swamps* is to be found in the lately published volumes descriptive of this line of country†. Nor are swamps of any extent usually to be met with on dry and elevated table-lands.

'3. It so happens, also, that there is *no* considerable river crossing the line just mentioned. The only body of water to be classed as such, in that whole tract, being the Oxus; along the banks of which, or embarked upon which, it has been suggested, as will be shown, that troops might proceed without any prospect of material loss. Rivers, however, of magnitude they would eventually have to meet, on the western boundary of our dependency—the Indus and

\* Elphinstone, Mouravief, Meyendorf, &c.

† Since writing the above, I met with this one line in Meyendorf, p. 105, "On ne connaît pas de marécages dans la Steppe."

Punjab. But if Mr. Say had thought it proper (as a qualification for pointing out the military errors of Napoleon) to have turned over a few leaves (for instance) of Frederick, or of any military writer whatever,—he would have discovered that rivers are deemed the *least* \* impassable of all barriers; that those who have trusted to them for defence have invariably been deceived; and that rivers never yet stopped an enterprise of consequence, or a commander of the most moderate talent.

‘Buonaparte may be considered to have twice projected an invasion of India—in 1798—1808: the first from Egypt, the latter through Constantinople; or to descend, in junction with a Russian force, down one of the rivers of that empire into the Euxine or Caspian. The attempt from Egypt could scarcely, under any circumstances, have succeeded, so long as the communication with France, and the means of obtaining reinforcements from thence, were cut off by the English fleet. Napoleon counted, it would seem, on a preconceived and nearly simultaneous expedition to Ireland, as calculated to free the Mediterranean from a portion of the British naval force.

‘Of the other, of which the French Officers sent into Persia were to be the precursors, had he not been attracted to Spain, and the alliance with Russia had continued, it is not so easy to calculate the result.’

As throwing additional light upon the supposed practicability of a land invasion through Asia, we give the following extract, aluded to by the author, from the Quarterly Review:—

‘“The treaty of Tilsit, and the subsequent armistice between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, placed Persia at the mercy of the three Allied Powers. Nothing ever transpired as to the secret stipulations regarding Persia; but it was generally understood on the Continent, that Oudinot had been actually selected to proceed with a corps of 12,000 men, with all the baggage and equipments necessary for such an expedition. Two routes from Tilsit were sufficiently commodious for such an enterprise—first, by *descending the Volga to Astracan*, embarking at that port, and crossing the Caspian to some of the ports of Mazenderaun, near to the Persian

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\* “To defend a river, on a long line, is generally hopeless.” . . . “The defence of rivers has always proved fruitless,” says the eloquent and amply-instructed military historian—*Napier*.

‘Did the great rivers of Russia stop Napoleon’s march to Moscow? Did the half dozen rivers of Spain—the Douro, Ebro, Esla, Pisuerga, &c.—arrest the rapid progress of Wellington, when he rushed, as it may be said, with his whole army, from the interior of Portugal to the summits of the Pyrennees?—And yet those rivers had for their defence above a hundred thousand French soldiers, with fortified posts upon them, capable of sustaining a siege.’

mountain. This province, with its impenetrable forests, rugged mountains, deep ravines, and narrow passes, is so strong as to be capable of being held by a small European corps against the united armies of all Persia. The second route was by descending the Dnieper into the Black Sea, thence proceeding up the Kuban to Circassia, and joining the Russian head-quarters at Tiflis, in Georgia. Whether the object of this small corps was to unite with Russia, in order to subdue the northern provinces of Persia, or merely to ascertain the practicability of establishing positions, collecting magazines, and opening routes for a larger army, which was to follow, or whatever the design might have been, it was necessarily abandoned on account of the Spanish revolution of 1808, and the Austrian campaign of 1809."

Lest it should be supposed, however, that there is any thing chimerical in views like these, the author proceeds to state—

"But we are not without more specific reports as a basis—the statements of those who have been selected by their respective governments for high office, political, military, or diplomatic; connected with the countries referred to, or in missions to them. These, it will readily be conceded, claim altogether a superior attention, not only on account of their probable fitness and peculiar facilities for the acquisition of information, but because of the accordance also to be assumed as usually existing between the recorded opinions of persons so trusted, and the policy of the cabinets whom they represent.

"Likewise it is fairly to be assumed, that an indispensable regard to professional or public character, on the part of functionaries of this class, must afford strong personal motives and a guarantee for due consideration and correctness.

"It is on these grounds, and as comprising the true foundation from which inferences may without temerity be drawn, that the following authorities have been consulted and quoted from.

"Instructions, it appears, were given to various political agents, despatched by the Bengal Government, in 1809, into Central or Western Asia, pointing out to them, in general terms, the advantages to be anticipated from making every possible exertion to ascertain the nature and resources of those countries through which an invading European army might advance towards Hindoostan; and likewise sanctioning the employment, in the capacity of political assistants or surveyors, of any number of officers that might be deemed requisite to give full effect to this suggestion. A great body of information has been the fruit of these judicious precautions.

"General Malcolm, having been thus instructed, and having been twice Plenipotentiary in Persia, must have had sources of intelligence of the most ample description. He states in his Political History, that "THE FRONTIER OF THE INDUS IS THE MOST VUL-

NEARLY part of our EASTERN EMPIRE."—Again, "The designs (he says) of the French at this period were known to be directed with more than usual activity to that object (India), and the means which they possessed for their accomplishment, though irregular and difficult of combination, were far from contemptible."

'From the policy of Lords Wellesley and Minto it appears, that not a doubt existed in their minds as to the designs of France upon India. That, however, is abundantly confirmed by Napoleon himself. Neither of these Governor-Generals appears to have been in the least aware of there being any insurmountable obstacles of a local nature to the approach of a hostile army, even though the march must have lain through Persia.—To the same effect more than one passage may be met with in the Marquess Wellesley's History of the Mahratta War.

'Colonel Macdonald Kinneir was one of those employed by Sir John Malcolm in the enquiries pointed out, relative to the nature of the countries included between Europe and India, and the obstacles or facilities for an enterprise against us in that quarter. This able officer subsequently became, and is now, our representative at the court of Teheraun. His authority on this topic must be of the greatest weight.

' "Although the possession (he says) of that country (Hindoostan) can be but of trifling advantage to an European power which does not command a maritime communication, it might be the object of Russia to deprive us of what it considers to be one of the chief sources of our strength.

' "It is, perhaps, unnecessary (he continues) to remark that this dissertation was written before the downfall of Napoleon and the eventful changes in Europe, which, BY THE AGGRANDIZEMENT OF RUSSIA, HAVE ENDANGERED THE SAFETY OF OUR EASTERN POSSESSIONS."

' "It cannot, however (the same writer states), be denied that the Persians would seize with avidity any proposal of this nature—(an invasion of British India): the love of plunder, the example of Nadir Shah, and the idea which they have formed of the wealth and weakness of our Eastern possessions, would alike stimulate them to the undertaking.

' "It was my determination, on quitting England, to visit all the countries through which an European army might attempt the invasion of India, and, in prosecution of this plan, to explore the north-eastern parts of Persia, and the vast plains which stretch beyond the Oxus towards the confines of the Russian empire. . . . It were, doubtless, to be wished that we possessed some personal knowledge of the state and resources of so large and populous a kingdom as BOMBARA, which, from its situation, must ever be con-

sidered as a most important barrier to the encroachments of Russia towards our Oriental possessions."

To proceed to still higher authority, Colonel Evans adduces that of the most able governor who has swayed the sceptre of British India.

Lord Hastings admits, that there is in India a principle, capable of superseding the most thorough conviction of interest. And of this class, he says, is a still remaining sense of loyalty, ("though antiquated,") which is felt to be due to the "House of Timour."

"It must be obvious (he adds), that should any European potentate aim at the subversion of the British establishment in India, it would not be with so absurdly extravagant a hope as the succeeding to a similar domination. To reduce Britain's strength, by depriving her of such sinews as India affords, would be the purpose. . . . While such a war-cry (the restoration of the House of Timour) would have been a call on the fealty of the sovereign of Oude, as professedly vizier of the empire, the claim upon him would have had the additional force of an ostensibly Mahommedan cause. The country contains at least six millions of inhabitants, every adult male of whom is provided with arms, and habituated to the use of them. The force, however irregular, capable to be thence collected in the rear of the army with which we were meeting the invader on the frontier was a subject not to be revolved without anxiety. The knowledge of an insurrection behind them, to an extent which could not be ascertained, as our communication with the Lower Provinces would be precarious and interrupted, if not wholly cut off, would unavoidably agitate the minds, and diminish the confidence of the advanced troops. I had often ruminated on that chance."

In treating of the chances of support, in case of any emergency, from the Native tribes, and the temper generally entertained towards the British authorities, the following reasoning is adduced.

"In short, as to counting on security from foreign attack, as being likely, as yet at least, to arise, in any main degree, from the fealty or especial attachment of a population, so large a proportion of which still consists of armies vanquished and disbanded by us,—of freebooters whom we have chastised and put down—of military chiefs, of whom we have caused the personal ruin,—of the adherents of families from whom we may have but just wrested power, rank, and even personal liberty: this undoubtedly seems, if one may be permitted to say it, a problematical ground for reliance, or for expectation of support. At all events, authorities are not agreed upon it. Besides, even if they were perfectly well disposed towards us, the total paucity of means, on the part of the states lying along the Indus to offer serious obstruction to the ingress of a European force can scarcely be a matter of doubt. The incohesive and fragile

nature of the territorial or political power of Runjeet Singh\* (comprising Cashmere, Lahore, and Moultan) is very well known. And of the adjoining Rajpootana countries, Colonel Tod, more than twenty years political resident in them, observes (in his magnificent work just published),—

“Can we suppose such denationalized allies are to be depended upon in emergencies? or, if allowed to retain a spark of their ancient moral inheritance, that it will not be kindled into flame against us, when opportunity offers, instead of lighting up the feeling of gratitude which yet exists towards us in these warlike communities?”

“Must we not rationally look for re-action in some grand impulse, which, by furnishing a signal instance of the mutability of power, may afford a lesson for the benefit of posterity?”

The eight Rajpoot states cover a vast space, immediately east of the valley of the Indus.

“This confederation of *feudatory states* extends” (says Lord Hastings) in an unbroken chain quite to the Indus.” And from these his Lordship anticipates, in case of need, a vigorous resistance to an invasion from the west.

As regards the true policy that ought to be pursued in strengthening the ties of alliance, and obviating, as far as possible, the dangers of foreign aggression, by a more conciliatory system towards the Natives, the author adduces the farther authority of Colonel Tod.

“No FEUDAL government can be dangerous as a neighbour for defence, it has in all countries been found defective; and for aggression, totally inefficient. Let there exist between us the most perfect understanding and identity of interests; the foundation-stap to which is to lesson the *gulling*, and to us contemptible tribute, now exacted; enfranchise them from our *espionage* and *agency*; and either unlock them altogether from our dangerous embrace, or let the ties between us be such only as would ensure grand results—such as general commercial freedom and protection, with treaties of friendly alliance. Then, if a TARTAR, or a RUSSIAN INVASION threatened our Eastern empire, fifty thousand Rajpoots would be no despicable allies.

“Let us, then, apply history to its proper use. We need not turn to ancient Rome for illustration of the dangers inseparable from wide dominion and extensive alliances.”

In addition to these generally unanimous and weighty authorities, we are presented with some more recent from the travels of Mr. Fraser in the ‘Central Asia.’ But as these, and his valuable

\* ‘Present population of the dominions of the Lahore chief, 3,000,000.’

† ‘Population 15,000,000.’



account of Khorassan, are comparatively familiar to the public, we do not consider them at all essential, in order to confirm the author's views. The same might be observed of Mr. Biphinstone, and of the two Russian missions of Colonel Meyendorf, &c., all of which seem to agree in the extent of the secret object and inquiries, and the interest attached to them by Russia, and the general conclusion as to the practicability and probable success.

Thus, the moment the Russian army of occupation was withdrawn from France, new forces were concentrated along the Pruth, and the diplomatic intrigues were pursued with fresh activity in the East, more particularly directed to the Court of Pekin—to the Turkomans, to Khiva, to Khokand, and to Bokhara.

To a mission to the last of these, Baron Meyendorf was attached, intrusted with those statistical enquiries, of which he subsequently published the result. In regard to the ultimate object of his mission, and the political views of his court, he is less communicative, though they may often be inferred.

“The progressive advance (he says) of knowledge in Russia, calls upon that vast empire to realize this generous idea. It is to Russia that the office belongs, of imparting to the Khanats of Central Asia a salutary impulsion, and of diffusing throughout those countries all the benefits of European civilization.”

Such an undertaking, he also anticipates, would augment the Russian commerce.

With respect to the views of the Russians, as to the augmentation of their overland commerce with India, the reader is referred to the recently published volumes of the Chevalier Gamba, Consul from France, at Tiflis. These may be considered as their text-book on the subject, and must be admitted to be cleverly written, although breathing throughout a most unusual spirit of hostility to the “*dominators of the sea*.” They contain a great deal of information, besides various projects (*rather too sanguinely indulged in, it may be hoped*) for the extension of the Russian commerce and power in the East—to our detriment.\*

It is curious to observe how far the two Russian authorities agree in their statement upon this head. It is observed by Colonel Mouravief\* in the account of his mission to Khiva, that

‘The climate and soil, however, of Khiva are favourable to the culture of many of the useful products of temperate regions. If this country were under the government of Russia, it would certainly animate and promote industry, and procure great advantages to our commerce; all that of the higher Asia, and even of India, would

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\* The preceding views and arguments of Colonel Evans, are mainly borne from those of another masterly publication, entitled ‘*Reflections on the present state of British India*.’ Hurst, Chance, and Co. 1829.

then be able to pass by the way of Khiva, and thence to Astrakhan. Already caravans, coming from more southern countries, arrive at Khiva: if this commerce has not acquired more extension, it is because of the interruptions it is subject to by being frequently plundered by the Nomade people. *If we possessed Khiva, of which the conquest would not be difficult, the Nomades of Central Asia would dread our power, and a commercial route would be established from the Indus and Oxus (or Amou) even into Russia; then would all the treasures of Asia enrich our country, and we should see realised the brilliant project of Peter the Great: MASTERS OF KHIVA, MANY OTHER STATES WOULD BE BROUGHT UNDER OUR DEPENDENCE.* In a word, Khiva is, at this moment, an advanced post, which opposes itself to the commerce of Russia with Bokhara and Northern India; under our dependence, Khiva would become a safeguard, which would defend this commerce against the attacks of the dispersed people in the Steppes of Central Asia. This oasis, situated in the midst of an ocean of sand, would become the point of re-union for all the commerce of Asia, AND WOULD SHAKE TO THE CENTRE OF INDIA THE ENORMOUS COMMERCIAL SUPERIORITY OF THE DOMINATORS OF THE SEA.\*

Here, at least, we cannot accuse the writer of not being sufficiently explicit in his views, both of a military and commercial kind,—a charge rather unnecessarily, we think, advanced against the Russian missions, by the able and sagacious writer of this work. Indeprecating the idea of ridiculing the future encroachments of Russia, the latter justly observes:

‘For my part, I cannot see why we should have made such exertions to get the French out of Egypt, if we are to be indifferent respecting the movements of Russia.’

Without entering into farther examination of the statements of the Russian envoys, we proceed to give the results which the writer of the present work, fairly enough, we think, deduces from them.

‘It was in conformity with the opinions so concurrent throughout the foregoing extracts, that the author of this publication ventured last year to submit the following propositions: namely, That, should a war under existing circumstances, break out between Russia and England, a movement would probably be made by the troops of the former along the “VALLEY OF THE OXUS, AND THROUGH THE BEAUTIFUL AND FERTILE COUNTRIES OF BALK AND BOKHARA,” against the north-western frontier of British India. And previously also, at

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\* The route from Khiva to Astrakhan might, it is stated, be greatly shortened, since it is only seventeen days' march from Ourghendj to Krasnovodsk (on the bay of Balkan), from whence, with a fair wind, one may go in a few days to Astrakhan. From the other port,—Mangbushitee,—it appears that, with a fair wind, the voyage to Astrakhan is usually no more than twenty-four hours.

pages 18, 19,\* these suggestions occur—Whether, if supposed to proceed in her career, and to arrange, without obstruction, her materials of operation, this power (Russia) may not shortly acquire a degree of intercourse with India that will enable her—first, to disturb and disaffect the public mind of that country towards us; secondly, to move (say 30,000 men, exclusive of the maintenance of communications) from the Caspian † and Aral as a base, and by the Oxus, as a principal line of communication to the neighbourhood of Attock, on the Indus, or in the Punjab,—there, perhaps, to take post during a period, as a rallying point for the disaffected, or as a beacon for their encouragement and direction; whereby India must soon become either untenable to us, or, from the excess of expenditure over receipts, resulting from this state of things, unworthy of further retention.

‘The above can of course add no weight to what has been already transcribed from so many better sources to the same effect; and are here brought forward merely to show that the suggestions on this point, in the Essay alluded to, were not adduced without the support of numerous and ample authorities.

‘Thus, then, we find that the governments of England, France, Russia, and of the East India Company, have at various times acted under the impression that an attack by an European army against the frontier of the Indus was not an impracticable enterprise. And this, too, though it were even to commence from the Caucasus, the Euphrates, the Levant, or the Nile—points of departure from at least one to two thousand miles more distant from our northern provinces than the base so constantly assumed for the Russian operations in the preceding extracts—namely, the eastern shore ‡ of the Caspian: devoid likewise of the incalculable facility afforded in the latter and lesser route, of a navigable river flowing directly along the supposed line of advance.

‘Nor is it undeserving consideration, that the whole body of the inhabitants of Hindoostan, Native and English, civilian as well as military, are persuaded of the probability of this event. Their fate and interests are peculiarly involved; and they possess an advantage over us of this hemisphere, towards a correct judgment—

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\* ‘Designs of Russia.’

† ‘The Russians being the only navigators of this sea, and having no enemy to combat on it, have greatly reduced their marine force on the Caspian. But if it should become useful to form an armament there, there are few dockyards in Europe in which it could be done with greater facility or less expense than at Astrakan—Gamba. In 1820 steam-boats have begun to be constructed on the Wolga: we find, from the same writer, that there can be no difficulty in extending their use from that river to the Caspian sea. Round Azof there are immense fields of coals,—in many places, almost on the surface.’

‡ ‘The ports of Balkan and Mangoushak,

that of being at least ten thousand miles nearer for rather being close upon the anticipated field of action.

The preparation for this undertaking, by the line of the Oxus, stated to have been ordered by Catherine, was put a stop to by her death. Under Paul, by his assassination.

Napoleon's line of march, or that of the Russians, through Persia or Asia Minor, would, even if supported by the Turks, have been seriously exposed on the right flank and rear to descents and enterprises from our fleet along the Persian shore, in the Gulf and the Levant. To what kind of disturbance would the navigable line that has been pointed out be liable? It is to be apprehended, none of any consequence. Certainly it is beyond our reach. The Persians would be the only people of any military power within a thousand miles of either flank of it. Between the Persians on the one hand, and the Toorkomanians, Khivians, and Bokharians on the other, an irreconcilable hatred exists,\* founded in virulent religious antipathy, mutually perpetuated by atrocious petty hostilities. The Toorkomanians having even sent a deputation to Georgia, to beseech the protection of the Emperor, and that he might deign to cast an eye of pity (*'regard miséricordieux'*) on their situation†. The Persians were enabled to procure the rejection of this entreaty. How long the latter may be in a condition to obtain this complaisance at the hands of Russia, it is not difficult to divine. It even appears likely that the Persians may be induced to send a force towards Caubul, to co-operate with the Russians, and share in the anticipated booty of Hindoostan. A court and people so corrupt, venal, and avaricious, could hardly resist the baits that may so easily in this case be held out to it. Resist, however, they probably could not, at least with any effect, as affairs now are. The army of the Araxes is, since the recent war, in possession of the passes that were supposed to cover Teheraun. This circumstance, the utter exclusion from the navigation of the Caspian, the inefficient military

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\* 'Nor is there any greater probability of an alliance between the Khivians and Bokharians.

† For some ages past, an almost constant hostility has subsisted between these two countries. Khiva has been conquered several times, and has always recovered its liberty. Emir Haider possessed himself of it ten years ago. This superstitious prince allowed it to resume its independence, in order to conform himself to a precept of the Koran, which forbids a Mussulman to retain possession of the property of those of his faith. Recently, again, the pillage of a great many caravans by the Khivians has caused a misunderstanding between the two khanats. It appears, by some late Petersburg gazettes, that they are now actually engaged in hostilities. Their war appears to consist in surprising caravans, and laying waste villages.

† 'From the same writer (p. 227) we find that another petition has been sent to the governor of Astrakan, praying, in the name of all the Toorkoman nation, that they may be received under the domination of the Russian government.'

masses of the Shah, and the distracted state of the country with reference to the succession, place, it is now but too generally feared, the Persian monarchy at the mercy of the Autocrat. Some twenty or thirty scions of the reigning dynasty, or of rival houses, aspire, it is imagined, to independence or the throne. Thus their wily adversaries have an ample field in which to sow dissension. The consequences are obvious.

'Of the other means of resistance which can alone be contemplated to the progress of the Russians—namely, on the part of the three states or nations lying along their line of march, (the Khivians, Bokharians, and Afghans of Caubul,) should they be disposed to resist, the opinions of those who may have respectively visited these countries will be briefly adduced.'

On the degree of military resistance, to be calculated on in advancing the Russian boundary along the Oxus river, the supposed line of approach to India, we have no space nor inclination to dilate, and shall simply give the sum of the author's statements. It is well known that the inhabitants of the tract comprised in this inquiry are no longer that great and powerful people, which produced a Ghengis and a Timour, the conquerors of Asia, whose posterity were seated on the most splendid throne in the world. The tribes of the Eastern regions are no longer a cause of dread to any nation of Asia, and are even themselves in great awe of the Chinese. What kind of opposition would now be offered by these to the steel walls of the Russian infantry may easily be conjectured, when, in a far more flourishing era, they were scattered by the arms of Alexander. Besides, the Khivians, whose country would be the point of occupation, have no regular army, and in time of war, it consists of Toorkomans and Oosbecks, wholly destitute of subordination. One of their forts, Mouravief, (the envoy) could not hold out for above a couple of hours against fifty Russian foot-soldiers. So soon as we should have reduced a few of them, they could no longer dare to hold out against even a handful of men!

If such be the inefficient support that could be looked for from Native tribes in arresting the progress of invasion—the obstacles likely to be opposed to it by Persia are hardly of a more formidable character. Civil dissensions of a similar kind to those of adjacent territories, might be easily fomented. Of the forty sons of the king, says Colonel Kinnier, there is not one who does not look to the throne. Nearly one half of them are governors of towns and provinces, a system which, although it may add to the immediate security of the father, presents a fearful prospect to his subjects.

The Russians are now in possession of the passes leading to Teheran. They lately guaranteed the succession of Imir Abbas; if he succeed through their means, it can only be as their dependant. A deadly hatred prevails between the Afghans and Persians. Either would join any one in an attack upon the other.

We shall not here attempt to follow the writer into the military details of means of supply and of transport for an invading army, which he shews to be abundant, and concludes by observing that for available supplies of animals for the purpose, that tract is the last in the world wherein a deficiency of this kind can be reasonably looked to as a barrier to enterprize. It is therefore the decided opinion of the author, confirmed by the foregoing authorities—that the Russian government does probably contemplate advancing a force towards the 'MOST VULNERABLE FRONTIER OF OUR INDIAN POSSESSIONS; neither, as it appears, is there any less ground for inferring that there as yet exists no insurmountable obstacle to the execution of such a project.' Doubtless this is a correct view of the subject; there is no insurmountable obstacle, though we are of opinion that the difficulties have been underrated, and lost sight of by those who advocate the practicability of the enterprize. Not that we defer to the opinion of Mr. Say, whose incorrect information and exaggerated colouring lean as much to the other side. What we mean is, that in most military expeditions the difficulties are in general found to exceed the estimate made of them, and that Colonel Evans and most contemporary advocates of the feasibility of an invasion, have, in removing opposite errors and prejudices, carried their own views somewhat too far.

But this would be too dry a discussion to enter upon here; we have more attractive and animating topics in what follows, discovering a high and noble confidence in the character and resources of the country, such as, well grounded or otherwise, ought to invigorate alike the national councils and the national mind. The successors of Mr. Canning would do well to weigh the sort of policy held up for their example in the following spirited sketch, with which we regret that we must for the present conclude, not without hopes of recurring to the able and valuable details contained in the work.

'If Britain were a petty or a feeble state, possibly it might be well to hope for the ineptitude of her foes or rivals; it might then be indiscreet to speculate too curiously into what may be designed or executed against her:—in such case, a tacit resignation to events (involving what they may) were perhaps the more prudent course—solicitude, or openly expressed anxiety, tending possibly to provoke or precipitate attack.

'But I believe it cannot be denied that the case is totally otherwise,—that the nation was never before so powerful as it now is,—and that all that is required for us is to know from whence attack may originate, in order to prepare the means of hurling it back upon its source, with every circumstance of signal and accumulated discomfiture. It is to us that (as I, for one, most firmly venture to think) belongs to pre-eminence, the rarest assemblage of the

elements of political strength that exist—the proof of which will not fail to be manifest, provided the complexity of our affairs, and their temporary or remedial derangements, are not permitted to delude, unnerve, or subdue that public spirit which has hitherto constituted one of the noblest and not least useful traits of the national character.

Even if our moral force alone, with at least a very moderate physical aid, were heartily brought into play, what terror might not be scattered, even to the head-quarters of those, who would seem even now leaguering themselves against the independence of nations. When Russia (the restorer of liberty in Greece!) thought proper, a few years back, to propel a crusade against liberty in Italy, in Spain, and in Portugal, the British foreign department propounded to Europe and the world a declaration, which will remain as a monument to its honour. A very slight process on our parts, in conformity with and carrying forward the principles therein so well laid down, would very soon, it cannot be doubted, have the effect, if resisted at least, of dashing to pieces even the foundation of those military thrones, to which the voice of mediation and of a just equilibrium are now in vain addressed. Whether at present resolved on or not, events may possibly, at no distant period, bring into action some such course of policy. Our facilities are unnumbered—our government could as soon do as say it.

Nothing more true than that we possess, what so often by foreigners has been made a ground of accusation—a species of ubiquity. If need be, we could touch with a wand of releasement from civil bondage wherever it exists—or wave the torch of confusion to ill-constituted authority over every shore. Nothing so easy, if we please to apply the match, than to give a new form to the whole political condition of the old continent, and assimilate it either to ourselves or to the new world. There are only a few spots where combustible matter does not abound. If even national union were given only to Italy, or comparative independence to Spain, which is now governed in a great degree by the glistening of the Bourbon bayonets from beyond the Pyrenees, and by the recollection of the atrocious denunciations of the Holy Alliance,—what a support would even thus be given to the federative system of Europe!—Herein would be a cheap and a philanthropic warfare.

But I return to my subject.—The first quarrel with England, whenever that may happen, would, in all probability, be the signal for commencing the operation that has been traced in the preceding passages; if with no other object than as a weapon\* against the stability of the British power. And there can be no doubt but that

\* “To reduce Britain’s strength (as the Marquess of Hastings anticipates) would be the purpose.”

the mere appearance of a Russian force upon the Eastern shore of the Caspian would alone be calculated to unsettle and disturb, in a most inconvenient manner, the general feeling of the people of India; the repression of which, without even reference to actual invasion, would be a source, to say the least, of a most onerous expenditure. These, I venture to think, would be amongst the inevitable consequences of our being taken, in this instance, unprepared. As yet, so much even as a topographical inquiry into the military features of these countries by competent persons has not been instituted.

'The time likely to be occupied by the Russians in these supposed movements might be about as follows:—

'Mr. Frazer was informed by several persons, whose reports coincided, and whose statements he considered worthy to be received, that the distance from the Bay of Balcan to Khiva is twelve days' journey for a caravan:† in another place he gives it at ten days. M. Mouravief states the distance from thence to the neighbourhood of Bokhara, for heavily laden boats, at seven days' voyage. From this point to within two days' march of Balk may be another voyage of four or five days. Here, then, are twenty-five, or suppose we admit it to be thirty-five days' journey for merchants, which we will allow a Russian force a whole campaign to accomplish; in order that there may be full time for establishing themselves in Khiva, Bokhara, Samarcand, &c.'

In his introduction to the work, Colonel Evans takes a survey, somewhat too sanguine we think, of the political and commercial resources of the country, and at the close gives a correct map of the Indian territories, and a well digested appendix, throwing light upon the preceding details.

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\* For the truth of which I appeal—not to those who acquire their knowledge of India in their closets—but to those who have been in the country, and who personally know something of its public mind.

† 'Even Mertvoy to the Aral Sea is only one hundred miles. There are numerous large fishing-boats employed by the Natives on that sea. It does appear possible, that this line may be found a convenient one, from thence to ascend the Oxus.'



# VOYAGE FROM BOMBAY TO MADRAS AND CALCUTTA.

## No. IV.

*Columbo.—Society of Half Castes and Foreigners.—Visit to Government House.—Coincidences between the State of Ceylon and of Egypt,—and between the Life of Bouddha, and of Christ.*

HAVING been furnished with letters to one of the King's Judges here, and to the Chief Collector of the Revenues, I left the ship as soon as we had anchored; but as it was sun set before we reached the shore, it was too late to wait on any one for the purpose of presenting letters. I accordingly, in company with the friend and fellow passenger who landed with me, called on the Master Attendant, to make enquiries after a Tavern, or any other accommodation that might be found. The first impression that struck me, on entering this house, was the marked inferiority of every thing we saw in it, to any dwelling of persons holding situations of similar rank under the East India Company's Government. A servant having been sent to enquire after a tavern, and the master assuring us that we might depend on being comfortably accommodated there, we remained with his party, who were drinking brandy and water at a round table, in a room resembling a tax-house, until about nine o'clock, when we took leave of them, to retire.

Our first disappointment on getting out of the house was to learn, that the tavern at the Fort had recently been turned into a shop—and that there was now no other than the common punch-house in the Dutch Pattah, or the town without the Fort, in which chiefly Natives live. There was no alternative, so that we walked patiently for about a mile, and at last arrived at our appointed quarter. The united fumes of gin, brandy, beer, and tobacco, which assailed us on our first entering the porch, were presages of the atmosphere which we might expect to find within. We had scarcely passed the threshold before the landlord, who had come out to meet us, reeled first against me, then rebounded off towards my companion, and was at last brought up by the wall. This was a dirty little Frenchman, with a red face, and beard of a week's growth, with a pair of coarse blue striped cotton trowsers, and a shirt only, without stockings, shoes, waistcoat, jacket, or neck-cloth—his shirt sleeves tucked up, and his collar open, to enjoy more fully the cool breeze of the evening. After a few nods and hiccups, this polite landlord exclaimed, 'Entrez, Messieurs, Entrez—Vous etes les bien Venus.' We thanked him and passed on to the adjoining room, where we were met by his little Dutch wife. The figure of this notable housewife, for such every thing in her appearance declared her to be, was altogether new and curious. She was so small as almost, to be dwarfish; but though thus remote from the general Dutch standard of round faces, full haunches, and fleshy limbs, she had still decidedly Dutch features. Her dress was like that of the Portuguese women in India, a full petticoat flowered at the bottom,

and gathered in at the top, made of the coarsest gaudy printed cotton, of a bed-furniture pattern, and a small white net gown fitted close to the body. Her neck was literally covered with necklaces of all kinds, but, principally of pale yellow gold, and gay coloured stones, and her light auburn hair was cut short all round leaving only a covering for the top of the crown, as it is worn by many of the orders of Catholic monks in Europe. In readiness of attention to us as her visitors, she was by no means behind the Frenchman her husband, for before ever the common salutations of meeting had passed between us, she exclaimed—'Iv dat ye vaunt de geen, dat vee haav got goot—Hollands neet.—De prandy—if ye trink, is fary goot, from France.—Peer vee have got, and yown staout from England, and Room and Raak, no poddy in de, and can get better as vee.' We declined taking any of these liquors at present, but desired first to be shown our beds. We were then led into a room not more than ten feet square, in which were two camp beds—steads without posts or curtains, on one of which was a mattress and pillow, and on the other a quilt thrown over a cane bottom. This was the only mattress in the house, and we could obtain no other, so that one necessarily slept on the bare couch. On returning to the sitting-room, and meeting our landlord and his wife again, it was quite evident from their importunities, that, as well as their other customers, they expected us to drink, and that it was only on this account they furnished us with beds at all. As we had, both of us, however, a great aversion to this at present, though we were quite willing to spend the same money in any thing else, we desired them to prepare us some tea. They were evidently startled at the appearance of so much sobriety, and the husband sarcastically asked—'Est ce que vous croyez, donc, monsieur que c'est le thé qui soutient le corps de l'homme?' I replied—No—but added that we were thirsty.—'Bouvez, donc,' he rejoined, 'mais, pour le thé c'est le boisson des femmes,' We would have borne even this reproach, but the wife set all at rest by saying—'Tay in de houz vee haav mooch got—but melek vee haav got noat, and de tay vidout de melek, dat is not goot.'—We yielded to their proposition at last of giving us a beef steak for supper, with as much beer and brandy as they thought proper to draw. It was prepared in as disgusting a way as bad cookery, and filthy table furniture could make it; but we made a show of liking it, and this was enough.

While we sat at supper, a half-caste Portuguese, who had been wandering through all the rooms of the house in a dressing-gown, and talking to himself, came to whisper to us, that disreputable as it might seem to see a person of his condition at a tavern on a Sunday evening, yet he had his reasons for being there, which were sufficiently powerful if known. We begged him to draw no unfavourable conclusions from persons being in a tavern on a Sunday evening; since any imputation on that score would attach to us who were here too, as well as to himself. He replied, that as strangers,

we were most probably driven here by accident or by necessity; but that having been himself all his life time a resident and house-keeper in Columbo, he could not have the same excuse to urge.— But, gentlemen, said he, whispering to us, in token of the closest confidence, 'though I never disclose my family secrets, yet I venture to entrust to you this, that my mistress and myself having had a little quarrel, I gathered up my traps, and came here to the tavern to live, not so much to forget her, though I have been pretty merry ever since I have been here (that is, he had been drunk every day for the last three months,) but rather to let the lady see which of us can hold out longest, and to convince her that I can do better without her, than she can without me!' Saying this, he flew off from us in a moment, but returned again to say, that he was a man of some note in the settlement, an excellent draughtsman, and first Assistant to the Chief Engineer;—and, 'whatever may be the truth of the case,' said he, 'all the people here set me down as an amazingly clever fellow.' He had no sooner quitted us, than his place was occupied by an old Frenchman of eighty, who came tottering in upon a stick in one hand, and holding a flower in the other, to which he was singing some appropriate French song. The old gentleman's unsteady pace, arose as much from his intoxication as his age, and we were gravely assured, that he had not been perfectly sober for these last thirty years! We learnt that he was originally a dancing-master, and it was said that he still taught many pupils among the half-caste inhabitants of the Dutch Pettah:—but it must have been more by precept than example.

On retiring from the supper table, we went to sit in the verandah, in front of the house, where a large party of French, Dutch, and Portuguese half-castes, were assembled to smoke segars, and drink hollands and water. We had not been long here before the current of our discourse was altogether changed. A man, who was quite as black as the native Ceylonese, but who walked in and addressed the assembly with an air of peculiar confidence and effrontery, announced to us his having received, by a recent arrival, a large supply of Bibles, Prayer Books, and Religious Tracts, in the Singalese and Malabar languages, from the Society in England, for distribution among the Natives in this island. The question was instantly agitated as to how far the labours of the Missionaries were useful or pernicious to India. This man, whose name we did not learn, but whose offices, as they were enumerated by himself, were Secretary to the Ceylon Bible Society, Clerk to the Poors' Fund, Assistant Teacher at the Orphans' School, Secretary to one of the principal Clergymen of the Island, and Private Teacher of the English language to Foreigners, inveighed most bitterly against the doctrines, the principles, the qualifications, and the conduct of all the Missionaries who had ever come out from Europe to India; while on the other hand he extolled, as beyond all praise, the learning, dignity, moderation, and gentlemanlike mode of living, which dis-

tinguished the ministers of the Established Church from those of the Dissenters. From the injustice of many of his remarks, and the evident partiality of all of them, I was induced to become the advocate of the class that he thought fit to revile, and to endeavour to persuade him, that if the members of both did their utmost to propagate and teach the doctrines of Christianity as they themselves understood and believed them, their motives and their merit must be nearly the same. 'Oh! Sir,' he exclaimed, 'it is quite evident that you know nothing of the matter, since the ministers of the Established Church are as superior to the Missionaries in every particular, as Jesus Christ is to the Virgin Mary; though you perhaps think the Missionaries the most zealous, as the Catholics think the Holy Virgin the most worthy of divine honours; but, Sir, let me tell you for your satisfaction, that you are both sadly mistaken.' I desired him to retail the instances within his own knowledge in which that superiority was manifested. 'Why, Sir,' said he, 'in the first place, the Missionaries are so poor that not one of them can keep his carriage, or live like a gentleman: while the regular clergymen have at least five times as much pay:—besides which, these belong to the Establishment of the Government, while the others are a set of vagabonds, wandering over the face of the earth, belonging to and serving no one.' I asked him whether Christ was not himself one of this description of wanderers, who, while the foxes had holes, and the birds of the air their nests, had himself not where to rest his head? His reply was such as will scarcely be credited.—'As for Christ,' said he, 'every one knows that he was born in a manger, that his father was a poor carpenter, and that as he belonged to no profession himself, he could not help being poor, though I dare say it was not his choice; but, ministers of the Church of England, who are of much better families, and people of higher birth, richer parents, and better education, are not called upon to live in the mean way that Christ did when he was alive, and as the Missionaries do now.' There was almost too much absurdity in this to need any observations in reply; but I endeavoured to correct his impression by the quotation of various passages of Scripture which occurred to me, as I thought this an authority to which he would bow with much more readiness than to any opinion of mine. Its effect, however, was only to excite in him a feeling of the greatest contempt; for, eyeing me with a look of the most disdainful scorn, and particularly regarding the black dress which I happened to wear as mourning, he exclaimed, 'Oho, Sir, I begin to suspect that you are a Missionary yourself. I beg your pardon, indeed, for any aspersion that I may have thrown on your fraternity as a body; but there are, of course, always exceptions to general rules, and I have no doubt in my own mind but there may be as good and worthy individuals among the Missionaries, as among any other class of people.'

While I was putting the secretary's mind to rest on this head,

and assuring him that I was not of the order of which he had suspected me to be; we heard some vocal and instrumental music from a house near us, and some of our party expressed a wish to go over to enjoy it. The secretary remonstrated with us, and conjured us not to attend to such profane delights as these on the evening of the Sabbath, adding, that it would be more to the profit of our own souls to remain, and be edified by religious conversation where we were! Finding this reason insufficient to detain those who had first made the proposition to go, he next urged, that they were a set of rascally Frenchmen from Pondicherry, and insisted that no loyal subject of the British, of which he accounted himself one, should go near them. A person now came upon the steps of the verandah, who, overhearing our conversation, and having just come from the party, begged the favour of our names, and offered to return and introduce us to his friends—this at once confirmed even those who were wavering, and they accordingly set out. My friend and I were induced to join them with a view of hearing whatever might be stirring in the way of news, and seeing something of half-caste manners in Columbo.

On reaching the house, which we found to be a tavern similar to the one we had left, we were led into a small room, one side of which was ranged with casks of arrack, on stands, and the other lumbered with empty bottles, jars, &c., while in the centre was a party of about a dozen persons assembled round a table on which were a few glasses, and a dim and solitary lamp, whose light was but barely sufficient to allow us to see the number of persons in the room, without distinguishing their features. All rose at our entry, and as there was a great scarcity of chairs, and most of those which were brought for us were broken; the Frenchmen very politely resigned their own to us, and distributed themselves around the room on the casks, boxes, or elsewhere, leaving only the singers and musicians at the table. The principal person of this groupe was a young European Frenchman, who sat with a book of manuscript songs before him, out of which he sung. On his right was a black Portuguese, very meanly dressed, who held in his hand a Lisbon mandolin. On his left was a *caffré*, or negro, who spoke French, and whom they called Joseph, whose dress was simply a blue striped cotton trowsers, a coarse dowlas shirt tucked up at the elbows, and open at the neck, without shoes or stockings, and holding a violin; opposite to these, at the other end of the table, was a young half-caste Frenchman, of Pondicherry, dressed in a red striped dressing-gown, and having altogether the appearance of a premature debauchee, who sang the bass part to the European's treble. We were first saluted by the whole of the party rising to drink our healths, and after the preliminary observation, that 'time was too precious to be lost,' the performers commenced. The songs succeeded each other in too close order to admit of any observations on their merits; but presently an interruption was occa-

sioned by the sudden and unexpected entry of the Secretary to the Bible Society, who stole in softly without an invitation, and without any previous acquaintance with the persons who composed the party. We Englishman, who had heard him reprobate with so much severity the proposition of our coming here to pass a Sunday evening in so profane a way, as in the enjoyment of music, expected that he was come to reprove us all publicly for our wickedness, and to exhort us to a more holy observance of the Sabbath. What was our surprise, then, to hear this Secretary himself, while the last word of the Frenchman's song was yet issuing from his mouth, strike up

'Ye mariners of England who live at home at ease,  
Ah! little do you think upon the dangers of the seas.'

This was attempted in a strain of falsetto, at as high a pitch as could be reached by an Italian castrate, and when he came to sing the chorus of 'When the roaring winds do blow,' the contrast between the effeminate shrillness of the voice, and the sense of the words, was irresistibly ridiculous, and rendered it impossible for us to stifle a laugh. When it was ended the Frenchman, who had by this time learnt in whispers the office of this stranger, suspected it was some pious hymn that he had been singing, and they begged to be permitted to thank the singer, for so much display of pathos and sentiment in his manner of execution. They doubted not, they said, but that the hymn itself was a master-piece of composition both in poetry and music, though they confessed that from not understanding English, and being strangers to the scientific part of music, both were unintelligible to them. This compliment was interpreted to the secretary, who was so flattered by it, that without giving breathing time to himself or his hearers, he followed it up immediately by

'On Richmond Hill there lives a lass  
More bright than the May-day morn.'

This was sung in a tone as rough and boisterous as the other was affected and shrill, and induced all who heard the difference to conclude that this was a song more in the spirit of the party, and more suited to their tastes. Brandy and water was now called for by the secretary, to recruit his exhausted breath and invigorate his lungs. We then ventured to ask him how he had so suddenly changed his mind, when he replied literally, 'Why, Sir, I think as many more clever people thinks besides, that when you are at Rome you shall do as the Romans does.' This was the language of a man who boasted that he had studied English for nine years under the clergyman of Columbo, who asserted that no one in the island, except English gentlemen, born and educated in England, understood our language as well as himself, and who seriously entertained thoughts of setting up, in addition to all his present multifarious duties, an evening school, to teach the soldiers of the

English regiments, arriving here, with their wives and children, a more polite, and, as he called it, a higher caste language than they brought with them. This was a man, too, who, though already a teacher in an English school, according to his own account, made use of such words as '*badfully*,' for badly; '*a man of sensibility*,' for a man of good sense; '*aspirations*,' on character, for aspersions; '*underdicting* a letter,' for dictating; and a hundred other similar errors, besides a pronunciation of the most vitiated kind, and ungrammatical expressions in every sentence. His piety no longer standing in his way, and the brandy and water proving an agreeable beverage, we left him, when we quitted the party, as much disposed to jollity as he was before grave and disposed to religious controversy.

13th. When we had got clear of our disagreeable quarters, and returned again into the fort, the morning was passed in procuring supplies of water, and other necessities for the ship; and at noon I waited on the King's Judge, to whom I had a letter of introduction. This gentleman's residence being at the distance of a mile or two from town, it was with difficulty that bearers could be procured to convey a palanquin thither. In consequence of the late rebellion in Candy, and the want of coolies or porters to carry the baggage of the troops, every Native who could be employed in this capacity had been impressed for the service, and sent up the country to the army, so that Columbo, as well as every other town on the coast, had been drained of this class of people, and none now remained to do the ordinary labour which was daily required. The road to the house lay along the sea-beach, and was well shaded with cocoa-nut trees, and the situation of the house itself was most delightful; it stood on the summit of a hill, the winding road towards it going through a park-like piece of ground, and from this eminence an extensive prospect was enjoyed on all sides, both towards the land and the sea, with the advantage of a much fresher and purer atmosphere than is found below. My reception was as kind as I could have desired; and after an interview of an hour or two, passed in agreeable conversation, I left the society of the Judge with the most favourable impression.

An East Indiaman, which had been taking in the Government supply of cinnamon to the East India Company for England, being to sail from hence as soon as the dispatches of the Governor of Ceylon arrived from Candy, I returned on board in the evening, to prepare our letters, and to enjoy more comfortable quarters than we had had on the preceding night.

14th. In the morning we went on shore to breakfast, by invitation, with the Commissioner of Revenue for the island of Ceylon. His carriage having been sent into town for us, we enjoyed a delightful ride along an esplanade called the Galle Face, having the high breaking surf of the sea on one side, and a still unruffled fresh-

water lake, of the most romantic beauty, on the other; the neck of land by which they are separated being less than half a mile across. When we reached the house we found it seated on the very margin of the lake, and saw from hence several other seats and cottages scattered along its edge, while dark groves of cocoa-nut trees fringed with deep shade its calm and glassy border, and little winding bays and promontories gave it the appearance of a mirror-like surface, studded with numerous isles. The Commissioner received us with all that warmth of hospitality and evident sincerity of welcome, which characterises the manners of those who have been long resident in the East, and our entertainment was in all the luxurious elegance which distinguishes the tables of wealthy men in this country. The house and grounds, with the scenery which it commanded, and the taste displayed in the interior decoration, as well as in the choice of the spot, formed for us a subject of constant admiration; but we were still more delighted with the kind and intelligent communications of our host, who, having been sixteen years resident on the island, was able to answer all our enquiries regarding it, and to furnish information of a local nature, not to be procured from any written sources. Society like this was so rare and so valuable, that we prolonged our stay until past noon, and then returned in the same carriage to town.

The duties of the day filled up the interval of time until evening, when I fulfilled my engagement of dining with the Judge. His private secretary, an Italian, from Leghorn, who had come out to this island with the Hon. Mr. North (since Lord Guildford), gave me a seat in his phaeton, and we went out by a more circuitous way to prolong the pleasure of our ride, and to see as much of the country as was practicable, from different points of view. We met at the table of the Judge, the Treasurer of the Island and his lady, and a gentleman of the Ceylon civil service, as well as the Postmaster-General of Ceylon. The table was that of a *bon vivant*, and the hock and champagne were of the best kind. Our conversation turned principally on the Candyan war, the nature and resources of the country, and other particulars of a local nature, in which every one present were deeply interested, both from political and personal motives, and I was myself equally so, from the strong desire which I possessed to obtain all the information possible regarding the island generally, and from the ignorance under which almost every stranger labours when he first sets his foot on a new land, so that every species of information connected with it has to him all the charm of novelty.

15th. Having a day of freedom from engagements of business, and being furnished with a conveyance, I devoted it to an excursion round the environs of Columbo, and to a more attentive examination of the town than I had yet had an opportunity of making. In the course of it I was charmed beyond expression with the beauty



of the surrounding country, with its lakes, its cinnamon groves, its romantic villas, and its exuberant gardens; and even in the towns, the regularity of plan and uniformity of design throughout, with the neatness of both the public and private buildings, the variety of castes and dresses, and the many peculiarities displayed in each of these, which are to be seen no where else in India, furnished abundant gratification, and altogether contributed to make it to me a day of considerable pleasure.

I returned to the ship to dine, and my friend, who had come off with me, accompanied me in the evening on a visit to the Captain of the East Indiaman, which was to sail the next morning for England. We found here a large party of ladies, gentlemen, and children, to the number of fifteen, who had embarked at Calcutta and Madras for Europe. Health was the chief object sought after in the voyage by the former, and the children were sending home both for this and for education, as it is detrimental to both to keep them in India after the age of six or seven years. There being a musical band on board, and the evening calm and favourable, we enjoyed the entertainment with great relish, while the quarter-deck formed the parade of those who walked, and the children danced on the poop with all the life and spirit that belongs to their age.

16th. The lady of the Governor having favoured me with an invitation to visit her family, at the Government House, I availed myself of that privilege; and going on shore after breakfast, we waited on her ladyship about noon. Nothing could be more benevolent than the evident wish of Lady B—— to gratify our curiosity on all points of enquiry regarding the Island of Ceylon, and few persons resident on it were able, probably, to furnish either more abundant or more accurate facts, on every subject of general interest in this quarter, than her ladyship herself. At the period of the Governor's last visit to Candy, where he at this period still remained, his lady had accompanied him, and indeed had but very recently returned from that capital. They had, at a former period of greater peace and tranquillity, made a tour of the whole Island together, and there was no enquiry that could be made, whether as to the topography of the country, its local features and productions, the ruins of antiquity with which it abounds, the various tribes of people who inhabit it, or indeed any other species of information which her Ladyship did not seem perfectly prepared to answer, and which was not expatiated on in such a way as to evince not only a thorough knowledge of, but also a very lively interest in, the subject. During our stay at Columbo, I had an opportunity of reading 'Barcival's and Cordiver's Account of Ceylon;' 'Mr. Bartolacci's book on its agricultural and commercial resources, with an exposition of its revenues, expenditures, &c.;' 'Captain De Buseche's Letters on Ceylon, particularly relative to the kingdom of Candy;' and 'The History of Ceylon, from the earliest period to the year

1815, with characteristic details of the Religion, Laws, and Manners of the People, &c. &c. By Philalethes, A.M., Oxon; the three last of which are all recent publications; besides Robert Knox's Historical Relation of the Island, with an Account of his Captivity during a period of near Twenty Years, published originally in 1681, but now subjoined in a new edition to the History of Ceylon, last mentioned. But whether it is that information *viva voce* is more agreeable, and consequently more impressive, than that which one gleanes more slowly and more laboriously, from reading; or whether it is that we direct our inquiries to matters that interest us most deeply, and that we find the answers to them more readily given in the conversation of a friend, than we do in the systematic details of a written account, I know not. This, however, is certain, that it appeared to me, that I had acquired more information regarding Ceylon in this our morning's interview with the intelligent lady of the Governor, than I had done from all the books that I had read, though these cost me the application of nearly three whole nights, and detached portions of as many days, to get through. There is, to be sure, much to be ascribed to the influence of an agreeable teacher, and every one of the least experience knows that there are some persons to whom we always listen with as much attention as delight, and whose communications make more deep and lasting impressions on our minds, than even the same facts would do if coming to us through other channels.

In addition to these kind communications, we were gratified by an inspection of many curiosities, both in nature and art, which Lady B—— had collected in the island. The first of these consisted in birds, plants, and shells. The birds were chiefly of the parrot kind, and surpassed in beauty of plumage and variety of exquisite tints, any thing that I had ever seen; and the shells were both more varied and more beautiful than are to be found in collections of the same extent which are made either in the West Indies or the Red Sea. There were, besides, some precious stones, all of them the productions of Ceylon, among which the ruby, the amethyst, the topaz, the cat's eye, the blue sapphire, and the aquamarina, were the most conspicuous. Among the works of art, were some detached fragments of ancient Cingalese sculpture, obtained from ruined and deserted temples, in different parts of the island. The bodies and erected heads of two cobra de capella serpents struck me as executed in a better style than any of the works of that description seen in the neighbourhood of Bombay; and a head of Boudda, with the neck, shoulders, and a fragment of the trunk, was in better proportion than any piece of Indian sculpture that I had seen before. This head, like all others of Boudda which have been found, has the representation of short woolly hair, and that African features, not so deformed as those of the Negro, but resembling, in a very striking degree, the features of the great

Sphinx, near the Pyramids of Egypt, and of many of the modern Copts, who now inhabit that country. I remarked to our kind entertainer, that all the older figures of Boudda which I had seen, whether in sculpture or in drawings, were distinguished by this short woolly hair and flat features, and this coincided with her ladyship's own observations on this subject. When we came to inspect some more modern figures of Boudda, particularly some cast in brass, and others of clay, now used in the temples of the present day, there was a perceptible difference; for the artists who executed these had evidently taken the cast of the features from the present inhabitants of Ceylon, which have a sharpness and prominence totally unlike the earlier and more original ones. These latter figures were all of a diminutive size, not more, perhaps, than six or eight inches in height. One of these was dressed in a thin robe, which adhered closely to his body, and was yet made to fall in perpendicular wavy lines, like those by which water is thought to be represented in the hieroglyphics of Egypt. This figure had his left arm and breast naked, and a ribband, like a belt, came from behind, over the left shoulder. On his head was an emblem like the representation of rising flame—but not unequivocally so—and as this rose from the crown of a close cap, or helmet, the whole appearance of the figure resembled that of the colossal canyatides which support the pillars of the Great Cave at Gartaasi, above the Cataracts of the Nile, in Nubia.

Our examination of these pieces of Indian sculpture, and the comparisons which they suggested, naturally led to a conversation on Egypt, and its stupendous and colossal ruins. It was on this ground, which I had trodden so recently, and with so much interest, that I was enabled to make some slight returns for all the pleasures which had here been strewn in my way. Having spoken of some striking resemblances between the temples and sculptures of Boudda, and some of those which are found in Egypt, and expressing a great desire to know what opinions were entertained on this subject by their priests, or whether they knew at all of such a country, Lady B—— sent to the Government House; within a short space of time arrived one of the most learned of the Boudda priests then in orders, and officiating in an existing temple, with two Singalese, who were reputed to be still more learned, both of whom had studied in the colleges of Ava, Siam, and Pegu, where the Boudda religion is thought to flourish in its purest state. Each of these men since embraced Christianity, and became Modelidars, or officers of the Governor's gate, and as they wrote and spoke English fluently, they were enabled to hold a conversation without the medium of an interpreter. The Boudda priest could also speak English quite intelligibly, and the motive he assigned for having learnt it was to enable him to read our religious and other books.

There is found among all classes of Indians such a servile dis-

position towards superiors, and so constant an endeavour to say that which is agreeable rather than that which is true, that one has great difficulty in introducing a subject, or in proposing a question, in such a manner as that they shall not discover from it the kind of answer that would please you most. We took all possible care to avoid their making this discovery in the present instance; but when the name of *Misna* was mentioned (for the name of *Egypt* they did not understand), one of them observed that that country was the earliest cradle of the Boudda religion, and that the first Boudda made his appearance there. 'Our religion reigned there,' said the other, who had studied in Siam, 'either 2,969 or 2,699 years (for in these numbers they differed), and was so protected by the sovereigns of the country, and so zealously followed by the people, that the land was filled with temples, and with the triumphs of their religion. A foreign king then came to invade them with an overwhelming army, destroyed their edifices, overturned their altars, and violated both their shrines and their tombs, dispersing the followers of Boudda throughout the world. They came all to the East, however, under a distinguished leader, and took refuge in the countries of Ava, Pegu, and Siam, where soon afterwards an incarnation of Boudda appeared among them, and where that religion has ever since flourished. It then extended to the northward and eastward, through all Tartary, Tibet, Nepal, and China, and its coming westward, to Ceylon, was an event of comparatively modern date.' It is the opinion of the best informed Eastern scholars, that the religion of Boudda is extended over a greater space of the globe, taken in geographical measurement of surface, than any other religion known; and that it is believed and followed by as great a number of people as either the Christian or Mohammedan. In consulting these priests about the difference in the features of the earlier and more modern statues of Boudda, they explained it by saying, that those of the earlier ones were unquestionably nearer the original, and that all the very old ones were alike; but they said the artists who work for the temples now are not only inferior to those of the days which are gone by, but that they have no standard, and every one fashions the features according to his own fancy, taking care that the characteristic marks of the palms, and the disposition of the fingers be preserved, which is all they think essential.

The officiating priest was dressed in a robe of yellow silk, which was a large mantle without a seam, and sufficiently ample to fold over every part of his body to admit of two corners being tied before the neck. His head was shaved and perfectly bare, as well as his feet; and in his hand he held a Chinese fan of a circular form, either as a badge of state, or to screen his face from the sun when he walked. This man now lived at Columbo, but he had just come down from the interior of the country, where he had for some months past officiated in a temple of Boudda, called the *Lova Maha Pye*,

or Great Copper Palace, in the city of Anva-rahadé-poori, in the district of the Seven Ceorles. This temple derived its name from its being originally tiled with plates of gilded copper of considerable thickness, and at enormous cost. It was now, he said, in a ruined state, and no person was found sufficiently wealthy, nor any artist sufficiently skilful to put it in repair. It was still in a state to admit of receiving worshippers, and was very popularly attended. It was supported in the inside, he added, by sixteen hundred pillars of stone, of square shafts, the sides of which were sculptured as well as their bases and capitals—their diameter being three feet, and their altitude forty-eight. It was built by Dutoo Gammanoo Rajabroo, a powerful monarch, and has already stood without apparent alteration or repair for fourteen hundred years.

As I had seen the Boudda caves at Kenneri, in the Island of Salsette, as well as drawings of the one at Carli on the road from Bombay to Poonah, both of which have arched roofs, I endeavoured to learn from these priests whether the constructed arch was at all known among them. Their replies led me to infer that it was not, for all the arched roofs, and windows, and doors, which they remembered in the most ancient as well as in the most modern temples, were all hollowed or scooped out of one stone, the roofs of this form being mostly in caves where the rock would admit of being shaped into that form by labour only. In no one instance did they remember the union of wedge-shaped stones united together to form an arch, and binding closer by the pressure applied above them. The Brahminical temples, whether excavated caves, or constructed pagodas, have no vestiges of the arch found among them. So that it appears probable that this feature of architecture was as much unknown here and in India, as it was in Egypt, Assyria, Persia, and according to some, even Greece, and that the invention had its origin in the west.

The ruins of the ancient temples in this island are said by all who have seen them to be as splendid as they are numerous; but Valentyn, the Dutch Historian of Ceylon, who describes the palace of Sitavaca, the place of coronation of the ancient kings, and says, that the gates, walls, and architectural embellishments attested its original magnificence, adds, that it was not to be compared with the ruins of the buildings left by Malabar sovereigns.\* The numerous and extensive tanks which abound in the island, particularly towards the northern part, some of which are several miles in circumference, as described by M. Bertolacci, and all of which are artificial excavations, forming reservoirs of water for the irrigation of the soil, and in some instances lined with a solid masonry of the most massy and enormous blocks of stone, is another very striking feature of resemblance to the internal economy of ancient Egypt. The way in

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\* P. 229, vol. i. folio Ed. Amsterdam, 1726.

which their agricultural labours are conducted, are minutely described by Knox,\* with the flooding of the lands, which lie for whole weeks under water—and the passage of the people from village to village on raised banks, or causeways, during this inundation, imperfectly Egyptian also. The labours of agriculture are held in such esteem that even the nobles of the land, and the priests themselves, may engage in it without disgrace, though they could not in any other occupation. The first order of priests is composed solely of persons of noble birth, and of the best education and manners, and the authority which these exercise, extends itself over all classes, the king himself even not excepted. All this is, as the Greek historians of Egypt describe it to have been in that country; and when I mentioned those striking coincidences, the Boudda priest affected to receive much pleasure from the communication.

Sir William Jones supposed Boudda to have been the same with Sesostris, who, about ten centuries before the Christian era, rendered his conquests subservient to the extension of a new religion, from the Nile to the Ganges.† Among the seven emblems of Boudda, which are preserved by the Singalese, is found the Priapus of the ancients (p. 198), an emblem which is seen in the largest and most ancient temples of Egypt; and Sesostris, as returning from India to Egypt by land, is said to have erected columns, inscribed with his name and nation, and some add with the figure of Priapus, wherever he met opposition from a people who discovered bravery and a love of liberty, in token of his admiration of their manly qualities: while in places where he met with no such opposition he erected similar columns, on which were portrayed the opposite emblem, expressive of the pusillanimity of the people.‡

There are some singular coincidences, too, between some of the events of Boudda's life and history, as related by the Singalese, and those which are written of Jesus Christ. He was tempted of the devil to fall down and worship him, and all the kingdoms of the earth were offered to him as his reward. In the myths of Boodh, which is given by Philalethes, it is said, the devil thought it would be a great diminution of his dignity, if the prince should become a Boodh. In order to prevent this from taking place, the devil appeared to the prince in a blaze of light, and said that in seven days he should be exalted to the monarchy of the whole world, if he would abandon the attempt to become a Boodh. The prince replied, I have devoted my kingdom, my wife, my child, my eyes, and my flesh, to the relief and solace of the poor, nor will I receive at your hands all the kingdoms of the world; and, though you and a thousand more should tempt me with this prospect of grandeur, you should not induce me to desist from the design of becoming a Boodh.§ This is so like the interview between the devil and Christ,

\* Part i. p. 18, 19.

† Philalethes, in a note, p. 197.

‡ Herodot. Euterpe, p. 162.

§ Philalethes, p. 205.

as described by the Evangelists; that we cannot but be struck with the resemblance. Again, the devil taketh him up into an high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, And saith unto him, All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me. Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan, for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.\* The principle is admitted by the Boudhists, that Satan really possesses the disposal of crowns and kingdoms, for no objection is made to the offer on the score of his inability to fulfil it by Boudda; and the Yezedis of Singar, in Mesopotamia, contend also, that Christ does not say any thing to deny the possessions of that power by the devil, as assumed by him, in the language given as his by St. Luke; for after shewing unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time, the devil said unto him, 'All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them, for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it.† It was at this period that Christ, immediately after his baptism, was led by the spirit into the wilderness, where he was forty days without eating;‡ and, as one Evangelist adds, he was tempted there of Satan, and was with the wild beasts, and the angels ministered unto him.§ This was also the case with Boudda; though, for a somewhat longer period, for the mythologist goes on to say, immediately following this temptation of the devil, 'The prince then wandered for six years through numerous regions, and traversed various wilds, without eating any thing, and experiencing every species of distress. The above-mentioned devil kept continually pursuing his footsteps, in order to watch an opportunity of vengeance, but none occurred.¶ The wilderness of Boudda must have been, however, a less dreary one than that in which Christ wandered; for in an earlier part of his history, where seven rose trees are said instantly to have appeared, from the impression of seven of his footsteps, it is added that the same thing happened throughout his whole life, so that wherever he set his foot roses grew.¶¶ As Boudda resembled Christ in his birth, in being conceived and born of a woman of immaculate purity, and brought forth in the most humble way, beneath a tree, so also his exit from the earth, though not preceded by an ignominious death, resembled the last ascent of Jesus into Heaven. The historian before quoted says on the subject, 'The Singalese have a tradition, that Boudda passed most his time on Adam's Peak, where he resided at his death. They add, that he ascended to Heaven from this spot, and they seem to have borrowed this circumstance of his history from some account which they had heard of the ascension of Christ.\*\*

I asked the opinion of the Boudda priest, as well as of the learned

\* Matt. c. iv. v. 8 to 10. † Luke, c. iv. v. 6. ‡ Luke, c. iv. v. 2.

§ Mark, c. i. v. 13.

¶ Philalethes, p. 206.

¶¶ Philalethes, p. 200.

\*\* Philalethes, p. 198.

Modeliaars, on these coincidences; for, as I was just freshly risen from reading on the subject, I had all those particulars strongly in my recollection. They all replied, that with regard to what had been said on Egypt, they were quite satisfied that Misra was the country from which their religion came, and that all that I had stated to them about ruined temples, its statues, sculptured walls, &c. confirmed them in that belief. With regard to the resemblance that had been alluded to, between some of the incidents of Boudda's life, and similar ones in the history of Christ, and the inference of Philalethes that the Singalese must have borrowed the story of their god's ascent from the summit of Adam's Peak, from some account which they had heard of the ascension of our Saviour; the priest treated it as quite preposterous, that a tradition of such antiquity should be borrowed from a religion of so much more modern date, and one of which it was hardly yet three centuries since they had heard of its existence, while of its doctrines, the mass of the Singalese people knew nothing of, even to the present hour. The Modeliaars themselves, though having embraced Christianity and now living in the public profession of it, were evidently staggered on this point, and, as if a feeling of veneration for the antiquity of their old religion had returned, they contended also that it was impossible for the Bouddhas to have borrowed anything in their traditions from the Gospels, since these traditions were found in books of very high antiquity, and no one knew anything of the name even of Christianity till the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon. When I assured them, however, that on the summit of the Mount of Olives, near Jerusalem, was the impression of a foot preserved in the rock and thought by the people there to be the last print of Christ's foot when he ascended from thence to Heaven, as well as one in the Great Mosque of Omar, on Mount Moriah, purporting to be that of the foot of Mohammed; and lastly, a still more remarkable print of the foot of Mohammed's camel on the summit of Mount Sinai, who stood with his other three feet placed on Mecca, Cairo, and Damascus; they said, that as these were both new religions in comparison with the religion of Boudda, they might have borrowed such ideas as these from the traditions of the East, but that it was absurd to suppose that the more ancient could have been borrowed from the more modern.

We now talked on the comparative antiquity of the Brahmins and the Bouddhists; they were all decided advocates for the superior antiquity of the latter. The reasons they urged were, that in their very early books no mention was made of Brahmins, but that in the oldest books of the Brahmins the Bouddhists were spoken of as a sect differing from their own. They said that it was about two thousand years ago when the Brahmins obtained the ascendancy over them in the peninsula of India, since which time they have never recovered it; but in all the countries of Asia east of the Ganges, they boasted that their religion still flourished in full power.



The leading distinction between the Bouddhists and the Bramhins is, that the priests of the former are not a caste, but are formed from Bouddhists who may be chosen at pleasure and appointed to the office, and a priest may abandon his office when he chooses. The priests of the Hindoos, or the Bramhins, are born to be such, and after entering on their office cannot change it for any other one. The Bouddhists admit strangers into their temples, answer all enquiries regarding their religion, and allow all men to read their sacred books. On all these points the Bramhins are particularly jealous. The dress of the Bouddhist priest is a yellow robe of silk, satin, or velvet, covering the whole body, with the head and feet bare, and a fan borne in the hand. The Bramhins are mostly naked above the middle, and are distinguished by the *zenhar*, or sacerdotal badge, a thread going like a belt over the shoulder, and a lock of hair depending from the centre of their crown downwards.

I should have enjoyed a more prolonged interview with these learned Bouddhists, and have been glad to extend my enquiries to many points of their religion and history, on which I had not yet questioned them, but the day was drawing to a close, and we had an engagement yet to fulfil. Lady R. — pressed us with great warmth to dine with her family to-morrow, as we happened to be engaged to-day, but as we expected to sail in the night, with the land breeze, we compromised by promising to pass an hour or two with her Ladyship on our return from the Commissioners, before we embarked.

In the evening we enjoyed a ride along the Esplanade, between the sea and the lake, and extended it round the edge of the latter, and from thence towards the cinnamon groves, reaching the villa of Calpetta before sun-set, by a circuitous but delightful route. We met at the Commissioner's table his two Secretaries, the younger of whom was a most gentlemanly and interesting young man, who had been born in Ceylon, educated in England, under the charge of General Maitland, and had returned to this island under his patronage. There was besides these, the Physician to the forces here, who had been in Egypt with the expedition of General Abercrombie, and subsequently with that of General Fraser, and who had visited almost every part of the Mediterranean sea. Our entertainment was in the most elegant style of luxury suited to a small party, and the members of it were intelligent and agreeable men, their society would not fail to be delightful, and I believe we all regretted when the hour of separation came, and all expressed a hope that we should see each other again.

On our return to town we passed an hour with Lady R. — as promised in our engagement, and met there the principal Clergyman of the establishment, who had just arrived from the Governor at Calcutta, and who had been a most agreeable and interesting conversation. We were then informed that the Governor had ordered a detachment of the British troops to be sent to Ceylon for the purpose of assisting the local forces in the event of a rebellion.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S PETITION FOR THE  
REPEAL OF THE ACTS OF PARLIAMENT RELATIVE TO THE  
INDIAN TRADE.

THE PETITION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, IN PARLIAMENT  
ASSEMBLED, SHUNTHETH SHAMETH, AND HUMBLY REQUESTETH  
YOUR LORDSHIPS TO BE GRACIOUSLY PLEASED TO TAKE THE  
SAME INTO CONSIDERATION.

At least as the victims of unrelenting oppression, and  
the victims of the same, and also the rest of their countrymen, they  
are sure that their condition will excite no compassion, and  
wrong continue unredressed. There are no means to  
awaken consideration and of existing public sympathy  
cause of the innocent and the injured, as their personal appearance  
an erect, manly attitude. In England, at least, the great proof  
of a capacity for freedom, is an implacable resentment at the wrong  
and they who demand their rights with energy, courage, and  
veracity, may be sure of their ultimate acknowledgment.

We have been led to this reflection by the perusal of a document  
from which we have risen with mingled feelings of pain and  
faction; pain—that any class of Englishmen should desire to  
petuate the injustice against which it is a protest;—satisfaction  
the sufferers remonstrate with becoming spirit against the hardness  
of their condition. With that portion of our readers whose English  
feelings are unadulterated by Asiatic prejudices and habits, the cause  
of the East Indians, for toleration in their own country requires no  
advocate. The mere statement of the case, unadorned by the  
genuine eloquence which recommends the annexed petition, would  
suffice to obtain, from any public assembly in this country, a warm  
and willing approbation of its prayer. In India, we are well aware  
very different feeling prevails, and that even among men distinguished  
for their private and public virtues, to whose nature all that is  
and tyrannous seems uncongenial, there are many who maintain  
justice, or at least expediency, of continuing the East Indian Company.  
The tone of the society among which they live, the influence, for  
example, the suggestions of interest, all tend in this direction, to  
warp their judgment. Those among the country-born who have  
come under their notice, were possibly undeserving of such  
calumny has been busy to misrepresent their motives and destroy  
their character, the faults of individuals are easily attributed to the  
class, and few men will risk a departure from common usage, to  
indulge in expressions of benevolence, condemned by the body of the  
government on which they depend.

We owe it to principle and to truth, to confess all this  
with this class of our readers. To us it seems that the cause  
this petition, whether of purely British or mixed descent, is  
fairly clear, and that following with all who enjoy the rights  
of citizenship, and are entitled to a voice in the government,  
evidently the cause is well understood, and that the  
mission of the petition is to secure the repeal of the Acts of  
Parliament relative to the Indian trade.

are consistent, was ever presented to the House of Commons more deserving of attention. For our parts we congratulate the East Indians on the good sense and propriety of their proceedings, and heartily desire the full consummation of their just and honourable hopes. Let them be well assured, that a tame, timid, mean submission to the degradation inflicted on them by the cruelty of the laws, is little calculated to insure the assistance of the enlightened and the free. The Catholics of Ireland would still be doomed to drag the fetters of ignominious servitude, had they not worked upon the fears of their ascendancy by the bold importunity of their petitions; let the East Indians bear this in mind, when false friends would inculcate the policy of moderation. Whatever may be thought of their petition at Calcutta, its language is in no respect too strong for the House of Commons; it were base to prefer a claim for simple justice with the whispering humbleness of abject supplication. The plain sense of this country will perceive, that this unworthy and unnatural disqualification of Christian fellow subjects originates in the spirit of monopoly, the influence of which has been the curse and bane of India. The country-born are proscribed, because the East India Company knows that the recognition of their rights, as British subjects, would do away the necessity of European agency, and reduce the number of the birds of prey and passage, who live upon the spoils of the East. We hope and trust that Parliament will look upon this matter in a very different light, and we are much mistaken if a persecution, at variance with every principle of justice and every feeling of nature and humanity, be much longer permitted to continue. The *Petition* is as follows:

*Petition of the East Indians.*

*To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, the Petition of the undersigned Christian Inhabitants of Calcutta and the Provinces comprised within the Presidency of Fort William.*

*Humbly Sheweth,—That your Petitioners are members of a numerous, increasing, and widely dispersed class of subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, living within the territories at present governed by the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, in the province of Bengal, and in the town of Calcutta.*

*2. That the body of which they compose a part, forms a distinct class of society in British India, which dates its existence more remotely from the time when the East India Company first formed permanent establishments on the continent of India, but chiefly from the more recent period, when the acquisition of immense territories required the presence of an increased number of Europeans to maintain and govern them.*

*3. That they are descended, in most instances, on the father's side from the European subjects of the Crown of Great Britain,*

*Petition of the East Indians to the House of Commons.*

and on the mother's side from Natives of India; and that, in most instances, they are the children of intermarriages between the offspring of such connections; but that, although thus closely allied to the European and Native races, they are excluded from almost all those advantages which each respectively enjoys, and are subject to peculiar grievances from which both are exempt.

4. The first grievance which your Petitioners beg leave to bring to the notice of your Honourable House, is, that a very large majority of the class to which they belong, are entirely destitute of any rule of civil law, to which they can refer as a standard that is to regulate their conduct in the various relations of society. Those of your Petitioners who live in Calcutta, within the limited jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, are guided in their civil relations by the law of England; but the moment they pass beyond that jurisdiction, and reside, either temporarily or permanently, in the interior, they are thereby placed beyond the pale of all civil law, whether British Hindoo, or Mahomedan. By the rigid interpretation which successive Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William have given to the phrase 'British subjects,' in the various Acts of Parliament relating to India, your Petitioners are excluded from coming under that denomination, and are consequently prevented from enjoying the benefits of the Law of England; and, by their profession of the Christian religion, they are equally debarred from the adoption of the Hindoo or Mahomedan civil law; while there is no other civil code to which they can have recourse as their guide in their various transactions and relations of life. However extraordinary the fact may appear, your Petitioners affirm, without fear of contradiction, that there is no law which regulates their marriages, and makes them lawful,—there is no law which shews the rule that is to define the legitimacy, or illegitimacy of their issue,—there is no law which prescribes the succession to their property,—there is no law which points out whether they possess the right of bequeathing by will, and if so, to what extent,—there is no law that declares which of their children, or whether one or all shall succeed in case of intestacy. In these, and in other equally important particulars, they have no law to direct or controul them; and they are thus treated as utterly unworthy of any one of those rights, which it is the express object of a code of civil law to define, and the primary design of society and government to protect. Your Petitioners thus literally compose a great body of outlaws, not made so by any crimes of their own, and on that very account feeling the more deeply the legalized wrongs that have been inflicted on them, and the contemptuous indifference and neglect with which their anomalous civil condition has been regarded. It is not, however, the invidious judicial construction of the doubtful language of Acts of Parliament, that has alone tended to degrade their civil condition; nor have they even been permitted to enjoy the full advantage that would have arisen to them, from the absolute and total neglect of that condition

by their immediate rulers. A Rule and Regulation\* of the Government of the East India Company has, by clear and express definition, included your Petitioners in the class of "Native subjects of the British Government," and has thereby subjected them to the numerous disabilities of their Hindoo and Mahomedan fellow-subjects; while, by another enactment† of the local Government, they have, as belonging to the above mentioned class, been deprived, in a body, of the protection of the Act of Habeas Corpus, having been made liable to be taken up on suspicion by any of the local authorities, and confined as state prisoners, without the legal possibility of ever obtaining their release; since the only appeal they could have, would be to the local Government. Thus they are, not virtually and by implication, but directly and immediately denuded of the first and most important of all civil rights,—personal security; and they may, therefore, be justly considered as holding their property, their liberty, and even their lives, at the discretion of every powerful public functionary.

5. The second grievance under which your Petitioners labour, is, that they are amenable in the interior to the Mahomedan criminal law,—a law in itself barbarous and imperfect, founded on the most intolerant principles, and intimately interwoven with a system of religion, and a state of society wholly opposed to their opinions and habits. The law of Mahomed was promulgated only for believers in the Koran; and towards all who are considered infidels, it bears a most oppressive aspect. Many of the punishments, when specific, are of a sanguinary description; and, in others, an almost unlimited discretion is given to the Judge. It is arbitrarily administered; and, though a right of appeal is in many cases allowed to the superior Court of Criminal Jurisdiction of the East India Company, called the Nizamut Adawlut, yet that tribunal possesses the extraordinary power, on such appeal, of increasing the punishment which is awarded at their discretion, and without hearing fresh evidence. The only modifications which the Mahomedan criminal code has received, in its application to your Petitioners, have been produced by the supplementary Regulations of the East India Company, which, instead of softening and mitigating its inflictions, have, in some instances, even increased the harshness of its character. In proof of this statement, your Petitioners beg to cite the third Regulation of the year 1821; by the express provisions of which, they are made liable in all cases to be dealt with as Hindoo and Mahomedan Natives of the lowest rank, and to be fined, imprisoned, and corporally punished, not merely at the discretion of the European judges or magistrates of the East India Company, but even of the Hindoo and Mahomedan officers of justice; while, from the operation of this Regulation, not only British subjects, in the restricted application which has been given to that appellation,

\* Reg. viii. of 1813.

† Reg. iii. of 1813.

but also European and American foreigners resident in the interior, are exempted. Thus the law recognizes the existence of your Petitioners; only for the purpose of punishment, and never for that of protection; while the criminal code, to which they have been made amenable, is distinguished by the intolerance of its spirit, by the aggravated severity of its provisions, by its total incongruity with their religious belief and social condition, and by the deep-felt degradation to which, in its actual administration, your Petitioners are subjected.

6. The third grievance to which your Petitioners are subject, is, that they are excluded from all superior and covenanted offices in the Civil and Military services, and from all sworn offices in the Marine service of the East India Company. The invariable preamble to the appointment of an individual to any of these services, runs thus: "*Provided A. B. (the person receiving the appointment) be not the son of a native Indian.*"—a restriction which was first adopted by the Directors of the East India Company on the 9th November 1791, and which is always republished in the Gazette of Government, on the notification of the appointment of any one who may be then residing in India. Your Petitioners do not dispute the right of the Court of Directors to give the appointments in their service to those whom they may deem most worthy; but they humbly submit, that no wise, just, or beneficent Government will ever impose any other general condition on candidates for employment, than fitness for the offices which they may seek; still less will it exclude any class of men, on the ground of birth or colour, when it does not possess the power of limiting their increase, or of diminishing their number; and, least of all, will it wantonly add insult to injury, and to proscription a load of public and gratuitous contumely.

7. The fourth grievance of your Petitioners, is, that they are not only expressly excluded from all those offices of trust and emolument in the Civil, Military, and Marine services of the East India Company's Government, which are open to 'British Subjects,' but that they are also treated as ineligible to most of those subordinate employments, in the Judicial, Revenue, and Police Departments, and even in the Military service, which are open without reserve to the Hindoo and Mahomedan Natives of the country. Your Petitioners are prohibited from being appointed to the situations of Moonsif, Sheristadar, and almost all other inferior Judicial offices; they are prevented from practising as Vakeels, or Pleaders, in every one of the Courts of Justice of the East India Company, from the highest to the lowest; they are shut out from all the subordinate offices in the departments of General Revenue and Police; and, in the Army, they are not permitted to fill the posts of Native commissioned or non-commissioned officers, nor even that of a Naick or Corporal in a Native Regiment, although leave is given to them to shed their blood in the ranks as Privates, and to officiate in the Re-

gimental Band as Drummers and Musicians ! Thus, of the many thousand subordinate employments under the local Government, there are few from which they are not excluded, except on condition of abjuring the Christian faith ; in which case, their eligibility as Natives of India would be at once restored.

"8. The fifth grievance of which your petitioners complain, is, that they are expressly declared to be disqualified from holding his Majesty's Commission in the British Indian Army. The Commander in Chief, for the time being, of his Majesty's Forces in India, on the 27th of February, 1808, issued a General Order, still in force, by which no person can be recommended in India for any vacant commission in his Majesty's service, who belongs to the class of which your petitioners compose a part. Your petitioners humbly trust that his Majesty, in the exercise of his royal prerogative, will see fit to rescind this invidious order ; and, although they are aware that it does not belong to your Honorable House to free them from the galling disability to which it has subjected them, yet they have deemed it important to be mentioned in this place, as an additional proof of that system of cruel proscription of which they have been made the unoffending victims.

"9. The sixth grievance imposed upon your petitioners is, that, by stipulations in treaties with all the powers of India, which still preserve a shadow of independence, they are debarred from employing your petitioners, in any capacity, without the permission of the Supreme Government of India. It is true that, in those treaties, only 'Europeans and Americans' are expressly prohibited from being so employed ; yet, although these are denominations under which your petitioners cannot be classed, the restriction is practically applied to them also. Thus, by the limited signification which has been given to the phrase 'British subjects,' so as exclude your petitioners, who are subjects of the British crown, they are exposed to intolerable grievances ; and, by the extended meaning which has been given to the terms 'Europeans and Americans,' so as to include your petitioners, who are Natives of Asia, they are prevented, except under special licence, seldom given, and always liable to be recalled, from employing their talents and industry in the service of any of the Native Princes. In both cases, but by contrary means, alike cruel and unjust to your petitioners, the one great object of exclusion is effected ; and thus, whatever step they take in life, and to whatever quarter they look, exclusion, disability, and proscription meet them at every turn.

"10. The last grievance to which your petitioners will advert is, that every plan proposed by others, or adopted by themselves, for the improvement of the class to which they belong, instead of receiving the fostering countenance of a paternal Government, has met with positive disapproval, or cold neglect, strongly contrasted with the active and liberal encouragement that has been laudably given

by the local authorities to various institutions formed for the benefit of other classes of the population. In support of this statement your petitioners beg to refer to the benevolent plan proposed by the late Colonel Kirpatrick, in 1782, having for its object to secure a provision for the sons of European officers by native mothers, by educating them in England, and obtaining cadetships for them in the Indian army. This scheme, which received the approbation of the whole military service, and was not opposed by the local Government, was rejected in the most unqualified manner by the Court of Directors; the residence of such children in Europe for education being that part of it which especially called forth their reprobation. In the same manner, at a more recent period, two institutions commenced by the exertions of your petitioners, and devoted to the education of their children, called the Parental Academic Institution, and the Calcutta Grammar School, amid severe pecuniary difficulties, and with the certain prospect of great advantage resulting from even a slight measure of assistance from Government, have been refused a participation with other similar institutions in those funds, which the East India Company is required by Act of Parliament to apply to the moral and intellectual improvement of the Natives of India. Thus their European parents are frowned upon, for endeavouring to send to England for education. Your petitioners themselves are discouraged in their humble attempts to extend the blessings of education among their own class in India. Every avenue of honourable ambition, and of social improvement, is shut against them; and it is with a keen and long-cherished conviction of the wrongs they have suffered from the race of their fathers, that they now bring themselves to the notice of your Honourable House, and respectfully ask for that equality of rights and privileges to which, in common with every other class of his Majesty's subjects, they are unquestionably entitled.

11. Your petitioners have now briefly enumerated the principal grievances, for which they seek redress from your Honourable House; but the statements they have made are very far from expressing the depth and the extent of the degradation which has been entailed upon them, and the numerous ramifications of the evils which they suffer. What they have styled their grievances, are not individual cases of grievance peculiar to one person, one time, and one occasion; but they are classes of grievances, each class extending to the whole body to which your petitioners belong, and all of them spread over the entire period of existence, pervading every transaction and relation of life, and doubly felt, first in their own persons and fortunes, and, secondly, in the conditions and prospects of their rising offspring.

12. However diversified and pervading the particular effects of the grievances your petitioners suffer, there is one unvarying general result which they produce, there is one point to which they are all made to tend—and that is, to place your petitioners in the situation



of a proscribed class, to prevent their amalgamation with the European population, and to create and perpetuate against them the most mortifying and injurious prejudices. Your petitioners are aware that the abolition of those social prejudices, of which they are made the object, cannot be brought within the immediate scope of legislative enactment; and it is with no such view that they seek for the interposition of your Honourable House. They trust to the loyalty and rectitude of their own conduct for that place and consideration in society which belong to them; but they think they have a right to complain, when the Acts of the legislative and governing powers, instead of having a tendency to neutralise and destroy the prejudices that exist against your Petitioners, have had the direct and certain effect of calling them into existence. Your Petitioners neither ask, nor expect, any special interference in their behalf; but they warmly protest against those invidious distinctions which mark them, in the land of their birth, as outcasts and aliens, bereft of all privileges, and strangers alike to the rights of society and to the feelings of humanity. It is surely not the characteristic of a paternal and an enlightened Government, which should be the common and equal protector of all its subjects, to scatter with its own hands the seeds of discord, and to array the different classes of society against each other in bitter contempt and implacable hatred. Yet such is the undeniable tendency of the exclusive and contumelious system of misgovernment, under which your petitioners have long suffered, and which, if continued, must produce in the class to which they belong, hitherto free from the slightest reproach of disloyalty or disaffection, permanent dissatisfaction, and entire alienation of mind from the British authority in India.

13. Your petitioners disclaim every invidious or even unfriendly feeling, in the contrast which they have had occasion to present of their own depressed condition with the superior advantages and privileges enjoyed by other parts of the population. There are numerous and weighty grievances which they suffer, in common with British-born subjects on the one hand, and with Hindoos and Mahomedans on the other; but which, as the organs of a distinct class, your petitioners have not considered it proper on the present occasion to detail. These common grounds of complaint have produced in their minds a sympathy with those classes; and in those instances, in which your petitioners labour under peculiar disadvantages, they are far from wishing to bring their fellow-subjects to the same level with themselves, or to claim any exclusive countervailing privileges. Although professing the Christian religion, speaking the English language, and assimilated in dress, manners, and education to their paternal ancestors, they do not, on these, or on other grounds, ask for any favours or immunities, which they would not equally solicit for their fellow-subjects of the Hindoo and Mahomedan religions. But being Christians, and descendants of Englishmen, your petitioners humbly submit that it is cruel and unjust to make their be-

rief and desecrate the grounds of civil society, of degrading the nation, and of a uniform and persevering course of contumacious and insulting treatment; and that it is especially inconsistent and impolitic in a Christian and a British Government to adopt and reduce to practice such an odious system of exclusion, and thus to sit marks of deep contempt and degradation on the partakers of their own blood, and the professors of a common faith.

14. Your petitioners may be permitted to observe, that however strong the language they have deemed it requisite to employ in the exposition of their grievances, and however acute the feelings of which that language is the feeble and imperfect expression, they have never lost sight of the obedience and respect which have been claimed by their immediate rulers. From them, indeed, the condition of your petitioners has not received the consideration which they had a right to expect, and which they earnestly hope your Honourable House will bestow. Their complaints, when presented in the most respectful terms, through the proper channels, have been treated as futile and unfounded; nor has any disposition been shewn to alleviate the acknowledged extreme hardships under which they suffer. To the East India Company, therefore, in its own character, or to its local Government, your petitioners, as a body, feel that they owe nothing. They have received from it no sympathy or redress—nothing but studied insult, contemptuous indifference, or at best empty profession. But in that Company, and its servants, your petitioners see the legally constituted representatives of British power and authority in India; and they have, therefore, conscientiously discharged the duties of peaceable and obedient subjects, in the fond, although hitherto vain, expectation that their peculiar grievances would attract the attention of those who have the ability, and, they trust, the will to remedy them.

15. Your petitioners hope that it is only necessary to bring to the notice of your Honourable House the evils which have been entailed upon their body, to produce at once the disposition to remove them. With regard to such matters as may appear fit for the direct interference of Parliament, your petitioners cannot doubt that an immediate remedy will be applied; and, with regard to such as seem to reside, during the existence of the present Charter of the East India Company, within the province of that body and their local Government, your petitioners pray that to them their rights and interests may no longer be committed without appeal; and that, in any new Charter which the Legislature may grant, a clause may be inserted expressly prohibiting in all its parts that system of exclusion directed against your petitioners, which has hitherto formed a distinguishing feature in the policy of the Company's Government. They pray to be delivered from that state of neglect and abandonment in which they have hitherto been allowed to remain beyond the pale of civil law, and dominiously driven from all community of rights and privileges with any of the denominations of the society

in which they reside. They pray your Honourable House to admit them to the fellowship of their fathers; to rescue them from subjection to institutions the most degrading and despotic; and to treat them as subjects of the British Crown, to which alone they recognise their allegiance to be due; and to which they desire to bind themselves and their posterity by the indissoluble ties of justice and of gratitude.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

*East Indians' Meeting at the Town Hall.*

At a General Meeting of the Subscribers to the East Indians' Petition to Parliament, held at the Town Hall, on Monday forenoon, the 20th April, 1829.

On the motion of Mr. F. D. Kellner, seconded by Mr. Wale Byrn, Mr. J. W. Ricketts was unanimously called to the chair.

The Chairman opened the Meeting with an introductory address, in which he detailed at full length the nature and importance of the business which had brought them together on so interesting an occasion. After much discussion on the subject, it was unanimously resolved as follows:—

1. That, in order more effectually to promote the objects of our Petition to Parliament, this Meeting consider it to be a matter of first-rate importance that some individual from among their own body be deputed to accompany the Petition to England, and that the individual selected for this purpose be authorized to place himself in communication with the General Committee of the inhabitants of Calcutta, in order to seek such aid and assistance in the matter, as they may be able to afford.

2. That Mr. J. W. Ricketts be chosen as our Agent for deputation to England on this occasion.

3. That subscriptions be raised for the formation of a fund, for promoting the great and important objects contemplated by us.

4. That, under the present vacillancy of things in respect to a suitable name for their class, this Meeting consider it proper to recognize themselves as "East Indians,"—a designation which, as including the whole body to which they belong, they prefer above all others.

5. That the hands of the Committee of East Indians, as now constituted, be strengthened by the accession of Messrs. E. Barnfield, Wale Byrn, P. D'Mello, and W. Sturmer; and that the Committee be authorized to appoint one of their own number to officiate as their Secretary, during the absence of Mr. Ricketts, on deputation to England.

6. That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the gentlemen of the Town-Hall Committee, for the use of the Town Hall on this occasion.

7. That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Mr. Ricketts, for his disinterested offer to proceed to England on deputation, and for his able conduct in the chair.

JOHN W. RICKETTS, *Chairman.*

*East Indian Committee.*—Messrs. E. Barnfield, W. Byrn, W. Dacosta, P. D'Mello, J. L. Heatly, A. Imlach, H. Martindell, C. Reed, J. W. Ricketts, W. Sturmer, and G. Wodsworth.

*Secretary, Mr. J. W. Ricketts.*

Messrs. W. Byrn, J. W. Ricketts, and W. Sturmer, are duly authorized to sign, in an associated capacity, all receipts for donations to the East Indians' Petition fund; which done, they are to be made over to Mr. W. Dacosta for recovery of the sums subscribed. All collections are to be lodged in the Bank of Hindoostan.

N. B.—At the final close of our work, a printed account of receipts and disbursements will be rendered to each donor or subscriber to the fund.

*To John Palmer, Esq., Chairman of the General Committee of the Inhabitants of Calcutta.*

Sir,—I am directed by the East Indian Committee to transmit to you the subjoined extract, from the Resolutions passed at a General Meeting of the Subscribers to the East Indians' Petition to Parliament, held at the Town Hall, on Monday forenoon, the 20th instant.

The Committee feel persuaded, that, setting aside all inferior considerations, the same public spirit which influenced you, in your associated capacity, so laudably to dispute and cope with the asserted right of the local Government to unlimited taxation, under the circumstances of the case, will prompt you also to afford every aid and assistance in your power towards the accomplishment of the great and important objects, contemplated by them at this interesting crisis.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) J. W. RICKETTS,

*Secretary to the East Indian Committee.*

Calcutta, 23d April, 1829.

N. B.—*Vide* Resolutions passed at Town Hall Meeting.

*To J. W. Ricketts, Esq., Secretary to the East Indian Committee.*

Sir,—I have been favoured with your letter of the 23d instant, and have had the pleasure of submitting it to the Committee of the Inhabitants of Calcutta, by whom I am requested to furnish you with such letters to Mr. Crawford, on your departure for England, as shall engage for you his co-operation in effecting the objects of the Petition with which you are to be intrusted.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) J. PALMER, *Chairman.*

Calcutta, April 30, 1829.

(True Copies, E. Barnfield, Member of the East Indian Committee.)

PRINCIPLES AND POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH  
INDIA.\*

THE chief object of the work, the title of which is prefixed, is the consideration of the comparative merits of the two great engines of Indian taxation—the Zemindary and Ryotwarry systems. On no subject connected with our Eastern Empire, has so much ability been employed, and so many treatises been written, as on this most difficult but most important question. The names of men equally distinguished for their known zeal and ability in the service of the Company and the extent of their theoretical and practical knowledge, are, on this point, found in constant opposition, and the perplexity occasioned by this irreconcilable variety of opinion has been such, as to discourage all attempt to avail of the valuable information, obtained in the course of enquiries, pursued with unwearied energy, diligence, and perseverance. Probably there does not exist among the records of this, or any other nation, a collection of statistical documents, evidencing an equal degree of argumentative powers, laborious research, and benevolent intention, to that exhibited in the volume known as the 5th Report. In this great repertory of the views entertained by the ablest of the Company's servants on the relative advantages of the revenue systems, established in the provinces, subject to the two Presidencies of Bengal and Madras, and in the judicial and revenue selections since published, may be found all that is accurately known respecting them; the substance of which, as our readers are well aware, has been condensed and arranged in the recent publication of Mr. Rickards. That work cannot be too diligently studied by those who wish to be informed of the actual condition of India. It has placed the leading facts and arguments of a question, the full consideration of which is a necessary preliminary to all attempts at Indian improvement, within the reach of every person who is interested in the prosperity of our Eastern Empire. The authors of other books upon the same subject, presume their readers to be acquainted with the statements contained in the documents of which it is a concise but skilful analysis; and, indeed, without an accurate knowledge of its contents, it is impossible even to apprehend the scope of dissertations, which, like the treatise now before us, may be considered as merely illustrations of mechanism, of which the principle is already well understood.

We very much regret that the press of Indian intelligence, and other important matters, prevent us from presenting in the present

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\* By a Gentleman in the service of the East India Company. Hurd, Chance, and Co.

number, the expanded statesmanlike views which are exhibited in every page of the 'Principles and Policy of the Government of British India.' It is, in our judgment, a masterly refutation of the doctrines of the Madras School of Indian economists; among whom Colonel Read, Sir Thomas Munro, Mr. Thackeray, and Lord William Bentinck have, unfortunately for their future fame, attained an inglorious pre-eminence; it is an able vindication of the enlightened policy, which has earned for Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Elphinstone, the gratitude of the people of India. Of the maxims by which the government of the latter was regulated, no commendation is too great, and whatever errors may have been committed in the details of the arrangement, by which the administration of the former is distinguished, to it, unquestionably, is attributable the partial prosperity of Bengal.

We do not conceal from ourselves the fact, that by establishing a fixed assessment of estates, which bore no relation to their powers of production, the permanent settlement of 1793 has occasioned an undue disproportion in the burthens of the people. This disproportion has been the source of much embarrassment to the Company, and they have been compelled to exact a larger revenue from other parts of their dominions, than would have been required if all the land of their old provinces, now in a state of cultivation, were contributory to their treasury. We certainly are not inclined to speak lightly of this evil, but it is not, in our judgment, comparable to the deplorable equality of wretchedness, and privation, to which the Ryotwarry system has reduced the inhabitants of the Madras Presidency.

Purposing to return to this subject, we have only space to say that the author, whose notions on the subject of Aristocracy are the exact opposites of those, the frequent intrusion of which disgusts and irritates the readers of the History of British India, devotes a few pages of his work to the exposure of some glaring inconsistencies into which Mr. Mill's hatred of "the order" has betrayed him.

It is amusing to witness the contention of two zealots, on a point, which, if not quite irrelevant, has as little as possible to do with the subject they are engaged in discussing, and which, assuredly, would never have been ranked among the *questiones vexatæ* of Indian politics, had Lord Cornwallis been of plebeian, and Mr. Mill of patrician, lineage. It would be quite as reasonable to weave a dissertation on the conduct of the Gracchi, and the policy of Agrarian laws, into a comparison of the Indian systems of land revenue, as it is to mix up a tirade against Aristocracy in England with the Zemindary settlement of Bengal. Mr. Mill, however, has thought proper to attribute that benevolent and well intentioned measure to the influence of English Aristocrats, and the prevalence of their principles among the Directors of the East India Company, and this enables our author to take his distinguished opponent on

the hip, and there feed fat his grudge against him. It seems to us that the real merits of the question are obscured by the introduction of these extraneous topics, but the argument is ably, and we think successfully, managed in the work before us, and we have no doubt it will be found to deserve the attention of those, who, like ourselves, acknowledge an interest in the well earned reputation of the 'Historian of India.'

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SONG OF THE SUMMER WINDS.

BY G. DARNLEY.

*From 'Friendship's Offering,' for the year 1830.*

Up the dale and down the bourne,  
 O'er the meadow swift we fly ;  
 Now we sing, and now we mourn,  
 Now we whistle, now we sigh.

By the grassy-fringed river,  
 Through the murmuring reeds we sweep ;  
 'Mid the lily-leaves we quiver,  
 To their very hearts we creep.

Now the maiden rose is blushing  
 At the frolic things we say,  
 While aside her cheek we're rushing,  
 Like some truant bees at play.

Through the blooming groves we rustle,  
 Kissing every bud we pass,  
 As we did it in the bustle,  
 Scarcely knowing how it was.

Down the glen, across the mountain,  
 O'er the yellow heath we roam,  
 Whirling round about the fountain  
 Till its little breakers foam.

Bending down the weeping willows,  
 While our vesper hymn we sigh ;  
 Then unto our rosy pillows  
 On our weary wings we hie.

There of idlenesses dreaming,  
 Scarce from waking we refrain,  
 Moments long as ages deeming  
 Till we're at our play again.

ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND END OF MR. SADLER'S VISIT TO  
WHITBY.

THE opposition of a certain class of ship-owners and manufacturers, to the views and principles of Mr. Huskisson, has long been a subject of public notoriety. It was not to be expected that so great a change in the commercial policy of the country, as that which the restoration of peace to Europe, and the altered circumstances of the world, compelled the British ministry to adopt, should meet the approval of all who had benefitted by the ancient system. The well informed and intelligent, were of course aware that measures, falsely attributed to the influence of ill-advised liberality, had in fact been suggested by the pressure of urgent necessity, and were the results of a careful and deliberate calculation of the real interests of the empire; but the multitude, who are usually clamorous in proportion to their ignorance, looked upon their projector as the author of all their distress, and assailed his public character and conduct with bitter and relentless hostility.

In parliament this temper was repressed by the masterly vindication of Mr. Huskisson's measures by himself and Mr. Charles Grant, as well as by the declaration of the President of the Board of Trade, of the intention of the present ministers, to adhere to the policy of their predecessors. Out of doors discontent prevailed to a great extent, and though the reception which the late Colonial Minister received from the higher classes of the mercantile and shipping interests during his recent visit to Lancashire, sufficiently prove that his opponents were men of little influence, either by station or ability, yet they were sufficiently numerous to attract attention under the guidance of a dexterous or plausible leader. Whether Mr. Sadler has succeeded in establishing his competence to undertake that office, may be judged from the proceedings at Whitby, which we are now about to detail; but we first insert a letter from a gentleman of that town, which was published in 'The Liverpool Times,' and occasioned a great deal of discussion among those who felt interested in the important subjects to which it relates.

*To the Editors of 'The Liverpool Times.'*

Whitby, Sept. 2nd, 1829.

SIRS,—The difficulty usually experienced by existing merit, it making its way to fame, and winning "golden opinions" from contemporary judgment, is a matter of familiar observation, while the passions and feelings in which it originates have not unfrequently been pointed out and laid open by ethical writers. The first appearance of excellence unites multitudes against it; unexpected and vexatious opposition rises up on every side; the celebrated and the obscure, actuated by jealousy and envy, join in the confederacy; in every department of life this opposition to advancing and established merit is discoverable; in the literary; in that of the fine arts; in the philosophical and political; and the fiercest contemporaneous vituperation is

*Oriental Herald, Vol. 23.*



often bestowed upon those actions, which are destined, in the lapse of time, to place their author in the ranks of the benefactors of the species, to embalm his memory, and hand down his name to distant ages. The eminent statesman, to whom we are indebted for the late rational, necessary, and beneficial changes in our commercial code, was doubtless aware of the conditions, on which they engage, whose warfare is with established opinions, and who endeavour to wean mankind from the paths of error they have long continued to tread. Should Mr. Huskisson again be placed in a situation, in which His Majesty's councils may enjoy the advantage of his abilities, it is to be hoped that he will pursue the career he has so worthily begun, undeterred by interested clamour, from whatever quarter it may originate; secure, when personal animosity and party spirit shall have subsided, that his labours will be duly appreciated by a grateful posterity.

‘Thus nations, slowly wise, and meanly just,

‘To buried merit raise the tardy bust.’

A very slight inspection of our commercial annals will enable us to discover the frequent recurrence of periods of unusual prosperity, followed, seemingly almost as a necessary consequence, by a corresponding degree of difficulty and oppression. In Mr. Tooke's work on ‘High and Low Prices,’ numerous instances of such oscillations are given, and the ingenious author has in many cases entered upon an elaborate detail of the circumstances leading to that *status* technically denominated overtrading, and which appears invariably to be succeeded by a revulsion and distress. The years which elapsed from the commencement of the first French revolutionary war to the peace of Paris, that portion of time which the croakers of the present day have denominated the golden age of our commerce, when all branches of trade were flourishing, and every man was satisfied and happy, seems to have been peculiarly productive of these alternations. Never was there a period of occasionally greater suffering to the labouring classes, and in which trade experienced so many vicissitudes; and if the shipowner passed through these ordeals with less scathe than his neighbours, such his immunity chiefly arose from the increasing demand of government for the means of transport, and the particular circumstances of the war, which nearly swept all neutral commerce from the ocean. During the whole of this time, British shipping was never redundant, but generally in the opposite extreme; a condition of things which necessarily enhanced their value, and enabled their proprietors to obtain more than the average rate of profit on their capital. In 1825, we had severe experience of the effects of one of these visitations. Up to nearly the close of that year, and for two years preceding, the shipping interest, together with every other branch of trade, had been unusually flourishing; the revulsion which took place was most sudden; and its consequences have been a continuance of difficulty and distress, in which the shipowner has borne perhaps more than his proportionate share. But in the causes which produced this state of things, there is nothing extraordinary, nothing occult; their occurrence has at all times been frequent, and they are probably destined periodically to occur, so long as the commerce of the world is fated to endure.

The peculiar advantages enjoyed by the shipping interest, during the revolutionary wars, have now long ceased to exist, while some circumstances, the tendency of which has been to afford relief to every other part of the community, and to mitigate the distress occasioned by the crisis in 1825, have been productive of no direct benefit to the shipowner; amongst these, as a principal one, may be enumerated the steadily increasing consumption of the country, since that period. Although the amount in value of produce

annually imported into and consumed in Great Britain, be now greater than it was in 1825, yet there has been a considerable decline in the quantity of many of those articles, which from their bulk afford the most abundant employment to shipping. In the finance accounts for 1828, we have the aggregate official value, (which represents relative quantities), and the value in detail of the various articles forming that aggregate, imported into Great Britain in the years ending January 5th, 1826, 1827, and 1828. From this document it appears, that while the aggregate official value of goods imported in those years was 42,660,934*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, 36,083,951*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.*, and 43,464,747*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* respectively, there had been a great falling off in the quantities of the following very important articles; ashes, pearl, and pot; coffee, logwood, flax, hemp, hides, madder, madder roots, sheep's wool, linen yarn, and above all, timber. The official value of timber (including in that term wood of all sorts and in every form) imported during the above-mentioned years, was 978,703*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.* 738,413*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*, and 658,376*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* respectively; showing a decline of nearly one-third. Again, I find it stated in a broker's circular, that the actual quantity of pine timber (balks) imported from British America, which in the year ending 5th February, 1825, amounted to 5,569,000 cubic feet, was in the year ending 5th February, 1828, only equal to 3,157,000 cubic feet. When we consider the vast importance of timber to the carrying trade of this country, from the amount of tonnage required for its transport, there is nothing unreasonable in the supposition that the existing low rate of freight is, in no small degree, to be attributed to this defalcation in the quantity necessary for our present reduced consumption, nor in the belief that freights can scarcely be expected to advance, until either the number of our ships is adjusted to the actual amount of service they are required to perform, or some change take place, occasioning a greater consumption in the country, of those bulky articles, the transport of which so materially affects their employment.

A gentleman,\* whose friendship I value, and whose general-knowledge and particular information relative to the shipping question, render him no desirable opponent, seems to entertain the opinion, that the increased production and consumption which have taken place in Great Britain since the peace, ought to afford ample employment and remuneration to our ships; that they are unable to obtain such employment and remuneration chiefly by the intrusion of foreigners, who are allowed by Mr. Huskisson's treaties to engross more than a fair proportion of the commerce of this country; that instead of being diminished, our tonnage should have received an augmentation equal to that which, since 1814, has taken place in every other branch of trade. But it perhaps may not be quite certain that a real decrease of tonnage has taken place since the peace. The inquiry in 1827 led to the discovery, that many ships, long before lost or destroyed, still retained their place in the registry books. Might not the same error infect the registration of 1814? But supposing no mistake of this nature to exist, it still may be asked, does not the tonnage of the present day represent a much greater actual capacity than the same quantity did at any former period? Notwithstanding that charges have usually been imposed on ships in proportion to their tonnage, yet as transports were always paid according to their registered measurement, there existed, during the war, a disposition to make that as great as possible. Since the termination of hostilities a contrary tendency has been evinced; to make the measured tonnage small with reference to the actual capacity is now the grand object; and thus, from the constant

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\* Vide Liverpool Albion, Aug. 24, 1829.

operation of this principle, it will possibly be found, that a modern ship of 300 tons, or of any other burthen, taken at random, will be capable of stowing ~~a~~ much greater cargo than one of equal registered dimensions built previous to the end of the war.

The facilities given to navigation by the peace, and the improvements which have been introduced since that event, sufficiently explain why the greatly augmented consumption of the country has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase of our commercial marine. The peace put an end to the convoy system, and at once enabled our ships to accomplish their voyages in considerably shortened space of time. The extension of docks and the application of mechanical powers, making the process of loading or discharging rapid and easy; the more common use of instruments of observation, enabling vessels to run with confidence and security, and at times and in situations such as, without similar aids, must render all movement impracticable; the adaptation of steam to the purposes of navigation, and the power which has thereby been afforded of getting ships out of harbour almost under any circumstances: these, and many more which might be adduced, singly perhaps of no great moment, but which, when united and directed to one point, produce important results, are some of the causes which have rendered the multiplication of our ships unnecessary, and enabled those already in existence to perform an immensely increased proportion of work. Bearing therefore in mind the defalcation which for some years past has taken place in the import of many of the most bulky articles of our commerce, it is evident, that with reference to the means of employment, our shipping are now in excess, a state of things that necessarily occasions adequate remuneration to be unattainable.

The pressure of distress has driven even the greater portion of foreign shipping from our harbours: \* these astute and sagacious traders, according to their usual custom, have betaken themselves, as we are told, to the ports of other countries, where the state of commerce will afford them a higher remuneration. It is somewhat singular that under such circumstances the splendid American still continues to stick so closely to us; Jonathan has always been hitherto pretty sharp-sighted in every case where his own interest was concerned. Why does he not wish to put in his sickle, and share in the golden harvest these lucky foreigners are now reaping? The ties of blood must surely be the cause, which prompts him not to desert his ancient parent in her present state of decrepitude and decay. But why tantalize us with vague generalities! Let the countries which are said to afford these advantages, and to which foreign shipping is now resorting, be named: the haunts of the swallow in winter, I am afraid, would not be more difficult to discover. From the most authentic sources of information, we know that the shipping interest of every other nation is even still more depressed than that of our own, and that such depression arises from causes perfectly similar. But if sources of profitable employment be now really open to the ships of Prussia, and to those of the north of Europe, from which British vessels are excluded, in what circumstances does this exclusion originate? Is it not the counterpart and retaliation of our navigation law? We tax and we burthen with alien duties the ships of other nations, and we must lay our account in their imitating, whenever they have the ability, so laudable an example. It is said the French minister Villele would have agreed to the conclusion of a treaty of reciprocity betwixt this country and France; but when this inclination was made known by the President of the Board of

\* Vide *Liverpool Albion*, Aug. 24th, 1829.

Trade, to the delegated representatives of the shipping interest in London, they unanimously determined to reject the boon, and the benefits to arise from it, because by giving their sanction to such a treaty, they would necessarily become the approvers of Mr. Huskisson's system. The devotion of these gentlemen to ancestral wisdom, can only be paralleled by that of the Spanish monarch, who, with all due dignity and decorum, would have allowed himself to be burnt to death, rather than suffer any other than the proper officer, to extinguish the fire which endangered his majesty's royal person.

The wisdom of our ancestors may, with some, be wisdom *par excellence*, but as that of our own day is the result of a more enlarged experience, no harm can ensue, if we now and then listen to its dictates. It would perhaps tell us, that human laws are mere measures of expediency, and possess neither the sanction nor immutability of moral precepts: that when the causes which called them forth have ceased to exist, such laws may be modified, and even abrogated, with advantage to the community. That as the curfew was found to be of excellent practical utility at the Conquest, so the Act of Navigation might be expedient and necessary in the days of Cromwell, or the second Charles; but in the age of George the Fourth, when England, from her wealth and power, must, as a matter of course, have the most numerous commercial marine in the world, such petty regulations are not only strictly uncalled for, but positively noxious. That it was neither from stamps nor tea, although the proximate causes, that the disturbances in our North American Colonies really took their origin. These disturbances were generated and fomented by causes far more important; they originated in that busy regulatory system which would fain trammel the growing strength of all that are subject to its influence. This system was, in no slight degree, the occasion of our losing one set of colonies, and if suffered to run the full length of its principle without the change or modification required by times and circumstances, would tend to deprive us of all the others that are worth retaining, the moment they feel themselves strong enough to enter upon a contest with the slightest chance of success.—Your's,

RICHARD MOORSOM.

The publication of this Letter excited unusual stir at Whitby; and Mr. Sadler being in the neighbourhood at Redcar, the opponents of Mr. Huskisson's measures invited him to come over to a public dinner. He came; and on the morning of the day on which the dinner was given, the preceding letter was reprinted in the form of a pamphlet, and distributed freely in Whitby. One being sent to Mr. Sadler and one to his host, both of which were returned unopened to the publisher—and others were also returned with the most uncourteous envelopes or messages. The party met at dinner: and Mr. Sadler pronounced a speech from which, as it has already appeared at length in all the public newspapers, it is not necessary for us to give more than an extract.

Mr. Sadler, after going over the usual common places about the wisdom of our ancestors and the dangers of innovation, proceeded to denounce the return to cash payments and the reduction of the duties on the import of foreign commodities, concluding with the

following remarks on the effect of the free trade system on the shipping interests of the country.

But, gentlemen, it will be naturally expected that I should, on this occasion, advert somewhat particularly to the interests of shipping, as more peculiarly affecting this respectable town; and one to which you pointedly alluded in the written invitation, with which you have honoured me. And first, I may say, that without any appeal to documents whatever, I am certain, that to allow full scope to the reciprocity system, in regard to shipping, cannot but be fatal to its prosperity. When I consider that between many of the ports of England and of the Continent, there are but a few days, I might say, in some instances, hours sail; and when our competitors in the latter, can build their vessels at half the price you can, man them at half the wages, and victual them at less than half the cost, I say, under these circumstances, who does not see that the foreigner will, in this competition, ultimately beat us off our own element, and in the meantime diminish the profits and lessen the wages in every branch of the pursuit. I am aware that you are obliged to employ the ships you already own, and the hands, especially apprentices, you are bound for the present to support, and to increase the activity of that employment in order, though unsuccessfully, to compensate the diminution of profit—a proof of prosperity, as it respects your particular branches of business, as well as those of the manufacturers, according to the economists. But it requires no gift of prophecy to foretell ruin to that calling, whatever be its nature, which no longer affords a profitable return to the capital of the master, nor sufficient employment and adequate wages to the workman.

How the documents are managed or made up which profess to demonstrate an increase of tonnage to an enormous amount, since the period of peace, I hardly know. Perhaps not only the coasters, but the steam-vessels of the kingdom, numerous and large, and repeating their voyages with such surprising frequency, may be occasionally added to the amounts, swelling, therefore, the tonnage in an extraordinary degree; though it is evident that these vessels, valuable as they are in many respects, have hardly any more to do with the shipping trade, properly speaking, excepting as I have heard some one assert, to injure it, and the royal navy with it, than so many stage-coaches; one part of their trade being the accommodation of absentees, and of Irish labourers. But from one of the returns presented last session of Parliament, it appears that British shipping has diminished, comparing 1828 with 1814, to the extent of 769 ships, 275,749 tons, and, what is still more to be lamented, 23,244 men, a diminution of a most melancholy nature, instead of an increase of 20 per cent., which the increase of the population would have warranted us to expect. By other official reports, as quoted by Mr. Robinson, the member for Worcester, who spoke in favour of the petition from the hundred of Blackburn, which I had the honour to present, it appears, for the three preceding years, ending January, 1827, 1828, and 1829, the number of the vessels built in those years respectively, were 1719, 1440, and 1125. Then, as to their tonnage, that exhibited a decrease to this extent, 207,088, 163,946, and 128,752, the amount of the former of the three years exceeding the latter by the appalling difference of above 60 per cent. This statement, I am told, comports with your experience, though it may be contradicted by certain documents put forth for the purpose of out-facing the general distress of this important business. But if in these public reports such enormous discrepancies occur, is not that an imperative reason for a public inquiry, which the advocates of the new system have strenuously refused? Their conduct of itself decides the question, and speaks volumes.

But, gentlemen, I saw the other day, in a personal attack upon myself by a journalist, the British shipping classed amongst those to which the epithet "trivial" was applied. No terms which I have to command can sufficiently reprehend such an assertion, either as to its falsehood or its folly. From the time of our great Alfred, who was alike the founder of the British Constitution and of our fleet, and who so far extended his patronage of it as to confer the privilege of nobility upon him who should cross the ocean a given number of times, even on mercantile pur-

suits ;—from the time of Alfred, I say, down to a very late period, the encouragement and support of the Shipping of England has been made a matter of supreme concernment. Since its creation, however, its most effectual encouragement was probably the Navigation Act, that Magna Charta of English Shipping—(*Cheers*)—which was one of those laws that Mr. Fox eulogized so highly, and the spirit and intent of which Mr. Pitt supported and extended with all his influence, however its letter was modified. Even Adam Smith, who wrote at a period when England had hardly ceased to be an exporter of the necessities of life, and when consequently free trade was not the proposition it now is, but the very reverse,—even Adam Smith asserted the Navigation Act to be dictated by “the most deliberate wisdom.” That Act formed an essential part of the naval constitution of England, if I may so speak ; it was on the faith of that sacred engagement, for sacred it had become in the sight of successive generations of Englishmen, that you, gentlemen, embarked your property, which is now much of it sacrificed and lost by as direct an act of spoliation as if the same power had seized a portion of your estates, which you hold only under the same sanction—that of the law. But, gentlemen, it is not your interests alone which have been sacrificed.—No; in those the Royal Navy of England has been touched ; at the very mention of which he is no Briton whose heart does not glow with feelings of exultation, mingled however, at present, I fear, with those of apprehension and regret. That Navy, which is the shield of England's defence, and the arm of her strength, which has preserved her in the profoundest peace, when a world was leagued against her, which swept the ocean of her enemies, and poured upon their remotest shores her irresistible thunders,—that force without which her military arm would be utterly powerless excepting when raised against our own country, and which has therefore a share in all the laurels Britain wears, as well as those bright and unfading ones which are exclusively her own,—the Royal Navy is put in jeopardy by this anti-national policy,—a worse consequence even than all the personal and private injuries which have been inflicted : as defence (again to quote Adam Smith) is of much more importance than opulence, the Act of Navigation is, (was, he must now have said) the wisest perhaps of all the commercial regulations of England. But that Act, the same school so often alluded to have torn asunder with as little ceremony as they have destroyed that “Old Almanack” of 1688—the Protestant Constitution of the Empire.

This speech being published in all the papers, drew forth praise and censure from opposite parties in an extraordinary degree ; and all parts of the country were strongly excited by it. At this period Mr. Buckingham, being at Scarborough, went to Whitby, where he arrived the day before Mr. Sadler left ; and the announcement of his Lectures in favor of a Free Trade to the East was made public while Mr. Sadler was in town. They were attended by crowded and daily increasing audiences, and of the delivery of the first four, the following account was given in the York Herald, and repeated in the York Courant :—

In our last, we stated, that the celebrated Orientalist, Mr. Buckingham, was about to deliver a series of Lectures at Whitby, in the course of which he would undertake to show the fallacy of Mr. Sadler's views respecting the shipping interest. These lectures have, we are assured, had an effect upon the minds of his enlightened and respectable auditories, which is calculated to *unsettle* their faith in Mr. Sadler's politics, notwithstanding the vividness of that gentleman's oratory. A contemporary has thus noticed Mr. Buckingham's Lectures :—

Mr. Buckingham's arrival at Whitby was just after the dinner given to Mr. Sadler, and while the town was almost exclusively occupied with the denunciations with which the latter gentleman had assailed the principles and practice of the free-traders and political economists. The moment was therefore thought peculiarly unfavourable for the successful reception of Mr. Buckingham's views, as to the

advantages of that free trade which Mr. Sadler had just taken so much pains to misrepresent, as well as to decry. We mentioned in our last, that a highly respectable magistrate of Whitby, Mr. Richard Moorsom, had issued a small pamphlet, containing an address to his fellow-townsmen, and embodying his views as to the shipping interest, and the general misconception which attributed its depression to Mr. Huskisson's measures; which pamphlet, opposed as it was in every respect to Mr. Sadler's notions, was rather uncourtously treated both by this gentleman himself, and by those of his party, to whom it was sent for previous perusal. Mr. Buckingham having been long since known to Mr. Moorsom, by correspondence, arising out of the similarity of their commercial views, became, with that portion of his family who accompanied him in this part of his tour, Mr. Moorsom's guest. This was another circumstance which it was thought might operate unfavourably at the present moment, for the popular reception of Mr. Buckingham's views; and, altogether, the prospect was considered to be unusually discouraging. Notwithstanding this, however, Mr. Buckingham issued, in addition to the usual announcement of his Lectures, an especial invitation to the ship-owners and merchants of Whitby, to whom he pledged his readiness to prove, to their entire satisfaction, that they all suffered great injury from the continued exclusion of their ships and capital from ports under the control of the East India Company, where foreigners resort freely, though British vessels and British subjects are shut out; and that it is not by free trade, but by the existing obstacles which are still interposed to prevent that free trade being extended to all parts of the world, that the depression of the shipping interest has been produced.

And what has been the result? Why, that the Lectures of Mr. Buckingham, held in the very room in which the dinner was given to Mr. Sadler, have been attended by nearly twice the number of auditors which that gentleman had, though such powerful interest, and such especial pains were taken to collect them in the one case, with the attraction of a sumptuous dinner, and excellent wines super-added; while on the other, no step beyond the ordinary announcement by advertisement, was taken, and the fare to be supplied was wholly intellectual. Mr. Buckingham's audiences increased in number each succeeding evening, and on the third, the last to which our information extends, not only was the room entirely filled, but a number of persons, for want of room below, occupied the music-gallery. Among the auditors have been seen the principal merchants, ship-owners, and gentry of the town and surrounding country. Our worthy member, Colonel Wilson, (who, strange to say, happens to be Mr. Buckingham's next door neighbour in London), was observed to be among the audience. Mr. Edward Chapman, the chairman of the dinner given to Mr. Sadler, has been throughout a constant and punctual attendant, as indeed have most of the persons who participated in that festivity. It is to be regretted, that the honourable member for Newark, Mr. Sadler, did not himself remain either to gather new laurels by his exposition of Mr. Buckingham's errors, if errors they be, or to yield the palm to his truths, if, upon examination, they should be found to deserve that character; for either one or the other at least they must be. That he was duly apprised of Mr. Buckingham's intentions, and even urgently pressed to attend them, we happen to know from good authority; but the tranquillity of Redcar appeared to have greater attractions for the honourable gentleman, than a further sojourn in Whitby—flattering as had been his reception among the inhabitants of that place. To be sure, there might have been some disadvantageous comparisons and contrasts, between a speech upon the shipping interests, by Mr. Sadler, who despises all theorists, and will admit of no evidence but that of practical men; but who, at the same time, can really know nothing whatever of ships or seamen, except as a theorist—having been all his life bred and occupied as a trader in linens, in an inland town, and never having either performed voyages by sea, or lived amongst those who had:—we say, that a speech on the shipping interests from such a man, might perhaps have been rather disadvantageously contrasted with a speech on the shipping interests by Mr. Buckingham, who went to sea at nine years of age, who commanded a ship before he was twenty-one, and who has visited almost every part of the globe, by sea and land.

as a navigator, a merchant, and a traveller. The sbrewd ship-owners of Whitby, most of whom have themselves been sailors—could not fail to distinguish the wide difference between a man speaking of that which was perfectly new, and scarcely intelligible to himself—and a man explaining to others that with which he had been familiar from his cradle, and which had formed indeed, the principal object, and as it were the natural and professional pursuit of his life. Yet this is just the distinction between Mr. Sadler and Mr. Buckingham, as speakers or writers on the shipping interest: and we really cannot help thinking, that if the ship-owners of Whitby or Hull, of Whitehaven or Newcastle—of Greenock, Liverpool, or Bristol—think it essential to their interests to have a representative in Parliament, or an advocate at public dinners—a seamen and a navigator is a more appropriate person than a farmer or a linen-draper: and he who unites to theory the most extensive experience and practice—a better man than one who is destitute both of the one and the other.

Mr. Sadler may be a very fit and appropriate person to represent the Duke of Newcastle, in the House of Commons. His Grace himself being confined to the narrow limits of the House of Lords: and he may very adequately discharge all the important duties imposed upon him by his Grace's tenants and retainers in the borough of Newark-upon-Trent: but we repeat again, that on any question connected with shipping and commerce, Mr. Buckingham's practical knowledge and multifarious experience must render him a much more appropriate representative of the shipping and mercantile interests of this great maritime and commercial community. As to the other qualification, the power of communicating vividly, clearly, and agreeably, his own thoughts and feelings to others, it is admitted on all hands, by the universally concurrent testimony of writers on both sides of politics, and by auditors of all parties, that Mr. Buckingham is pre-eminently successful in its display: and the most striking manner in which we can show this, by comparison—is by saying, that while Mr. Sadler, after all the comfort and excitement produced by an excellent dinner, found it difficult to preserve the sustained attention of his hearers for an hour and three-quarters—himself and the whole party halting twice on their way to refresh themselves with a glass of wine (that detestable foreign production which by the mischievous free-trader has been made to supplant the home-production of pure water springing from our native wells, but which there is no sin in drinking, though the political economists who encourage its importation ought to be exiled for commending)—Mr. Buckingham, without any such aids, and without a single pause or interruption for even a moment of time—so completely rivetted the attention of an audience of double the number, at the same place, and in the same room—that during a period of more than three hours, the silence might be described as almost breathless, and its conclusion was, in each instance, terminated by a burst of applause, which sufficiently indicated the feeling universally expressed from all quarters of the room, that the auditors could have remained for three hours longer, without the least sense of weariness or fatigue, so deeply had their feelings and their judgment been interested in the facts, arguments, and illustrations, by which Mr. Buckingham supports the very opposite position of Mr. Sadler's policy, and shows, that in proportion as nations have encumbered their intercourse with each other, by restrictions, they have declined from their high and palmy state, and become powerless and wretched; while in proportion as they have made that intercourse free and unrestrained, they have become wealthy, powerful, and happy.

We are further enabled to add, that in addition to the interest excited in the shipping and mercantile circles of Whitby itself, we learn that a number of wealthy and intelligent individuals, who happened to be there as visitors from Scarbro' and the neighbouring country, were also deeply impressed by Mr. Buckingham's lectures, as to the importance of opening to British enterprize the present monopolized markets and ports of the East. Among those visitors were the Messrs. Strutt, of the extensive Manufacturing Establishment, near Derby, who were accompanied by Mr. Gisborne, a gentleman recently from India; and Mr. William Evans, the knowledge has not the necessary requisite of truth for its foundation? Again, Sir,



late member for Leicester, whose philanthropic and liberal views on all questions of policy and trade are well known. From each of these gentlemen, who attended Mr. Buckingham's Lectures during their stay in Whitby, he received invitations to visit their part of the country, with assurances of a cordial reception, and every aid in the promotion of his public views. Mr. Buckingham returns from Whitby to Scarbro', at the latter end of the present week, in compliance with a very general wish communicated to him by the visitors still at that place, to give the concluding portion of his course; and from thence, we believe, proceeds towards Newcastle, visiting Stockton and Darlington in the way, and returning from Newcastle through Durham to York. The communications from Whitby speak of the continually increasing interest excited on the East India Question; and state, that already the formation of an East India Association, in Whitby, is preparing to co-operate with the other sea-ports and towns of the kingdom, in their efforts to prevent a renewal of the East India Company's India and China monopoly.

This, as might be expected, drew forth a censure from the rival paper, the *Yorkshire Gazette*, which, among other things, attributed the article given above to Mr. Moorsom, impugned Mr. Buckingham's *motives*, as being those of personal vindictiveness, revenge, &c. &c.; inserting also a letter signed 'Amicus,' containing an attack on Mr. Moorsom's character, and imputing to him also *motives* of vanity, &c., the usual trick of those who have nothing better to offer. To this Mr. Moorsom returned the following reply, which not being printed in the *Gazette*, was issued in a pamphlet at Whitby:—

*To the Editor of 'The Yorkshire Gazette.'*

Whitby, Oct. 6th, 1829.

SIR,—Notwithstanding the confidence of your assertion, I beg leave to state, that you are altogether in error in attributing the article, in which Mr. Buckingham's proceedings at Whitby are detailed, to me; and to assure you, that my first knowledge of it was derived from a perusal of the *York Herald*. After this denial, should you still retain the opinion you avowed last week, in this respect, I certainly will not copy the language used by yourself, when animalverting on a similar mistake, but shall be content with observing, that you voluntarily continue in that error, and contribute to its propagation amongst your numerous friends and readers. At the same, Sir, allow me to say, that the article in question is considered to be a very fair and substantially accurate report, by the great majority of those who attended Mr. Buckingham's Lectures; and, moreover, to state, that his reception at Scarborough, despite the most sinister predictions, has been even more gratifying than that which he experienced at Whitby.\*

Should you think proper to give a place, in the "*Gazette*" to this communication, you will, perhaps, also allow me a short additional space for a few observations in reply to the letter of 'Amicus,' my friendly foe.

In the first place, I would ask 'Amicus' if it be consistent and decorous, in one who screens himself under the shelter of a pseudonym, to drag forward before the public the names of respectable individuals, whose only crime seems to be that they refused to fall down before the image which certain persons, in the town of Whitby, wished to set up for general adoration? or is it proper to speak of their private affairs and business transactions, with all the positiveness of seeming accurate information, but in which, in one instance at least, I beg leave to state his

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\* The large Assembly Room at Scarborough was crowded; and among the constant auditors were several persons of distinction, then on a visit to this favourite watering place.

I might presume to inquire, if it be conformable with the friendship he professed to entertain, to attack, in the same guise, a person who has only ventured, openly and without reserve, to state his opinions, imperfect as they are, on a great public question; to represent him as affecting to despise those with whom he lives in the intercourse of society; and even to endeavour to implicate him as a participator in an act of rudeness, which, if it really did take place, no one regrets more sincerely than himself. In regard to the manner in which my 'esteemed production' was prevented from reaching its destination, I have always endeavoured to speak, as much as possible, in general terms; any little irritability of feeling, drawn forth by that circumstance, has long since subsided, and, I trust, indeed I know, that I am not likely to lose any portion of the esteem and friendship of the respectable gentleman who was Mr. Sadler's host, during his visit to Whitby, and which I have long enjoyed, for so trifling a matter. I shall, therefore, at the present moment, only say that no one, but Mr. Sadler himself, could with propriety, have returned the 'esteemed performance;' and if it were thought worthy of that gentleman's public comment, it surely might, without contaminating him, have been submitted to his private perusal.

Common and general usage is a sufficient apology, if apology were necessary, for all who have thought proper to oppose Mr. Sadler, on the occasion of his visit to Whitby. An invitation, from a number of respectable individuals, is sent to the member for Newark; he comes over to Whitby in his public capacity; is expected to make a speech on a great national question, which reporters are sent for, purposely, to take down, in order that it may be disseminated, as extensively as possible, throughout the country, as a manifesto of a powerful party: does not all this note of preparation invite inquiry! is it to be wondered at that opposition should be provoked? It must be a matter of notoriety to all who read the public papers, that such has always been the effect—and always will be, I trust—which has followed a similar course of proceedings. Does 'Amicus' really think, can he, by possibility, be so unacquainted with the political world, as to believe that there was any thing personally uncourteous in the manner adopted in marking the dissent of an individual, however humble, from Mr. Sadler's principles—who considers, erroneously perhaps, those principles to be founded in mistake, fraught with mischief, and likely, if they could fully be followed up, to tend to reduce this flourishing country to the state of New Holland, or Terra del Fuego? Does he require the political economists, 'the strutting gentlemen of the day, who aim at philosophy,' to sit down quietly under the load of obloquy and vituperation with which Mr. Sadler endeavours to overwhelm them? Are they to listen patiently, and hear themselves termed—

'Misbelievers, cut-throat dogs;'

And only be allowed to reply, in a bondsman's key,—

'With 'bated breath, and whispering humbleness,  
—Fair sir, you spit on me on Tuesday last;  
You spurn'd me such a day; another time  
You call'd me—dog; and for these courtesies  
I'll lend you thus much monies.'

So far, Sir, from regretting the course of proceeding which I have adopted on this occasion, in my limited sphere, I only regret that my want of ability disqualified me from opposing Mr. Sadler's proceedings at Whitby still more effectually; at the same time, notwithstanding the insinuation of 'Amicus,' if any expression has been used which any individual may construe as personally offensive to himself, I sincerely wish it recalled and unsaid.

Notwithstanding the dislike which 'Amicus' evinces to the word 'expediency,' I am afraid the quality it expresses must always enter into matters of mere human regulation. Johnson, I observe, defines expedience to be fitness, propriety, &c.,

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• Vide Mr. Sadler's speech *passim*.

as relating probably to circumstances of mere mundane authority, or to the acts of common life. It is expedient to light a candle in winter, or otherwise we must sit in the dark; it is expedient to use an umbrella when it rains, or possibly we may get wet to the skin. These, and such like, are cases of expediency, in which most men will be found to agree: there are others again, the adoption or rejection of which may occasionally lead to an argument. Fifty or sixty individuals, out of a population of 10,000, may think it expedient to invite M. T. Sadler, Esq., M. P., the nominee of the Duke of Newcastle, and who represents the interest possessed by his Grace in the borough of Newark, in the Commons House of Parliament, to a public dinner; the 9950, or 9940 remaining, may, properly, and, as I conceive, without offence, show that they are not convinced of the expediency of such a measure. To proceed a little higher: human institutions are not made for immortality; they must, after receiving grave consideration, be accommodated to the varying circumstances and exigencies of society. Amicus, himself, would not deem the system of William the Conqueror a pleasant or appropriate one, at the present day; and future Amici will be found, ready to denounce that which we now think so suitable to our actual situation.

It was the exigency of circumstances which rendered a revision of our Navigation law imperative, which made an alteration in its principle not a matter of choice, but of necessity. 'So long as the governments of Europe looked upon the plan of discriminating duties for the encouragement of our shipping, if they looked to it at all, as little deserving their attention, and were content, either from ignorance or indifference, not to thwart our system, it would have been wrong to disturb any part of it.' So spake the Trade Minister of Great Britain; what then becomes of the assertion, that 'the shipping interest has been deprived of protection as a principle?' Is there a shadow of pretence set up to show, that the powers of Europe and America were willing still to submit that extra duties should be levied on the ships of their respective marines? On the contrary, is it not well known that some of them had—and others intimated their intention to follow the example—actually placed countervailing imposts on our own vessels? What then was to be done? Were we to pursue a course of imposition for imposition, until trade sunk under the accumulated burthen? The courts of Berlin, or Stockholm, were unassailable by an Act of Parliament, and impervious to an order in Council—were we to declare war, and compel them to desist from extending defensive and compensatory measures of protection to their own subjects? What then remained, but to take off all restrictions which were only injurious to the parties mutually imposing them, and beneficial to a third party not labouring under such a burthen? The Reciprocity Treaties, then, were measures of expediency, rendered necessary by circumstances, and which were adopted, not from choice, but from a desire to mitigate evils from which the commerce of Great Britain was already beginning to suffer.

I am afraid, Sir, I shall have the misfortune to disagree with 'Amicus,' in his next position, 'that the fitting time for such a suicidal act, was chosen in a moment of great depression and suffering.' Now, Sir, it is well known, (leaving out the treaty, of 1815, with America,) that the first important alteration in the Navigation law, was made by Mr. Wallace, in 1821; and before the expiration, I think, of 1825, all the treaties, technically denominated the Reciprocity treaties, had been signed; that with Prussia, which has excited the greatest degree of jealousy and alarm, came into force in 1824, if not in 1823.—I believe, sir, it is a fact which will be allowed by all who are acquainted with the subject, that the years 1823, 1824, and 1825, were years in which the shipping of this country were uncommonly prosperous. I am afraid, Sir, 'Amicus,' my friend, and your correspondent, has not bestowed sufficient attention on this matter: whatever may have been the effects of the Reciprocity System, I think there is no warrant for asserting that it was begun at a moment of 'great suffering and depression.' But it is worthy of remark, that, even from the year 1821 to 1828, (with the exception of 1825, which year exceeded them all, and 1828,) there has been a regularly progressive increase in the quantity of tonnage, required for importing the various articles of merchandise consumed in Great Britain,—a fact which some people will

consider as incompatible with the asserted decline of the country in general; or with that of the shipping interest in particular. The following table, which is appended to a small pamphlet, written by William Richmond, Esq., a gentleman whose friendship I esteem it an honour to possess, and to whose candour and liberality, and widely extended information on every point connected with the shipping question, I take this opportunity of publicly bearing testimony—shews this increase in the clearest manner.

Year.	British Tonnage employed.	Foreign Tonnage employed.	Total Tonnage employed.
1814	1,290,248	599,287	1,889,535
1815	1,372,108	746,915	2,119,023
1816	1,415,723	379,465	1,795,188
1817	1,625,121	445,011	2,070,132
1818	1,886,394	762,457	2,648,851
1819	1,809,128	542,684	2,351,812
1820	1,668,060	447,611	2,115,671
1821	1,599,274	396,256	1,995,530
1822	1,664,186	469,151	2,133,337
1823	1,740,859	582,996	2,323,855
1824	1,797,320	759,441	2,556,761
1825	2,144,598	958,132	3,102,730
1826	1,950,630	694,116	2,644,746
1827	2,086,898	751,864	2,838,762
1828	2,094,357	634,620	2,728,977

This table, which Mr. Richmond professes to have extracted carefully from the Parliamentary returns, and also from the tables of Cæsar Moreau, Esq., is, to say the least of it, curious; a theoretical man, might, perhaps, be permitted to ask how a declining kingdom could require, and a ruined shipping interest furnish, a portion of tonnage for the import of consumable commodities, increasing, in fourteen years, from 1,290,248 tons, to 2,094,357 tons.

But, Sir, I would proceed to question another assertion thrown out by 'Amicus,' that, 'whilst the landed and manufacturing interests have had protection freely given to them, British shipping has been stripped of protection by the reciprocal treaties;' so far, Sir, from this being the case, there is no interest whatever, at the present moment, which is so carefully protected as that of the British ship-owner; short of going to war in order to compel foreign powers to refrain from giving protection to their own subjects, or of imposing a tax on every other class of the community for his supposed benefit, government has done every thing in its power to give him as extensive and exclusive a monopoly as possible. Government might shut out foreign corn, foreign silks, and foreign gloves; they might exclude the wines of France, Portugal, and Germany, if it were only for the purpose of introducing, more extensively, the wine of the Cape of Good Hope, and of compelling those who next entertain Mr. Sadler to drink consistently that gentleman's health, in a sparkling beverage, drawn from a British soil; they might do all this, for it is a municipal regulation within their competency; but they cannot compel foreign powers to allow us to trade freely with them, while we insist on placing particular burthens on their respective subjects. Yet, notwithstanding they have this power, they do not exert it; they allow silks, gloves, wine, and various other commodities, the produce of foreigners, to enter freely into competition, on the payment of duties, with the produce of the farmers and manufacturers of Great Britain and of her colonies, in the home market. Yet, for the ship-owner, all that Government can do it has done; wherever it was possible, it has secured to him a rigid and unbroken monopoly. From the outcry which has been raised against Mr. Huskisson, it might be thought that his policy has swept away every fence and rampart of protection: yet what in reality is the case? it is this: no foreign ship can engage in the coasting trade of Great Britain, or in the British fisheries; no foreign ship can carry on the direct trade betwixt the British West Indies and this country, nor enter the Canada and Nova Scotia

trade for the same purpose,—a trade which employs an immense tonnage, and for the protection of which duties are expressly laid on the superior produce of the Baltic; lastly, no foreign ship can trade betwixt the East Indies, Africa, and Asia, generally, and this country. If these privileges be duly estimated, they will be found to secure, permanently, and *without competition*, three-fourths of our whole carrying trade to the British ship-owner,—privileges, Sir, which I trust he will always retain, for they are strictly British, and, therefore, duly his; while of the remaining fourth, he enjoys as large a share as he ever did at any former period of our commercial history. On what foundation, then, does the assertion rest, that British shipping has been stripped and robbed of protection by the reciprocal treaties?

Before concluding this long letter, permit me, Sir, to protest against the doctrine that, because an inhabitant of Whitby may not at the present moment be a ship-owner, and, because he may not agree with Mr. Sadler in his views, he must necessarily feel no interest in the prosperity of British shipping generally, and of that of the port of Whitby in particular. In the prosperity of the latter branch more especially, every one who is in possession of property in Whitby and its neighbourhood, or has even the remotest prospect of being so, particularly if that property be of a fixed and irremovable kind, is decidedly concerned. The town of Whitby depends on the shipping for its welfare, and the lands in the neighbourhood will, and do, depend on the prosperity of the town, for their value and worth; if the shipping decline, the declension of the town will follow, and then would ensue a depreciation in the value of all the landed property around. Bearing this circumstance in mind, it may, perhaps, be allowed, that many who were absent from the dinner, and whose names are not to be found on a ship's register, may feel quite as powerful an interest in the welfare of this small community, as not a few of the gentlemen by whom the member for Newark was so hospitably entertained.

Yours,

RICHARD MOORSOM.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

I CANNOT refrain from embracing the present opportunity of making a few observations on the editorial article of the *Yorkshire Gazette*, of the 26th of September ult., and which has been deemed so important and masterly as to deserve re-printing. The Editor, quoting from the *Marblesfield Courier*, says, 'This country has exported little or nothing which it would not have exported, if the alterations in our trading system had never been made, except gold, &c.' So, then, according to this very confession, the new system *has* led to an extension of export, which, without such a change, never would have taken place: in addition to what would have been the amount of our exports under the old system, we now, under the new, over and above, export a quantity of gold: thank you, gentlemen, for the admission! It is an important one; let us see to what it will lead us. Gold, it will perhaps readily be conceded, is not the product of our own soil, neither does it descend in showers, nor spontaneously spring up on the sea-shore, to be gathered at discretion, in unlimited quantities. If we, then, want gold for exportation, that it should be imported first, is a necessary condition. How, then, is this effected? we must, I suppose, imitate the example of foreign nations, who wish to obtain possession of our iron, our copper, and our tin; they send us in exchange the various products of their own industry, the enjoyment of which conduces, as we imagine, to our comfort and happiness. In like manner, we are unable to persuade the nations of America, where gold is principally found, to give us that metal for nothing; what resources remains, then, for us to adopt? clearly this: we must tempt them with a supply of such articles of British manufacture as they are willing, and indeed eager, to receive as an equivalent. This, then, is the conclusion which flows, Sirs, from your own admission, that gold in additional quantities has been exported: the New System—the Reciprocity System—Mr. Huskisson's System, has been the means of promoting an extension of the export of British manufactured goods.

' Twelve millions of capital invested in the Silk Trade, have been sacrificed ;' and we are required to give credit to this monstrous assumption, without any exhibition of proof of the foundation on which it rests. If the Editor's information be correct, the Silk masters must be men who refuse to recognize those general principles by which all other human beings regulate their conduct ; they refuse to take warning, and obstinately persist in embarking their capital in a trade which has hitherto been only productive of embarrassment and ruin : it is no compliment to their understanding to impute to them such a mode of acting as this. Yet, if the Editor's statement be correct, such must be the case ; as they still continue to supply the capital which pays for the annually increasing import of raw silk, which carries on the manufacturing process, and fills, year after year, every appropriate shop, in every town, with English silks, of a beauty, lustre, and quality, which, but a short period has elapsed since it was thought impossible they should ever attain. Mr. Sadler seems to think, that the English silk-weavers, driven from the home market by foreign competition, have applied themselves to the weaving of cotton, and have thus increased the distress prevailing in that department of industry. Mr. Sadler is a practical man, and despises theory ; his experience, however, is altogether at variance with the opinion of an individual, who, residing in Manchester, the very centre and capital of the manufacturing district, may be supposed to know something of the matter, and who speaks of the Silk Trade carried on there as follows : ' In the year 1823, the number of looms in Manchester and the surrounding district, producing fabrics entirely of silk, was about 2,500, and of mixed fabrics, of which silk was a part, 3,000. In 1824, the number increased largely ; in 1825, the trade, like all others, was much depressed, and the number of looms decreased. In July, 1826, the admission of French for home consumption silks took place : and ' from that month, (says our informant,) the number of looms employed in the silk trade began to increase.' The year 1827 was, perhaps, that of the best and most lucrative trade the Manchester silk manufacturers ever had ; and in that year the number of looms employed in the manufacture of goods, composed entirely of silk, had risen to 8,000, and that of those employed on mixed fabrics to 4,000, giving an increase of from 5,500 to 12,000 in four years ! The number of looms now employed in the silk manufacture in this town and neighbourhood, we believe, is about the same. There is some change in the proportions employed on the different articles ; but little in the total number. And so far from hands, dislodged from the manufacture of silk by the operation of the new system, having been driven to cotton weaving, it is well known that a very large proportion of the increase of silk-weavers, has been supplied by persons who had always previously been cotton-weavers. In Scotland, likewise, the manufacture of silk has greatly increased, and a similar change from the weaving of cotton to that of silk, has taken place.'\*

The honourable member for Newark seems to fall naturally into ' Eccles' vein : his imagination is so highly poetical that he not unfrequently soars aloft, quite out of reach, and beyond the ken of the common observer. When brought to the test of fact and experience, what are we to think of a passage like the following, which is indeed only the counterpart of many that might be culled from the celebrated speech of this celebrated practical man ? ' With tens of millions of acres wholly uncultivated—millions of which are amongst the richest soils in the world, we habitually employ the labourers of distant countries, while ours are idle, call their fields into cultivation, while we neglect our own.' Whatever may be Mr. Sadler's belief relative to the fertility of England, it is an opinion pretty generally maintained, that our soil, generally speaking, is one of extreme poverty ; that it is only by the care and management which our wealth enables us to bestow upon it, that it can be made to produce at all ; that, without the annual application of manures and stimulants, it would soon relapse into its state of pristine sterility. It is our commerce and manufactures which enable us to keep up this system ; they are, in truth, the foundation and support of our agriculture, which, without their aid, could not maintain its position for half-a-score years. But what does Mr. Sadler

mean by saying we have ten millions of acres of uncultivated land? Is he not aware that the whole superficial surface of Great Britain is not more than 56,000,000 acres; that of these there are not 10,000,000 acres left uncultivated, which are capable of improvement: this is a fact which Mr. Sadler must have well known, for the statement from which it is drawn is given by himself, in his famous book on Ireland; yet, notwithstanding all this, he presumes to tell us, and expects to find credit for his information, that we have still left, untouched, 'tens of millions of acres of land, millions of which are amongst the richest soils in the world,' all calling out for and inviting the operations of the plough in vain. Such assertions may pass muster amid the turmoil of a tavern dinner—when, like Cato, Mr. Sadler—

' Gives his little senate laws,  
And sits attentive to his own applause.'

But they must have a different impress and character before they pass muster in the House of Commons, or be received, as dicta, throughout this inquiring country.

Although, in a commercial point of view, the vine in this country is no longer cultivated for the purpose of making wine; yet there are still remaining, on the southern coast of Devonshire, two or three vineyards, from the produce of which wine is made by the proprietors. So late as the year 1763, there are said to have been sixty pipes of wine, the produce of a vineyard in Sussex, in the cellars of Arundel castle: in the more remote periods of our history, up to the period of the Reformation, wine, the produce of grapes grown in this country, was made in great quantities for home consumption.\* To what causes the decline of this department of national industry is to be attributed, it is unnecessary to specify; perhaps the Sadlers, Eldons, and Newcastles of that day slumbered on their post, and when they awoke found it too late to restrain, by prohibitory duties, the unpatriotic and vagrant palate, which had become accustomed to the more seductive beverage, the growth of Gascony, Burgundy, or Champagne. But, although no longer grown with this object in England, the vine is cultivated in one of our colonies, for the express purpose of making wine: large quantities, as it is well known, both red and white, annually enter the home market; and due encouragement is only wanting to enable us to become independent of foreigners, and to draw all we may want from a soil under our immediate control. Our colonies have always been considered as an extension of our own soil, for the purpose of raising those commodities to the growth of which the climate of England was unfavourable. To encourage their produce, by every means in our power, was always a portion of 'the ancient and genuine policy of this great country,' a return to which is so loudly called for by Mr. Sadler; every attempt to depart from which draws down from him such solemn denunciations. Why do we place heavy duties on Baltic Timber? That we may extend the use of that of Canada. Canada is our own colony, and good policy induces us to do so. Why has all foreign sugars generally been excluded from home consumption? We have in the West Indies our own plantations, it is right to promote their welfare. Why is flour of our North American possessions allowed to enter freely into competition with that grown by the agriculturists at home? Because there, British labour and British capital are engaged in furnishing us with the requisite supply. This course of proceeding has always been a favourite one in our commercial policy, and, as Mr. Sadler well observes, 'to allow British labour to be competed with by foreigners, in our own market, is the most dishonest and cruel policy that ever was ventured upon by any government in the world, to say nothing of its folly.' Will not Mr. Sadler, then, lend his assistance in checking that portion of this cruel and foolish policy which now presses so heavily on the wine of the Cape of Good Hope. Let him recommend it, both by precept and example, the next time he is delivered of a two hours' oration; the complaisant palate of his friends, knowing it to be British produce, will soon invest it with all the qualities from 'humble port to im-

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\* Vide Anderson's History of Commerce.

perial tokay," and with the unbending multitude, he has a remedy ready at hand ; " if 25 per cent. will not do, return to the exclusive system and prohibit." Unless he advocate a measure of this kind, when next he denounces the wearers of French silks and French gloves, there is not a boy on the fourth form of any school in Whitby who will not discern, at a glance, that Mr. Sadler is an inconsistent man.

The axiom of the political economists, that, whatever foreign produce is introduced into England, an equal value of British produce must, either directly or indirectly, be exported in return to pay for it, is characterized as 'an assumption without proof.' The question has often been asked, and we may venture to ask it again, in what manner do the practical men say that the debt we incur for foreign produce is annually liquidated? If the reprinters of the editorial article of the *Yorkshire Gazette* will bring out a *variorum* edition, with notes and a commentary of their own, affording a reply to the above question; such a course of proceeding will tend much to the elucidation of this knotty point, and add greatly to the importance of their publication.

With respect to 'Amicus,' I have endeavoured to shew, and I hope not altogether without success, that he is mistaken in the three principal positions embraced in his letter: that the Reciprocity Treaties were not brought forward as a principle, but were indeed measures which an alteration in circumstances rendered necessary; that they were not entered into at a period of great depression, but, on the contrary, at a time when the shipping interest was *unusually*\* flourishing; and lastly, that the British ship-owner has not been stripped of protection; for Government, while almost every other trade is laid open to foreign competition, to the extent of its ability, has secured to him alone a permanent monopoly. If Amicus can find an opportunity to take up arms, and, dropping his mask, will uphold some of Mr. Sadler's 'great principles,' I shall be happy to profit by his observations; but, should he refuse to comply with the former condition, although I am perfectly sensible of the benefit of which I shall voluntarily deprive myself, I must, with all due humility, beg leave to decline both his friendship and correspondence.

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Official Value of the Exports and Imports of Great Britain in 1800, when, according to Mr. Sadler, this country was flourishing:—

Exports . . . . .	£43,152,018
Imports . . . . .	30,570,605
Total . . . . .	73,722,623

Official Value of the Exports and Imports of Great Britain in 1828, when, according to Mr. Sadler, this country was in a state of decay:—

Exports . . . . .	£62,744,000
Imports . . . . .	45,028,803
Total . . . . .	107,772,803

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\* An eminent merchant of the present day, has remarked, and the truth of his remark is rendered apparent by reference to our commercial annals, that an *unusual* briskness, in any branch of trade, is almost a certain indication that a corresponding degree of depression is at hand; just as, three or four exuberant harvests, in succession, are, not unfrequently, the precursors of a season of scarcity.



**A GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE SUPERFICIAL AREA OF GREAT BRITAIN, IRELAND,  
AND THE ADJACENT BRITISH ISLANDS.**

<b>TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS.</b>	<b>Arable Land and Gardens.</b>	<b>Meadows, Pastures, and Marshes.</b>	<b>Uncultivated Wastes capable of Improvement.</b>	<b>Annual Value of such Wastes in their present state.</b>	<b>Surface incapable of any kind of Improvement.</b>	<b>Summary of each Territorial Division.</b>
	<b>Statute Acres.</b>	<b>Statute Acres.</b>	<b>Statute Acres.</b>	<b>Sterl. Pounds.</b>	<b>Statute Acres.</b>	<b>Statute Acres.</b>
ENGLAND . . . .	10,252,800	15,379,200	3,454,000	1,700,000	3,256,400	32,342,400
WALES . . . . .	890,570	2,226,430	530,000	200,000	1,105,000	4,752,000
SCOTLAND . . . .	2,493,950	2,771,050	5,950,000	1,680,000	8,523,930	19,738,930
IRELAND . . . . .	5,389,040	6,736,240	4,900,000	1,395,000	2,416,664	19,441,944
BRITISH ISLANDS .	109,630	274,000	166,000	25,000	569,469	1,119,159
	19,135,990	27,386,980	15,000,000	5,009,000	15,871,463	77,394,433

To this we have only to add, that as Mr. Buckingham's Lectures on the advantages of a Free Trade to India and China, which closed the Series given by him at Whitby on the countries of the East generally, were delivered in the same room as that in which Mr. Sadler's speech was made, and to an audience of nearly double the number of persons that attended the dinner given to the latter gentleman, it was expected by all, that Mr. Buckingham would advert to what had so recently been said in the same place on the subject of the Shipping Interests especially, which was accordingly done in very nearly the following terms :—

The intimate connexion between this portion of my exposure of the evils of the East India Company's Monopoly, and the Shipping Interest of Great Britain, leads me, by a very natural transition, to advert to the Speech recently delivered in this Hall, and to many of the auditors who now fill it, when Mr. Sadler attempted to denounce, in general terms, the whole system of Free Trade, and to claim for his supporters, in the monstrous proposition of reverting back again to the Monopolies of the restrictive system, the Ship-builders and Ship-owners of Whitby. This appeared to me so inconceivably absurd, that I thought there must have been some misrepresentation of his views, or some misconception of their purport; and it was not until I saw the copious report of his speech, put forth with all the apparent accuracy of an official or authorized version, that I could give full credit to the idea of the Shipping Interests being appealed to, in favour of monopolies and restrictions.

It is remarkable that, but a few weeks before, the Ship-builders, Ship-owners, and Merchants of Greenock,—a port certainly no less eminent than Whitby, whether as respects its population or its tonnage, whether as regards the number or size of its ships, or the variety and importance of the voyages in which they are employed—gave a similar entertainment to myself, at which the chief magistrate presided, on the very opposite view to that which seems to have actuated those who invited Mr. Sadler to Whitby :—namely, in testimony of their conviction that the Free Trade to India, into which they were the first to enter, had been productive of the very highest advantage to the Shipping Interest; and that, instead of reverting back to the monopolies and restrictions, as Mr. Sadler recommends, the greatest benefit that could be conferred on the Ship-builders, Ship-owners, and Merchants of every port in the Kingdom, would be to destroy the giant Monopoly of the East India Company, which still excludes British ships and British seamen from the most valuable part of the globe,—China and the Eastern Seas, where the Americans have, for years past, been reaping an abundant harvest; the Ship-owners of Boston and Salem growing rich at our expense, and the seamen at New York and Marblehead mocking us with derision, and rejoicing in our folly. I believe that, on reflection, the Ship-owners of Whitby will agree with the Ship-owners of Greenock; and that those of Hull, Liverpool, and Bristol, will soon all be of the same mind on the subject.

Let me add, however, that the people of Greenock were unanimous in their views, or, at least, that no dissentient voice was heard; whereas, at Whitby, so far from unanimity prevailing, it is well known that Mr. Moorson's excellent pamphlet, which exhibited in their true light the causes that had operated to lessen the employment for English ships, and which pointed out the only cure for the evil, namely, the still further extension of the principles of Free Trade—represented the sentiments of many other of the principal residents in Whitby; and of the dread entertained of its power, among those who wished it had never appeared, some idea may be formed from the fact, that two of the copies, sent by the printer, at the author's request, to Mr. Sadler's host, were returned to him as rejected, and the copy sent to the same individual for Mr. Sadler himself, intercepted, so as to deprive him of the opportunity of becoming acquainted with its contents.

I advert to this fact, however, principally to shew, that when the honourable

member for Newark pretended, in allusion to this pamphlet, not to have seen it until he entered the room, and on that to ground an apology for his hasty and imperfect analysis of its contents, it was not for want of opportunity, as it was gratuitously and extensively circulated throughout the town, and was in the hands of all those who had uncourteously and, let me add, illiberally, rejected it. But there are some minds so determined to hear nothing that shall disturb their preconceived notions on any subject, that they reject every overture, and shut their ears against every sound, except those that are uttered in praise of themselves and their own views; and Mr. Sadler appears to be one of that class.

If he had remained among you but a few days,—and as his retreat is at Redcar, but a few miles distant, that might, no doubt, have been easily accomplished,—I should, certainly, have taken some pains to increase his information on the Shipping Question, of which he appears to know so little: and, hostile as he declares himself to be to any innovation on that portion of the wisdom of our ancestors which established the Monopoly of the East India Company, I should have claimed his alliance, as one of the most determined opponents, on a ground on which, I think, he must have been compelled either to recant all his former lamentations, or to co-operate with me. He condemns the system of Mr. Huskisson, because it brings the foreigner up to a level with the Englishman. What then will he say of the system of the India Company, which altogether excludes the unlicensed Englishman from the interior of India, where the unlicensed foreigner may roam at pleasure; and shuts out from China and its rich markets all English ships and seamen except their own; while foreigners, of every nation, are free to enter them without hindrance or molestation, and while Americans, more especially, are acquiring vast wealth in channels of maritime commerce, from which all British ships and seamen are pertinaciously excluded? (*Cheers.*)

Now Mr. Huskisson's system of reciprocity, be its effects what they may, is forced upon us by the legislators of foreign countries, who, as long as they are sovereigns in their own respective territories, will make such laws as suit themselves, and who accordingly say to us—'If you impose restrictions upon such of our vessels as enter your ports, we will impose equal restrictions upon such of your vessels as enter our harbours.—If you will employ any of your shipping in foreign trade, it can only be by consent of us foreigners: and we decree, whether it be agreeable to you or not, that, unless you admit us to an unrestricted intercourse between our own ports and yours, we will close up our harbours to your navigation, and destroy your foreign trade entirely.' What answer can we make to this.—We are not at war with all the world, and thereby enabled to command the maritime carrying trade of all nations.—We are, happily, at peace, and every coast that borders on the sea, sends forth its fleets and squadrons. If in the mere coasting trade of the British Isles, and the intercourse between Great Britain and her own possessions, sufficient employment could be found for all the tonnage now possessed by us,—we might then reject with impunity all overtures or propositions of foreigners. But it is notorious, that not half of our shipping could be advantageously employed in these channels only. The Baltic and the Cattegat—the Mediterranean and the Euxine—the Gulfs of Lyons and of Mexico—the Orinoco and La Plata,—are all insufficient to exhaust our mercantile marine: and yet to none of these can we trade without the consent of the several nations that occupy their borders, which consent, they have the right as well as the power, to fetter with such restrictions as they please. It is utterly impossible, therefore, however much we might desire it, for us to force those foreign nations to receive our ships into their ports without the imposition of heavy burthens, unless we will consent to receive their vessels into our own, upon equal terms:—so that unless the Ship-owners of England will consent to limit themselves to the trade along their own coasts, and with their own possessions,—and be ready to burn all the ships which may be found over and above the number necessary for this purpose, (which would be about half the tonnage of the kingdom) there is no alternative but that of Free Trade, and equal duties, in all foreign commerce at least.

In the reciprocity system of Mr. Huskisson, therefore, we are acting under a ne-

cessity imposed on us by the inconvenient, perhaps, but, certainly, the very natural and defensible conduct of foreigners who *lift themselves* up to our level, whether we approve of it or not. But in the monopoly system of the East India Company, no such foreign influence exists.—It is an evil wholly inflicted on us by our own Legislature, for foreigners have nothing to enforce in the matter: and is the greater, inasmuch as even the few for whom it is professedly granted, derive no permanent advantage from it: while every Ship-owner, nay every individual in the country, not belonging to the East India Company, is deeply injured; and from the wreck and ruin of their interests, the unfettered foreigner goes on accumulating every year fresh stores of wealth, and establishing himself in new channels of enterprize and profit, from which it will soon be impossible to dislodge him.

Does Mr. Sadler know all this, and yet contend for no alteration in the East India Company's Monopoly? If he knows it not, then is he unfitted, by his ignorance, for a representative of the Shipping Interests of England: if he does know it, and in the same breath contends that the Free Trade, which brings the foreigner up to our own level, ought to be condemned, while the Monopoly which puts the same foreigner far above that level, and makes *him* the freeman, and the Englishman the slave, should be upheld—then is Mr. Sadler doubly a traitor to the cause he attempts to defend;—the single treachery being a pretended knowledge of that of which we are ignorant,—but the more than double treachery consisting in a perverse concealment or misapplication of knowledge, actually possessed, to the injury of the very cause it is calculated most to serve.

Let me, however, for a moment refer to a few of the passages of Mr. Sadler's address, not as he affected to treat Mr. Moorsom's, professing not to have even seen it till the moment of its being commented on; but after having deliberately read and examined every portion, of which I shall speak. It will of course be quite beside my purpose to advert to those portions of this oration, which, though delivered in Whitby, related to any thing but the subject which Mr. Sadler was expected to dilate upon. I shall confine myself to that portion which more especially affects your peculiar interests: and which, it would appear, from the report of Mr. Sadler's speech, that the honourable gentleman had nearly forgotten. There are some, indeed, who think that his reputation would have suffered nothing by the omission; since, full as is the whole with fallacies, the small portion devoted to the Shipping Question is thickly strewed with error in almost every line. It would, perhaps, have been something like the play of Hamlet, with the part of the Prince of Denmark omitted by particular desire: but it would have saved the author from the imputation now inevitable, that of pretending to treat familiarly on a subject of which he knew not even the rudiments, with a degree of presumption almost without a parallel in the annals of political declamation. He attempts, it is true, to deprecate criticism, by affecting merely to advert to the Shipping Question as a thing that has just occurred to him *en passant*, and sets out by observing that he knew nothing whatever of the manner in which the documents representing the *tonnage* of the country at different periods was made up; whether they included Steam-vessels or not. But, one naturally asks, why, in this state of avowed ignorance, attempt to build up a system, with utter contempt for the most important part of it, a knowledge of the facts on which it ought to be founded? He says, indeed, 'without any appeal to documents whatever, I am *fully certain* that to allow full scope to the reciprocity system in regard to Shipping, cannot but be fatal to its prosperity.'—But Mr. Sadler's *certainly*, however full it may be to his own mind, is a very inadequate substitute for facts and proofs.—If his convictions were built on these, it would have been easy to have communicated them, and they might have carried conviction to others also. If his *certainly* was not so founded, then it is utterly worthless as any other conviction clinging still to error. Still, however, though he knows nothing whatever of the way in which any of the documents respecting the Shipping Interest are made up, and cannot, therefore, discriminate between those that represent the *tonnage* as increasing, or those that shew it to be on the decline:—he rejects the former, and adopts the latter, merely because he wishes to make some shew of cause for lamentation and weeping. In the amount of the *tonnage* belonging to Whitby, there is no doubt a decline; as there is in the amount

of the tonnage belonging to the Navy—some of the largest and finest ships of which are to be seen dismantled in the harbours of Plymouth and Portsmouth, Deptford and Sheerness : and from the self same cause. One of the great branches of employment for the ships of Whitby was the transport-service. Fleets of 300 and 400 sail of ships, conveying or waiting upon armed expeditions in all parts of the world, was no unusual sight during the war : and the fortunes derived by the Ship-owners of Whitby, among others, from ships employed in the transport service, at high prices, with cheap equipments, and little occupation for wear and tear, must have been, no doubt, very agreeable to those who accumulated them. But to lament that the ships and men thus employed had fallen off in number and amount, and to infer from this the systems of national decay, is just about as wise a proceeding as to lament the falling off in the number of line of battle-ships and frigates that were formerly employed ; the melancholy decline which has taken place in the number of men once filling the ranks of our gallant army ; and the still more deplorable defalcation in the consumption of gunpowder and cannon balls. Alas ! that innovation should even have disturbed these halcyon dreams, and, that either our fleet or our constitution, both of which Mr. Sadler tells us was founded by our great Alfred ; should even have been broken in upon ; and that we cannot again return to those golden days, when it was denounced as an unwarrantable luxury for a church dignitary to have clean straw placed in his drawing room every day, while nobles and princes were content to change it once a week ; or when Scotch herrings and English brawn were deemed sufficient for the costliest table ; and ale was the only liquor that sparkled on the board.

It seems, however, that though the old English archers, and those who made their weapons, were lawfully displaced by the musketeers and cannoniers who succeeded them, and the mixture of charcoal and saltpetre superseded the consumption of the ashen arrow, or the beechen bow ; though steam-ships have as legally superseded, in many instances, those which could not be made to sail in the winds' eye—and fuel and water have succeeded to canvas, rope, and wood ; though all this has taken place without any complaint of the injustice of such supercession, the ship-owners of Whitby, whose transports are unemployed, are, by a mere relaxation of the navigation act, as much robbed and plundered as if their ships were sunk, burnt, and destroyed. Hear Mr. Sadler's own words, ' that act (the navigation act) formed an essential part of the naval constitution of England, so to speak ; it was on the faith of that sacred engagement—for sacred it had become in the sight of successive generations of Englishmen—that you, gentlemen, (the ship-owners of Whitby) embarked your property, which is now, much of it, (the unemployed portion of their ships) sacrificed and lost, by as *direct an act of spoliation*, as if the same power had seized a portion of your estates, which you hold only under the same sanction, that of the law !' Can any thing be more grossly ignorant, or more disingenuous than this ? If the laws of England were like those of the Medes and Persians, any change made in them for the first time might excite an outcry ; but in a country where old acts are repealed, and new ones enacted, almost every day during the sitting of Parliament—to hear a member of that Parliament designate a deliberate revision of any law, after infinite investigation and debate, as a direct act of spoliation and plunder, leaves one in doubt whether most to admire the ignorance or the arrogance of the speaker.

But what could be expected from one whose previous habits and pursuits can have given him no *practical* knowledge of any thing relating to shipping ; and who despises all knowledge derived from theory ; who is utterly unacquainted with the documents relating to the subject, and even of the manner of their being compiled ; and who does not seem even to know (though he says he has always *understood* it, from common report, to be so) that Whitby is a noted ship-building station. He had visited it once before ; yet, though this arose from a wish to view so interesting a spot, he remained only for a *few hours*, and yet pretended in that short time to become intimately acquainted with its splendid prosperity in every branch. He comes a second time, and at a long interval, not because he again wished to add to his deficient knowledge from the stores of others, or to communicate any thing of his own to them, but because he is *invited* to lament over the fallen fortunes of

Whitby, and the decline of the shipping interest; and, then he accordingly observes nothing around him but proofs of misery and decay.

Gentlemen, is this really so? Is there any town or port of the kingdom—or I would say of the world—that contains so much wealth, within the same extent of population, or which every where exhibits greater proofs of equally spread comfort, and the total absence of suffering or privation of any kind. I have not, during a much longer stay among you than Mr. Sadler ventured to make, seen a single individual in rags; not one whose countenance exhibited signs of hunger; not one who appeared houseless or destitute, and not one unemployed, or asking alms. Does not, indeed, Mr. Sadler himself more accurately describe the state of your town and population, when he says, 'The ship-builders and merchants of Whitby have lived in other and better times, and are, as I understand, as a body, *wealthy in an unusual degree*, and can, therefore, sustain these reverses, or leave the business, though at great sacrifices, which subjects them to such loss.' This is, I believe, the true state of the case: but it is utterly inconsistent with the lamentations poured out in other parts of the same oration, or the pretended commiseration for the unhappy and unemployed workmen, who are not here to enjoy the sympathy manifested in their behalf, but, like the seamen and soldiers whom the peace threw out of employment, or like manufacturers of gunpowder and cannon, have gradually dispersed themselves in those quarters, and turned their industry into those channels in which employment presented itself to them.

I may refer you, however, as a very striking proof of what the ship-builders of Whitby really desire, and really anticipate, in the opening of India and China, to the ten or twelve ships that are now actually building in your stirring and busy dock-yards, which even Mr. Sadler himself could not have failed to have seen were not idle and deserted, as he pretended to describe them: two of these lying on the stocks immediately opposite the window of the house in which Mr. Sadler himself resided, and one of a large and beautiful class, belonging to his host, destined expressly for the China Trade; both with their projecting prows apparently impatient to plunge into the liquid element, and stem their unfettered way towards the East; one of them with a bust of Lord Eldon at its head, as if about to lead the way; and, I confess, that when the venerable chief shall assemble his adherents, for the purpose of breaking down the restraints which now impede our commerce with the East, I shall be ready to hail him as a leader, and number myself among the most faithful of his followers. (*Loud Cheers*).

Mr. Sadler concludes as he began, by denouncing, what he calls 'the modern system,' and especially that part of it which seems to be pretty current, 'the practice of buying where we can buy cheapest.' He considers this a fatal error: but whether he acts upon the opposite maxim in his own affairs of trade, does not appear. Any man who should follow Mr. Sadler's implied advice and buy where he could buy dearest, would have but a short career.—And yet this is the system by which this friend to Monopoly, and enemy to Free Trade, would pretend to enrich England, and impoverish the rest of the world. If Mr. Sadler will persist in talking of the Shipping Interest, he should, certainly, not address himself to the seamen and sea-ports of England, where the youngest cabin-boy might become his teacher. He might, perhaps, be heard uncontradicted on

'The barren plains  
Of Sericana, where Chineses drive,  
With sails and wind, their cany waggons light.'

For on this 'windy sea of land,' (as Milton most expressively calls it), he might 'wander up and down alone,' and waste his poison on the desert air. But there is not a ship-master, or a 'sea-boy, on the high and giddy mast,' that would not laugh his doctrine to scorn. (*Loud Cheers*).

Let me add a very striking fact, as to one of the causes which has tended greatly to affect the Shipping Interests of this part of the coast more especially; and which was communicated to me by a merchant of Sunderland, as we came together from Scarborough to Whitby. I hold it, indeed, to be one of the great advantages of

the Tour in which I am now engaged, that while I am communicating such information as I possess to others, I am every day accumulating fresh stores from them in return. It appears that, just previous to the Revolution in France, a large fleet of vessels found constant employment between Sunderland and Holland, in the conveyance of coals; this was interrupted by that war, but, on the recurrence of peace, about an equal number of ships entered again into that trade. The changes in the times induced the Dutch to demand, as a condition of the trade, that the Sunderland Ship-owners should freight homeward with Dutch butter and cheese, on the true reciprocity system, which asks, and asks justly, for equal privileges. The English owners, having no objection whatever to any article that paid a good freight, readily acceded to the condition; but the English agriculturists, alarmed lest the productions of their own farms should be lessened in value by this, and acting on Mr. Sadler's views, procured a legislative enactment, amounting almost to a prohibition; the consequence of which was, that the whole of the fleet, formerly employed in this trade, were accordingly thrown out of employment. Who does not see, in this single fact, a complete illustration of the absurdity of a system which affects to foster the Shipping Interests by prohibiting all foreign commodities, and dictating to foreign nations the terms on which they should trade? Indeed, it appears to me that all the absurdities that were ever yet set forth as political axioms, the most absurd is that of Mr. Sadler, who calls upon the Shipping Interests of England to support a system which shall confine the people of this country to the produce of their own soil and industry, to the exclusion of all foreign commodities,—a system which would render ships perfectly unnecessary. It would be the best thing that could happen to the Shipping Interests to see the very reverse,—to have nothing but foreign produce consumed in England, and all our own produce consumed abroad, for, then, twice the number of ships that are now in existence would be required. (*Loud Cheers.*)

I have drawn so largely on your patience, however, during the *five* hours that you have honoured me with your unbroken attention, that I should be most unreasonable indeed were I to ask you to extend it to me for a still longer period, tempting as is the occasion presented me by the fallacies so easy to be exposed. I have confined myself, however, in this notice of Mr. Sadler's speech, to that which, though it ought to have been the most essential, was really the least prominent portion of it, I mean his *allusions*, for he scarcely ventured beyond these, to the question in which his auditors were mainly, if not exclusively, interested,—the Shipping Question. As the honourable gentleman, however, took occasion to quote largely, and from authors of deservedly high repute, in favor of his peculiar views, making even Adam Smith an advocate for restrictions and monopolies; and invoking the shade of Bacon, as a hater of innovation; while Locke and Addison were pressed into the advocacy of views the most aberrant from the general tenor of their writings; I ought not to close without protesting against such a profanation. If the authority of Adam Smith be of any worth in Mr. Sadler's estimation, what becomes of all the denunciations which the latter continually delights to pour forth against the political economists, of which Adam Smith is the prince and chief? If Bacon, whose writings abound with the constant suggestion of innovations and changes, be a philosopher, in Mr. Sadler's estimation, what does he think of that fine passage in which he speaks with due contempt of those who value usage and established institutions above all improvement, and says,—'A froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as innovation; and they that reverence too much old times are but a scorn to the new.' Really, if the writings of the ancients are to be ransacked in support of measures, and with reference to circumstances, altogether beyond their power to anticipate, it is time to oppose to this delusion the testimony of history and experience on the broadest scale; and by shewing what has been done by an encouragement of unfettered intercourse between nations of antiquity, to encourage the hope of what may be done, by following out the same wise course, among the nations of modern times. (*Cheers.*)

After the details which I have given you in the course of these Lectures, of all the objects of interest or importance in Palestine, you will not, I am sure, deem it irrelevant if I shew you, from the most ancient authority in existence, that the vast

wealth acquired by Tyre and Sidon, which gave birth to Carthage, and which exceeded in opulence and splendour all the marts of the ancient world, was wholly by means of foreign commerce. There was no landed interest at either of these places, for the territory occupied by both was scarcely larger than the Isle of Wight; the commerce was extensive and free; and foreign commodities, of every kind and description, were to be found in abundance in both. Let me refer you only to the eloquent yet minutely detailed account, given of its trade and its riches, by the prophet Ezekiel, where you will see that there was scarcely a country of the then known world with which Tyre did not traffic, and scarcely a nation or a people who did not furnish wares, and merchandize, and traders to its port. Of the opulence, natural and individual, acquired by this freedom of trade, what further need be urged than the fact, that of Tyre and Sidon it was deemed an appropriate and characteristic description to say their merchants were princes, and their traders the nobles of the earth.

Nor, while Hiram, King of Tyre, was thus enriching Phœnicia by his wise and liberal policy, was Solomon, the royal monarch of Judea, uninfluenced by the example. His foundation of Tadmor, in the Desert, subsequently called Palmyra, was made wholly for the encouragement of foreign commerce; and whenever the advantages of such commerce be doubted, it may be answered, that this, and this alone, was sufficient to plant in the heart of the wilderness or desert, for so the site of Tadmor was at the period of its foundation, a city, which by the mere operation of foreign trade, without either a landed or a manufacturing interest—for there was not a hundred acres of cultivable soil within a hundred miles of its walls, or a single commodity manufactured within its gates,—rose to a degree of opulence and splendour to which history affords no parallel: and its splendid ruins, the magnificent representations of which, are familiar almost to every one—attest beyond all power of contradiction, or possibility of doubt, the true source of that wealth, by which Solomon in all his glory was surrounded—namely, the vast foreign commerce which was maintained throughout the Mediterranean by the fleets that crowded the harbours of Tyre and Sidon—the extensive foreign trade prosecuted from Ezion Geber, by the Red Sea, to Tarshish, Ophir, and the Isles—and the equally rich and distant commerce carried on from India by the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates to Palmyra, from whence, the foreign commodities of all the Eastern world were imported into Judea, and spread again throughout Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, enriching each, by its exchange for the surplus natural produce, or the industry, of the respective countries into which it found its way.

If a further instance were needed, Alexandria is at hand to furnish it: a city founded by the Macedonian Conqueror whose name it bears, on as barren and forbidding a soil as it is possible to imagine, with an arid desert on all sides round, and with nothing to recommend it but its port and favourable position for foreign trade. By the operation of this alone—for the commerce with India was soon brought to pass through that channel—it attained, in a comparatively short space of time, a degree of wealth and splendour almost appalling by its magnificence, and surpassingly colossal in its features, even in that most wonderful of all wonderful countries, Egypt. In Alexandria, a city, one of the streets of which alone was ten miles in length and two thousand feet in breadth, were, at one time, upwards of four hundred theatres, or places of public entertainment; and the fleets that crowded its harbours, and the foreign merchandise, for the trade was almost wholly foreign) that enriched its inhabitants, were upon the same scale of magnitude and splendour.

In later times still, the Island, or the barren Rock of Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf—equally with all the places I have yet named, without a landed interest—a mere speck in the extent of its surface, and destitute alike of soil, verdure, water, or any of the materials of agricultural wealth, became, by its foreign commerce, a place of such extraordinary opulence, that the descriptions given of it, by the early voyagers, appear almost fabulous from their extravagance, yet the corroborating testimony of all the best authorities of the times leave no doubt of its wealth and grandeur being almost unequalled; a circumstance which our own Milton, whose appropriate application of his vast learning is as much a subject of admiration as



the sublime genius of his muse, emphatically embodies in his magnificent poem, where, in order to assemble together all the images of greatest grandeur that even his imagination could collect, to shew the overwhelming splendour of the Satanic glory, he says—

‘ High on a throne of royal state, which far  
Outshone the wealth of Ormuz, or of Ind,  
Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,  
Showers on her kings Barbaric pearl and gold,  
Satan exalted sat.’

Another instance and I have done : but this, too, shall be one in which the effect is purely one of foreign trade, unsupported by any landed interest, and as independent also of fetters and restraints as each that has gone before it. I might have spoken of Florence and Livorno, of the mighty republics of Genoa and Venice, but your own recollections will supply the chasm, while I advert only to this last link in the great chain of causes and effects, as one formed in our own day, I mean the little Island of Singapore. While the whole Eastern world, with its population of 400 millions, has remained stationary in some parts, and retrograded in others, under the blighting influence of monopoly and restriction, the little Island of Singapore, scarcely marked on any of our charts fifty years ago, and when first known, known only as a nest of pirates, and a den of wild beasts, was selected as a fitting spot for trying the experiment of Free Trade in the East ; and in the short space of three or four years only, population flocked to it from all the surrounding shores—a town sprung up, as if by some magician's wand ; its harbour was crowded with fleets, bearing the flags of every maritime nation on the globe ; its merchants extending their operations in every direction with success ; and its population every day augmenting in numbers, wealth, and happiness. But this was so severe a censure on the system of monopoly, which reigned every where else in the East, that it could not be suffered to endure ; and, accordingly, the East India Company used their influence to check this prosperity, and succeeded : so true is it, as has been most emphatically said, that ‘ Monopoly is the fruitful source of error, oppression, and crime.’—(Cheers).

Need I say more of Mr. Sadler's views, than that they are directly opposed to that wise and liberal system which was the cause of all the wealth enjoyed by Tyre, Sidon, Palmyra, Alexandria, Florence, Genoa, Venice, Holland, and every other country that was ever yet distinguished for its opulence, in ancient or in modern times ; and that he would carry us back to those monopolies and restrictions, which have reduced Spain and Portugal, from the splendour of their ancient days, when the sun never set on their dominions, to the degraded and miserable condition in which they now lie prostrate at the feet of the nations, a bye-word and a scorn to them all.

Sirs, our greatest error is, not in encouraging the branches of commerce that are already free, but in obstructing the growth of those that are deprived of the free atmosphere in which alone they can flourish. Commerce is a tree that delights not only in a goodly soil, in copious moisture, and a ripening sun, but needs, above all, full scope and play, to stretch forth its mighty branches, to wave them freely in the wind, and let the circumambient air play round its leaves in fresh and invigorating freedom. It will then so spread itself abroad, that the nations of the earth may all repose beneath its shade ; while its branches extend so far and wide, that in their turn they again become the roots of new and ample trunks, resembling, in the language of Milton, the Eastern tree—

—‘ Such, as at this day to Indians known,  
In Malabar, or Decan, spreads her arms,  
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground  
The bending twigs take root, and daughters grow  
About the mother tree, a pillared shade,  
High, over-arched, and echoing walks between.’

Sirs, the parent tree is already planted, the soil is rich, the waters that British industry is ready to pour around its roots are abundant, the climate is congenial to

its growth; the blighting atmosphere of monopoly alone impedes its progress. Let the legislature of England but permit the free intercourse of her sons with those Eastern daughters, who now await their coming, and both the mother country and the offspring shall rejoice at the union. Let those 'over-arched and echoing walks' reverberate with the spirit-stirring sounds of freedom, nor ever cease their echo till monopoly be banished from the earth, and her very name held in remembrance only as a curse, that once afflicted mankind, but which can never again return.—(*Loud cheers*).

At the close of this speech, which terminated a Lecture on the Evils of the East India Monopoly, and occupied nearly five hours and a half in the delivery, and was listened to throughout by a crowded auditory, with intense attention, interrupted only by occasional bursts of applause, a vote of thanks to Mr. Buckingham was voted, seconded, and carried by acclamation.

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### PROGRESS OF MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LABOURS IN THE COUNTRY.

We have the pleasure to state, that Mr. Buckingham's reception throughout all parts of the country, visited by him, continues to be as flattering as ever, and marked with the same success, as far as regards the continued advancement of the public cause in which he is engaged. The following are the resolutions which have been passed at the three places visited since our last, namely, Whitby, Darlington, and Stockton:

At the close of Mr. Buckingham's Lectures at Whitby, the following Resolutions were moved by Richard Moorsom, Esq., seconded by Thomas Watson, Esq., and carried unanimously:

1. That, this audience begs leave cordially to thank Mr. Buckingham for the information and entertainment they have derived from his concluding Lecture, and from those of the course which the persons now present have respectively attended.

2. That, as the East India Company's Charter of exclusive privileges will soon expire, by law, and the nation will be again appealed to for its renewal, it is important that every branch of the community, and more especially those connected with the shipping interests of the kingdom, should possess themselves of the best information on this subject, in order to guide their judgments as to the course to be taken when the question becomes one of national discussion.

3. That, as the best means of collecting such information, and of acting upon it as the nature of the case may require, an association be formed, to be called 'The Whitby East India Association,' to which all the respectable inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood be invited to unite themselves; and that the following Gentlemen be constituted a Provisional Committee, with power to add to their number, and to form and organize such an association accordingly.

#### Names of the Committee.

Robert Campion,	Richard Moorsom, jun.,	Thomas Watson,
Christop. Richardson,	John Campion,	Nathaniel Campion,
Richard Moorsom,	Rev. John Drayton,	Rev. Wm. Blackburne,
Rev. Francis Pope,	Joseph Mellanby,	George Impey.

At the close of the Lecture at Stockton, October 17th, on the East India Company's Monopoly, the following Resolution was moved by Thomas Walker, Esq. (late Mayor, the present Mayor being absent from Stockton), seconded by Richard Jackson, Esq. and carried unanimously:

That this meeting begs most respectfully to present to Mr. Buckingham their

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grateful acknowledgments for the valuable intelligence he has conveyed in his Lectures, respecting the important and interesting inquiry connected with the Eastern world, and for his persevering efforts for extending the intercourse with India; which, if carried into full operation, would greatly tend to enhance the religious, civil, and commercial interests of the British empire.

The following Requisition was subsequently signed and published :

*To the Worshipful the Mayor of Stockton.*

We, whose names are undersigned, request you will call a meeting of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Stockton, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of removing the restrictions imposed upon commerce by the present Charter of the East India Company; and of prevailing on the legislature to secure to the public all those benefits which a free commercial intercourse with India and China is capable of affording.

Stockton, Oct. 21st, 1829.

Wm. Skinner,	G. W. Todd,	T. Mills,
Wm. Skinner, jun.,	Robt. Wilson,	Richard Ableson,
Thos. Walker,	Thos. Fall, jun.,	Robt. Bald,
Rich. Jackson,	Thos. Robinson,	W. Fallows, and Co.,
Geo. Skinner,	Richard Walker, jun.,	Wm. Robinson,
Ant. Dobing,	John Proctor,	T. Bell,
Joseph Neville,	H. R. E. Wright,	William Gent,
T. Jennett,	Joseph Wetherall,	Joseph Wade,
R. W. Thompson,	John H. Skinner,	Bart. Gibson,
John Stagg,	Thos. Fall, sen.,	John Grant,
Thomas A. Tennant,	Thos. Feles,	Wm. Sanderson,
Wm. Milburne,	R. Hunter,	Thos. Robinson,
And. Sanders,	Thos. P. Dickinson,	J. Knaggs,
Geo. Smith,	Thos. Farmer,	T. Wren,
Robt. Jordison,	Robinson Watson,	Joshua Byers,
Alfred Brady,	T. Ayres,	C. Lodge.

In pursuance of the above requisition, I do hereby appoint a meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Stockton, and the neighbourhood, to be holden at the Town-house, in Stockton, on Monday, the 26th instant, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, for the purpose of taking the same into consideration.

Stockton, Oct. 23d, 1829.

Robert Lamb, Mayor.

At a public Meeting held in the town of Stockton-on-Tees, in the County of Durham, on Monday the 26th of October, 1829, Robert Lamb, Esq. Mayor, in the Chair, it was

Moved by Wm. Skinner, Esq., and seconded by J. S. Buckingham, Esq.,

1. That, a free trade with India, China, and the populous countries of the Eastern world, would be eminently beneficial to the manufacturing, mercantile, and shipping interests of the kingdom.

Moved by Thos. Walker, Esq., and seconded by J. H. Skinner, Esq.,

2. That, in addition to the national benefit thus to be obtained, such an intercourse would materially advance the spread of knowledge, morals, and sound religion, through countries now immersed in the grossest idolatry.

Moved by Edward Pease, jun., Esq., and seconded by Thos. Ayres, Esq.,

3. That, as the only existing obstacle to this freedom of intercourse, is the continuation of the East India Company's monopoly, it is desirable that the inhabitants of the town of Stockton and its neighbourhood, do form themselves in an Association, for the purpose of co-operation with other associations to prevent, if possible, the renewal of a monopoly so injurious both to England and to India,

Moved by Mr. Robt. Ball, and seconded by Mr. Geo. Skinner,

4. That, an Association be therefore immediately formed, to be called, 'The Stockton East India Association,' and that the following gentlemen do constitute a Committee, with power to add to their number, for completing its formation, increasing its number, and carrying its general objects into effect.\*

Moved by Thos. Jennet, Esq., and seconded by Thos. Allison Tennant, Esq.,

5. That the thanks of this meeting are due, and be given to J. S. Buckingham, Esq., for the important information he has furnished us on the East India Trade; and for the exertions he has made to improve the commerce of the country with the East Indies and China.

Moved by Rich. Walker, Esq., and seconded by Robert Jordison, Esq.,

6. That, these resolutions be printed, and that the Mayor be requested to sign them, and that they be published in the *Courier* and *Globe* London evening papers, and in the papers of the country, as well as communicated to the existing East India Associations, in different parts of the kingdom.

Moved by Thos. Walker, Esq., and seconded by T. A. Tennant, Esq.,

7. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Worshipful the Mayor, for his able and impartial conduct in the chair, this day.

(Signed)

Robert Lamb, Mayor.

At a very numerous and respectable Meeting of the inhabitants of Darlington, held at the Old Assembly Rooms in Blackwellgate, on Saturday the 24th of October 1829, it was unanimously resolved—

1. That the near approach of the period fixed by law for the expiration of the East India Company's Charter, renders it necessary that the most accurate information should be obtained with respect to its operation on the welfare of this country and of India, in order that a right direction may be given to the public mind when the question of its Abolition becomes a subject of public deliberation.

2. That in the opinion of this Meeting, the existing restrictions on the commerce of the East and British rights, in British Colonies, have proved a barrier to the prosperity of this nation, and prevented the spreading of the benign influence of Christianity amongst the many millions of the East.

3. That in the present depressed state of the commercial and shipping interests of this country, it becomes an imperative duty to endeavour to open such new channels of enterprise as will usefully and profitably engage and stimulate its languishing energies.

4. That as associations have been formed for the purpose of receiving and diffusing such information as tends to the illustration of this momentous question, in most of the principal towns of the country, it is desirable that the inhabitants of Darlington should also interest themselves in forwarding the general object of obtaining for England and India such advantages as the most improved system of commercial intercourse between the two countries, and also between England and China will admit of.

5. That with this view an Association be formed, to be called 'The Darlington East India Association,' and that the following gentlemen be requested to form a Committee, with power to add to their number, for the purpose of giving efficiency to the Association in such a manner as they may deem best calculated to promote its design, namely,—The improvement, prosperity, and happiness, of the British possessions in the East.

6. That the grateful thanks of this company are due and be given to James S. Buckingham, Esq. for the great pleasure which his lectures have afforded, and this

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\* The names are the same as in the Requisition to the Mayor, given in a preceding page.

meeting further feels anxious to encourage that gentleman in the pursuit of those arduous exertions, which cannot fail to prove successful in arousing the attention of the British public to a subject deeply involving its character and interests, and the welfare of our Asiatic Dominions.

The following are the names of the gentlemen who have consented to act on the Committee proposed :—

John Allison,	William Hartley,	Joseph Pease, jun.
Jonathan Backhouse,	George Middleton,	William Raymer,
William Backhouse,	William Ord,	William Riddsdale,
Robert Botcherby,	Richard Otley,	Dearman Robson,
Thomas Buttery,	Reddees Peacock,	William Robson,
John Coutes,	Edward Pease,	John Smurthwaite,
William Dove,	John Pease,	John Trenholm,
George Heighington,	John B. Pease;	Bright Wass.

#### MR. BUCKINGHAM'S SPEECH AT THE ROYAL EXCHANGE DINNER, GLASGOW.

*From 'The Greenock Advertiser,' Sept. 8.*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—There is a measure of applause which begets and quickens utterance of speech ; there is a measure also which impedes, and even takes it away. This last you have bestowed on me so abundantly,—my cup may be said to be so filled to overflowing, that it is matter of wonder even to myself, that I should be able, strong as is my desire—to give any expression whatever, even the most inadequate, to the feelings with which so large a measure of your approbation cannot fail to overpower me. When I had last the honour of sharing with you the festive pleasure of your hospitable board, I was unconscious that a renewal of such enjoyment was so near at hand. I had anticipated, indeed, that by this time I should have been in the sister island, but an accidental interruption of my progress which has occurred, and which I regarded at the moment as an evil, adds another to the thousand instances that crowd upon my recollection, in which a shadowy evil has become a substantial good—for have I not reason to rejoice at any event which leads me to linger among you yet a little longer, and which tends to cement more firmly the friendship already so strongly entertained ? I do indeed rejoice that the opportunities of our social and festive intercourse have been so multiplied, and that they have not been,

Like angels' visits, few and far between.

The last occasion on which we met together, was one of a most interesting description ; but yet, though clothed with all the pomp and splendour that your efforts could bestow, it was not in the least degree more interesting or more important, either in a national, or, if I may use the phrase, in a domestic point of view, than this. Your object then was to facilitate the intercourse between two particular districts of your town. Your aim is now to unite, not merely two, but every quarter of your populous and flourishing city, by forming a point of union, in which, the wealth, intelligence, and enterprise of the whole community may find the combination of circumstances most favourable to their development ; and in which, once, at least, between every rising and setting sun, the opportunity may be afforded to every frequenter of this Central Mart, to open up his stores of information, and to communicate his wants and wishes, as well as to receive from others the same free gift of their intelligence, and to hear the free expression of their desires, in that cordial and friendly reciprocity which, like the dew of heaven,

Is twice blest,  
Blessed in him that gives and receives.

The clear and convincing manner in which the innumerable advantages of such a

Public Institution have been already so fully detailed, would make it idle repetition for me to go again over the same well trodden ground. But I must hazard a remark at least on one particular feature of such a 'Gathering' as this will every day afford, which has not been sufficiently expatiated upon. It is the humanizing and refining tendency which such meetings have to round off, from the minds of men, those sharp angles of prejudice, which, under less favourable circumstances, are sure to project beyond the surface, and destroy both the simplicity and the beauty of the mental form. In all large cities and ports, in every part of the world, where men meet so frequently and so freely as you will now do, taking rank, as you deserve, with the most distinguished among them all, the gusts and tempests of political passion subside into temperate atmosphere of ordinary calm, and even the leaders of hostile parties in the State, as well as their humble followers, can differ in opinion on matter of public policy, and yet in private or social intercourse forget that they are ranged under opposite banners in the field. In the smaller towns, on the other hand, the mere absence of places of free and frequent resort, occasions each adherent of a separate creed in politics, as well as faith, first to greet coldly when accident throws together—next to shun each other's recognition when they pass—and lastly, to merge from coldness and silence into scarcely disguised hostility, and from thence to open war. This is the Upas tree that poisons social intercourse in almost all the smaller places of the kingdom, where some distinctive colour, badge, or epithet, will so divide even families as well as individuals by an impassable gulph—that the factions of the white rose and the red, and the wars of York and Lancaster, are acted over again, by those who have every thing that characterized these factions, except their self-devotion and their dignity. By such a daily assembling as this Institution will afford, whatever remnant of this spirit may yet linger in your society will speedily disappear. As the rays of the glorious sun are never entirely withdrawn from the British dominions—his morning rays gilding the minarets of Delhi and the pagodas of Benares, before his setting beams have spent their last splendour on the Christian spires and steeples of Quebec—and as the waters of the Ganges and those of the St. Laurence receive equally, and at the same moment, his earliest and latest light—so may we hope here to see the East Indian and the West Indian, as they have been to-night associated in our toasts, no longer rivals but friends—the African and the Hindoo—the swarthy Negro and the fair Canadian, subjects of the same king, servants of the same master, worshippers of the same God, united in a patriotic as well as philanthropic bond, silken in its softness, but adamant in its strength. Then, indeed, may we also hope to see such an amelioration in the condition of each, that both may become the harbingers to their fellow men, in woods and deserts yet untrodden by a Christian foot, of those 'glad tidings' which the greatest monarchs have rejoiced to hear—then may we hope to see what cannot be accomplished until those pitiable distinctions that now divide mankind be blended into shade, the African and Hindoo themselves the introducers of Civilization into their respective regions, when, personifying this Universal Good, we may hope to see her thus advancing over all the darker spots of our still undelineated globe, and chasing away, by her effulgence, the mists and shadows of ignorance; thus—to transfer from another subject the language of your own native poet, Campbell, whom I am proud to number among my friends—thus should we see Knowledge penetrating even the remotest wildernesses of Asia and of Africa,—

Led by her dusky guides—like morning brought by night,—(Reiterated and prolonged cheering.)

But there is one great essential, without which, even the splendid edifice you have erected for this most useful purpose, would be unavailing, namely, *liberty* to meet and breathe your thoughts as freely as the air. This, indeed, you happily possess, and therefore it is that I the more readily appeal to you on behalf of those who have it not.—Where? I can imagine a hundred whispers to ask, and I shall answer where. In that rich and beautiful, but injured and oppressed country, India—of which I have spoken so much before, but though I have spoken of it so fully, I believe I have never told you this:—At the very recent period when the East India Company, in the arrogance and insolence of irresponsible power, introduced a Stamp Tax into India, and contended for the legal right to tax every man, British,

Foreigner, or Native, at their will and pleasure, a humble memorial was drawn up by the British Merchants, to be presented to the Bengal government, praying the suspension of the law till reference could be made to the superior authorities at home; and, with a view to the general convenience, a meeting of the leading mercantile men was called, to take place in the Exchange Room at Calcutta. The number could not exceed fifty, all men of the greatest eminence for wealth, talent, and character—the only object being to shape their memorial, by conference and revision, so as to render it as acceptable to the Government as possible, consistently with the expression of their prayer. Will it be believed? and yet, however incredible, it is undeniably true—that the Government of Bengal absolutely prepared to send a troop of soldiers to disperse these assembled petitioners by the bayonet or the bullet, as the case might need! when, doubts being suggested as to the legality of this—and the Advocate General for the time being referred to—his answer was, that by the law of England, an individual taking away the life of any Englishman so assembled would be guilty of murder, and be responsible to the laws of his country for his crime: an opinion which shook the *courage* of these Eastern despots, and the troops were countermanded. Thank heaven, Sirs, that you do not live under such an iron, or, should I not rather say, such a bloody rule as that. Let me not, however, prolong this interruption of your interesting proceedings. I feel powerfully, and therefore I express myself with corresponding warmth. And this too, has given me a burst of momentary inspiration, which the sight of the venerable patriot at the right hand of the chairman, Sir Walter Stirling, turns into a local channel, as his presence revives the recollection of the allusions which he made on the last occasion of the meeting, to the quarterings or emblems of your City Arms. Remembering these, and desiring that under these auspices you should assemble all your forces, and unite them in one irresistible phalanx to overthrow the gigantic Monopoly of the East—and wrest from its withering grasp the commerce that is your birth-right and your portion, though still unjustly withheld from you—I would say

‘ Oh! for a herald’s voice, of mightiest power,  
Amid the triumphs of this festive hour,  
To make the war cry o’er your mountains bound,  
And every glen re-echo back the sound.  
Seek ye for banners?—Here, in this bright field  
Behold them, blazoned on your civic shield—  
The Bell—that bids ye wake the slumbering world,  
The Bird—that bids ye fly with sails unfurled,  
The Fish—that bids ye sweep the trackless route,  
The Tree—that bids ye pluck the ripened fruit,  
All, all proclaim—the Bird, Bell, Fish, and Tree,  
Let Glasgow Flourish—and let Trade be free.’

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### DISCONTENTS OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN INDIA.

We did not speak without book two or three days ago, in hinting at the results which would be likely to follow from an enforcement of the official orders for stripping the military officers of the East India Company of half their customary allowances.

The ‘penny wise, pound foolish’ nature of this attempt to exasperate the only friends on whom the Company might have reckoned for the protection of an empire—we will not say how acquired or how governed, or surrounded by what variety of dangers—is already discoverable, 1st, from the alarming letters addressed to the Governor-General of India by four great departments of the Bengal Army,—viz. the Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry, and Medical Staff; and 2d, from the official circular of the Adjutant-General at head-quarters, in reply to the remonstrances from the several corps, announcing that Lord WILLIAM BENTINCK, (a perfect

honest and well-meaning man, but) the most inflexible of all descendants from a Dutch forefather, would transmit to Leadenhall-street the complaints of the army, and recommend to the Court of Directors a re-consideration of their obnoxious project. The petition and remonstrance of the Bengal Artillery, proceeds from one of the most respectable and celebrated corps in the world. It is signed by Brigadier-General MACLEOD, and forty-four other officers, of whom nine are of the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and Major.

The memorial of the 3d Light Cavalry has the signatures of Colonel HAWTREY commanding, and of fifteen brother officers. This appeal to the Government appears the more serious, because it comes from parties who confess that they are not in their own persons likely to be injured by the proposed reduction of Batta; but that their regard for the 'welfare of the army' compels them to make common cause with those branches of it which the measure threatens to affect. When a military body present themselves as complainants on the strength of *fellow-feeling*, where they have no personal stake, matters begin to exhibit a somewhat gloomy aspect.

The Artillery memorial declares the authors of it to be 'wholly unable to bear quietly a permanent reduction from that which was before hardly adequate to a decent maintenance.'

The Cavalry 'cannot submit *silently*' to the operation of the order, &c.

The Infantry announce, that the cheerfulness and promptitude heretofore evinced by them in the discharge of their duty, will give place to feelings of 'dissatisfaction and despondency,' with which it is not in human nature to combat.

The body of Medical Officers exclaim against the curtailment of their allowances for medicines, &c., and plead many peculiar grounds and reasons which make their situation under the intended blow one of intolerable hardship.

The whole correspondence manifests on the part of the army a rooted conviction of the *injustice* practised on them in this instance, charging the Company, in measured though unambiguous language, with the most unfeeling cruelty towards faithful servants, whose lives have been devoted to its service, and with a gross violation of those compacts, expressed or implied, in reliance on which the officers of the native army had abandoned their distant home, and embraced the chances and contingencies of a protracted exile, in the hope of at last possessing a moderate competence wherewith to end their days in easy and decent repose. We do not say that the advisers of this disastrous parsimony have meditated a general embroiling of the affairs of India, as a warning, in the nature of '*Noli me tangere*,' to the Government and people of England, should there be any where an inclination to relieve the Company from the toils of empire, and to take their dominions into the keeping of the state; but if the wish in Leadenhall-street were to throw India into confusion,—to disgust the Parliament and the nation with its concerns,—so that thus on the eve of an expiration of their charter the whole property might be blown upon, as it were, and the Company enabled to buy it in on easy terms—why, we submit, that if (a supposition which we allow is *absurd*) so laudable a scheme were meditated, no more promising way to execute it could be found than to plunge the native force into a general mutiny, and invite an army of foreign invaders to the Indus. The statesmen of Leadenhall-street (able managers though they are) may be deceived in their expectations of subduing, by late wisdom, the storm which their imprudence, if not their injustice, has generated.—[We insert this article from the chief organ of public opinion in England, in order that our Indian readers may be apprised of the sensation excited in London by the annexed Memorials.—ED.]

INDIA.—MEMORIAL OF SIR ALEXANDER MACLEOD, C. B., COMMANDANT OF ARTILLERY, AND THE OFFICERS AT THE HEAD-QUARTERS OF THAT CORPS.

No. 1.—Copy of the Memorial sent to Government from the Head-quarters of the Artillery.

Dum Dum, Jan. 6, 1829.

SIR,—I have the honour to request, in my own behalf and in that of the officers whose signatures are annexed to the accompanying separate paper, that you will

*Oriental Herald*, Vol. 23.

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lay before his Excellency the Right Hon. the Commander-in Chief, to be by him submitted to the Governor-General in Council, and supported by him as our natural and constituted protector, our most respectful representation of the feeling of dismay with which I, and the said officers of artillery, have been impressed by the promulgation of General Order No. 254, Nov. 29, 1828; feelings which must, we believe, be equally participated by all the officers of the regiment, when these orders become known. We need not now submit for the consideration of his Lordship the disappointment which the army suffered, when so large a defalcation from regimental allowances, in particular situations, to a proportion of the officers of the army was made by the batta arrangement of 1801, nor the expectations, resting, as we believe, on grounds as valid as the most solemn engagements, which were entertained by us, our parents and guardians, when we devoted ourselves to serve in a distant country and uncongenial climate, that the allowance then established should be continued to us during our period of service. We do not press these considerations, not only because we feel persuaded they are too prominent to have escaped the deliberate and serious attention to which they are entitled from the Government, but because we feel pressed by motives of greater and more immediate urgency, as well as of a deeper interest, by addressing ourselves to principles of necessity, humanity, and policy.

The abstraction of superfluity might be received with indifference, and an overpowering *state necessity* might reconcile men of honourable principles to temporary privations; but when no imperious necessity is alleged, we cannot contemplate successive reductions from our personal allowances with indifference, or refrain from declaring ourselves wholly unable to bear quietly a permanent reduction from that which was before barely adequate for a decent maintenance, without viewing with despair the poverty entailed on us, and the consequent distress we must suffer, and which must ultimately lead to our renouncing those expenses ever deemed necessary to foster our feelings and support the habits required from us, in order to maintain the respectability of our profession and the inefficiency of the army of which we form not the least important part. We assure his Lordship that regimental allowances, including half batta, half tentage, and reduced house rent, are insufficient to provide for decent food, lodging, and clothing to subaltern officers, and are wholly incompetent to the maintenance of officers of every rank who have families, at any station in this Presidency, but at those stations in particular which have been selected for the present arrangement, where the existing system in regard to quarters and other expenses, has been so long established (but it is probably more difficult than at any other to curtail our expenses were it possible.) Unmarried officers must in future remain so; but to those who, under different expectations, have already entered that state, and to the subaltern officers, there is no remedy beyond the redress we trust they may yet receive from a re-consideration of the consequences of the orders in question.—Against such a state of privation of all domestic enjoyment, and of continued banishment from our country and friends, we hope the army at large will not plead in vain. But we, in particular, respectfully appeal to the Commander-in-Chief, whether the nature of the Artillery service, and the constitution of the regiment, does not expose its officers to especial charges in the performance of their duty beyond those likely to fall on other classes.

We cannot do our duty in the field without being mounted—an expense borne by the State in his Majesty's Service; and we are liable to constant detachment duty with small parties, and to removals, as vacancies or the events of the service demand, from one branch, or one troop or company, or any one artillery station, to another, not unfrequently at very great distance asunder, necessarily producing great charge of moving and expenses of equipment, to the hindrance of all benefit from messing, enjoyed by regiments serving in one body at their head-quarters.

The profession to which we have the honour and pride to belong, has induced us collectively to devote a considerable portion of our pay to the furtherance of pursuits, which, we trust, are alike creditable to ourselves and beneficial to the Government; and the respectable establishment of our library and regimental institutions already created and supported at Dum Dum by our united exertions, will

we trust, bear testimony to our zeal in professional pursuits.—These institutions are only maintained by subscriptions on a scale such that, officers on half-batta at Dum Dum, must pay double of those absent on full batta from head quarters. A partial, if not a total failure of the subscription upon which these establishments depend, must, we regret to apprehend, be one of the consequences of the late Government order.

Thus, not only our subsistence, but our respectable and useful existence (as a body of officers) is indeed precarious by the operation of the orders against which we now appeal. We therefore implore that the Governor-General in Council will not deny us the only relief to which we can look forward, by withholding the operation of the Government Order, No. 254, of the 29th Nov. 1828, and thereby remove our present sense of degradation, and restore us to that degree of cheerfulness which, under the control of prudence and strict economy, we formerly enjoyed.

We would not have troubled his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on any less momentous occasion than the present, which we feel to be one that involves the best hopes of every individual. We entered the army under the well-understood expectation that the pay of the regimental officers was at the least as secure from diminution as in his Majesty's, and every other military service.

To his Excellency we finally address our entreaties that he will intercede for us in a matter in which the happiness and respectability of the army under his command is so deeply involved.—I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) A. MACLEOD.

Brigadier Commandant Artillery.

To Lieutenant-Col. Commandant C. Fagan,  
Adjt.-Gen. of the Army, Head-quarters.

LIST OF OFFICERS—Major H. L. Playfair, commanding 4th Battalion, Captain J. Tennant, Captain J. Cartwright, Captain H. Delafosse, Lieut. E. J. Day, Captain J. Broadhurst, Lieut. E. Christie, Lieut. J. Jarvis, Lieut. J. D. Bell, Lieut. A. Browne, Major W. H. L. Frith, commanding 7th Battalion, Lieut. and Adjutant R. Horsford, Lieut. L. Smith, Lieut. H. Humfrey, Lieut.-Colonel J. F. Dundas, commanding 1st Battalion, Lieut. J. Turton, Major R. Grimshaw, Lieut. J. Backhouse, Lieut. C. Mills, Lieut. J. Emly, Lieut. J. C. Burnett, Captain C. Graham, Captain W. Geddes, Lieut. F. H. Macgregor, Lieut. H. H. Cornish, Lieut. A. Hunsh, Captain S. Parlbay, Major G. H. Campbell, Major W. Battine, Capt. T. Timbrell, Lieut.-Colonel G. Swiney, Captain G. P. Gowan, Captain H. C. Baker, Lieut. J. Alexander, Surgeon A. Wood, Lieut. O. Baker, Lieut. A. M. Seppings, Lieut. R. R. Kenniside, Captain J. S. Kirby, Captain R. B. Wilson, Lieut. T. H. Ludlow, Lieut. A. P. Brown, Major R. Powney.

Copy 2.—To the Right Hon. Lord Wm. C. Bentinck, G. C. B. Governor-General of India, &c.

The respectful Memorial of Lieut.-Col. Henry Hawtrej, on his own part, and in behalf of the Officers of the 3d regt. Light Cavalry serving at the Head-quarters of the Cawnpore division of the Army.

Showeth,—That your Memorialist deems it incumbent on him, in justice to the interests and understood rights of himself and his brother officers, and as an act of duty to the Supreme Government under which they have the honour to serve, to submit with all respect, and in honest sincerity, for the consideration of your Lordship in Council, the sentiments of surprise and deep concern with which they have been impressed by the publication of the General Orders of the 29th November, 1828, by which it is enacted, that at certain specified stations the allowance of full batta, heretofore considered as a fixed and permanent portion of the salaries of the Hon. Company's officers, is to be discontinued.

That although the order above referred to does not as yet, and is not likely to immediately affect the personal interest of your Memorialist and his brother

\* All cavalry corps are stationed in Upper India.—Note of a Correspondent.

officers, they nevertheless would feel themselves wanting in a due regard for the welfare of the army to which they belong, and culpably indifferent to its rights, were they silently to submit to the operation of an order whereby, as they feel, and most respectfully submit to your Lordship in Council, the interests of the army are deeply injured. That the allowance of full batta at every station under this Presidency (excepting only the garrisons of Fort William and Allahabad) has ever been considered to form a certain component part of the income of the officers of the Bengal army. That your Memorialist and his brother officers are impressed with a belief that this allowance was positively guaranteed to the army by the Hon. Court of Directors on account of the discussions which took place respecting the allowances and organization of the army, towards the close of the last century. That they, in common with, they believe, every officer in the service, have ever considered the allowance in question as one that could not be *legally* taken from them, or reduced. That the Hon. Court of Directors, in their general letter of the 15th of September, 1809, have admitted, 'that persons nominated to employments in India enter their service perfectly aware of the respective scale of allowances of the three Presidencies.' That if the argument could be considered valid in refuting a claim put forward by the Madras army for an increase of allowances (the occasion to which it was adduced) it must be equally conclusive against the justice of the reduction of allowances now ordered, and that in this view of the case, your Memorialist and his brother officers cannot but consider the latter as a breach of the, at all events, understood and implied, if not positive, agreement under which they became the servants of the Hon. Company. That, although your Memorialist and his brother officers conceive the preceding arguments will be sufficient to convince your Lordship in Council of the hardship of the reduction of allowances against which they have ventured to appeal, and, consequently, hope to obtain a repeal or suspension of the general orders directing it, they still deem the present occasion a not unapt one to lay before your Lordship in Council a few remarks on the same subject, bearing not so much on the justice or injustice of the measure ordered, as on the positive cruelty of enforcing its execution, and of curtailing the already-limited means of a body of officers whose allowance at present afford them a bare subsistence, and are quite inadequate to support them in the style of life in which, as gentlemen, they were born and bred, and to which, as officers, they must conform. That this is no imaginary assertion is but too clearly proved by the melancholy fact, in which there can be no doubt, that at least nine-tenths of the officers of the Bengal Army are more or less involved in debt and difficulties, which it is almost impossible for any care or economy to avert, where an individual enters the service with no advantage or income beyond his regimental pay and allowances. That the Hon. Company's military servants in general have entered the army with a belief and understanding that they would enjoy, during their exile from their native land, a scale of income not only sufficient to support them as gentlemen, but to enable them (with care and prudence) to lay by a small sum monthly, towards the formation of a fund on which, and their pensions, they might hope, in the vale of years, with a constitution most probably severely injured, and incapacitating them from further active duties, to be at last able to retire for the few remaining days of life that might be allowed them.

How different is this picture from the sad reality? An officer now has no sooner entered the service than he finds he is an exile for life. He has too much good feeling to allow of his returning again as a burden on his family, and he resigns himself, hopeless and despairing, to the destiny which too surely awaits him. It is easy to show the causes which have led to this state of things. The scale of pay and allowances has remained stationary (it may rather be said to have lowered) for a length of years; whilst at the same time the wages paid to domestic servants and labourers of every description have been constantly, and still are, on the increase; and the wide extent of territory now occupied by the army, and the distance of many stations from water carriage, have also tended not only to increase the expenses of the officers in long and distant marches (compared with those of former days, when double full batta was given), and establishments of extortory

servants, but to enhance, most considerably, the price of all the comforts and necessities of life. It is also to be remembered that, in the calculations of the cadet—nay more, in the table of pay and allowances to be seen by him at the India House, the Sicca rupee stands as equivalent to 2s. 6d. He comes to India and finds it not worth 1s. 9d.; and if he happens to be stationed in Bengal, and be paid in the Sicca currency, 4½ per cent. is deducted from his salary, while he at the same time is obliged to pay for every article he purchases for his house and servants in the coin he receives, without the power of making any deduction whatever. The case of married officers, who have a family to support and educate, is melancholy to contemplate, more especially when we see them struggling with penury and in debt in India, to enable them to give a decent education to their children in England, for the expenses of which they have to pay with the rupees issued out to them at the imaginary value of 2s. 6d., and for which they barely receive credit at the rate of 1s. 8d. each. Enough has been said to show that the common dictates of humanity would forbid the enforcement of the orders conveyed in the Honourable Court of Directors' military general letter, dated the 28th of May, 1828. Your Memorialist and his brother officers are too well satisfied of the liberality of that honourable body to be able to suppose for a moment that the wants, the difficulties, and the distresses, of their faithful and devoted servants of this army are known to them; if they were, they feel fully convinced that the first impulse of the Hon. Court would be to improve their prospects and ameliorate their condition.

Your memorialist, and those associated with him in the prayer of this address, feel also a gratifying and confident assurance that, in the elevated spirit of liberality by which your Lordship has ever been distinguished, and in the breasts of those honourable Gentlemen who now compose your Lordship's Council, they may safely anticipate, not only a favourable and lenient interpretation of the freedom used in this address, but also that the prayer they venture to make for the repeal (or suspension pending a reference home) of the General Orders, No. 254, of the 29th November last, will not be disregarded nor refused. Should your Lordship in Council think it expedient to refer the case to the Honourable Court of Directors, your memorialist ventures to hope that the present application may be forwarded for the information of the Honourable body, and he trusts that his long and faithful services will plead his excuse for the freedom he has taken in stating truths and facts connected with the state and feeling of the army. Annexed to this memorial is a list of the officers who wish to be considered as joining in its prayer and its opinions; and your memorialist has the honour to subscribe himself your Lordship's most humble servant,

(Signed) H. HAWTREY,  
Lieut.-Colonel Commanding 3d Light Cavalry.

Cawnpore, Feb. 20, 1829.

List of Officers present with the Corps.—Lieuts. Tottenham, Pennefather, Chistie, Lawrell, Trevor, Marsh, Brownlow, Innes, and Voules; Cornets Gordon, Budd, Harrington, Lindesay, Sir Harriot, and Mosley.

I have the honour to transmit a memorial, addressed to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, which I shall feel very much obliged by your laying before his Excellency the Right Honourable the Commander-in-Chief, with my respectful solicitation that, should it not be deemed objectionable, his Lordship will do me the honour of forwarding, together with such recommendation and support as his Excellency may consider it to deserve.—I have, &c.

(Signed) H. HAWTREY,  
Lieut.-Col. commanding 3d Regt. Light Cavalry.

To Lt. Col. Commandant Egan, Adj.-Gen. of the Army, Head-Quarters.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE SUPERINTENDING SURGEON, SURGEONS, AND ASSISTANT-SURGEONS, SERVING IN THE CAWNPORE DIVISION OF THE ARMY.

To the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council, the memorial of the Assistant-Surgeons serving in Bundelkund.

Your Memorialists beg leave respectfully to call the attention of the Right Ho-

nourable the Governor-General in Council to the orders of Government, No. 254, Nov. 28, 1828, on the subject of medical allowances. By these orders your Memorialists have been deprived of allowances which for a long series of years have been granted to medical officers in charge of troops (for the supply of medicines and necessaries,) but which, through the liberality of Government, were intended as a compensation for the trouble and great responsibility attached to the arduous duties of the profession in this climate. That these allowances, though liberal, were by no means inadequately large, will, it is hoped, appear from the fact that the income of an assistant-surgeon, after deducting the necessary expenses for the support of an hospital, did not exceed the emoluments granted to Adjutants and Quarter-Masters, whose duties are necessarily of a much less responsible nature. While those who are destined for the other branches of the public service arrive in this country at an early age, and receive incomes sufficient for their support, the members of the medical department are prevented accepting of appointments till they have completed their 22nd year, and are required to qualify themselves for admission into the service by a long and most expensive course of professional education; and even after entering the service are required to keep up and extend their knowledge by means of scientific publications, which are now beyond the reach of your Memorialists. Nor it is unworthy of observation that medical officers, during the first year of their services, are frequently exposed to hardships, and put to expenses unknown to any other class of public servants—moved from station to station, with small detachments of troops; exposed to the inclemencies of the climate at every season of the year; and often placed in the most trying situations in a professional point of view, for which the hope of respectable allowances alone formed a recompence.

On the present reduced scale of allowances your memorialists, after several years' service, whether as assistant-surgeons in charge of corps, or attached to civil stations, with the additional charge of troops find themselves receiving the same recompense for their services as a Cornet of Cavalry or a Subaltern of Infantry of two years standing; while even the small allowance now granted for the charge of a whole regiment becomes subject to a deduction of nearly one-half in those districts placed on half batta, and where it is notorious that the duties of the medical officer are uniformly increased. Veterinary Surgeons, whose professional knowledge can be obtained at a comparative small expense, and whose care extends but to horses, at present enjoy superior allowances to those who are intrusted with the lives and health of the civil and military servants of the State. Your Memorialists, in compliance with the former regulations of the service, have supplied themselves with a stock of instruments and necessaries, for which no compensation has been offered, and thus a heavy loss is superadded to that sustained by the above order.

The receipts of assistant-surgeons in every branch of the service\* being hardly sufficient for their immediate support, the hope of securing a provision from the efforts of economy become extinguished, and the prospect of retiring from the service cannot be indulged in, more especially as the pensions granted to every grade of the department are wholly insufficient for the support of a respectable station in after life. Your Memorialists must consider themselves, while the present regulations remain in force, as doomed, along with the rest of their professional brethren, to spend the remainder of their days in India, amidst the united evils of poverty and exile. With due submission, your memorialists trust that these considerations may induce the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council either to restore the department to its former footing, or to grant a more liberal compensation for the allowances withdrawn.—(Signed by the Superintending Surgeon, Surgeons, and Assistant-Surgeons, in the district of Bundelkund.)

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\* This is what might be expected from a trading company. The horses cost John from 600 to 700 rupees each—the poor sepoy is got for nothing.—Note of a Correspondent.

They have taken away 100 rupees a month out of 403 from the civil Assistant surgeon.—Ibid.

No. 3.—*The Memorial of Lieut.-colonel J. Comyn, and the Officers of the 24th Bengal N. I.*

Most respectfully sheweth,—That your Memorialists, whose names accompany this, cannot but contemplate the introduction of half batta stations as a measure fraught with the most distressing results, and one calculated, by reducing their present scanty allowances, to deprive them even of the means of supporting themselves in a manner which their situation as British Officers imperatively demands. It must be well known to your Lordship in Council, that the respect of the soldiers composing this army, and of the natives generally, depends mainly on the appearance your memorialists are able to maintain; and, deprived of the means of appearing respectable in their eyes, the power of upholding the service is entirely withdrawn, particularly when to this want of means is added the disappointment of finding their just expectations blasted, and their probable, although distant, prospect of a return to their native land withdrawn from within their reach.

Your memorialist and his brother officers most respectfully beg to bring under your Lordship's consideration that when the present allowances of the army were fixed (never, they had hoped, to be reduced), Futtighur was the most distant or frontier station, and comparatively little expense was incurred by the periodical reliefs; and water carriage being in most situations available, the necessities of life were procurable at a moderate charge, and, consequently, your Memorialists' allowances were commensurate to their wants; but your Memorialists beg to state that their situation is now altered considerably for the worse—for not only are the expenses attendant on their lengthened periodical movements, caused by the extension of the Honorable Company's territories, increased to almost a ruinous extent, but the natives have increased their demands for their labours and services, and the productions of the country enhanced at least 50 per cent. Your Memorialist and his brother officers, so far from even contemplating a reduction in the allowances, have hitherto, trusting to the liberality and justice of their Honourable masters, foreborne to press their claims for an increase to meet the increased expenses attendant on the unexampled extension of the Honorable Company's territorial possessions, or to petition for those advantages of increased pay for length of service which have been granted to his Majesty's army, and which your Memorialists cannot but think the hardships and privations they suffer during their banishment in an uncongenial clime, give them a fair title to expect. Your Memorialist and his brother officers most respectfully urge on your Lordship's favourable consideration, that should the reduction of their allowances be persevered in, the difficulties with which they are struggling will be ruinously aggravated, and the cheerfulness and promptitude which your Memorialist and his brother officers have ever evinced to meet the calls of the service, give place to feelings of dissatisfaction and despondency, which it is not in human nature to combat or overcome. Independent of personal consideration, some of your Memorialists, finding the hope of a return to their country so distant, have sought to increase their comforts during their banishment, by forming domestic ties, which have rendered their lives a constant struggle with pecuniary difficulties; still, however, by the sacrifice of many things which a residence in this climate renders almost necessities of life, and by the practice of the most rigid and persevering economy, your Memorialists have been able to cheer themselves with the hope of having it in their power to educate their children decently and respectably (the provision for them remaining an uncertainty), but even this hope must be entirely lost to them should the reduction of their allowances be persevered in.

Under these circumstances, your Memorialists entertain a confident hope and expectation that your Lordship will take this their urgent representation under your Lordship's favourable consideration; and your Memorialists pray that your Lordship will defer carrying into immediate effect the order of the Honorable Court of Directors for the reduction of the allowances, until reference can be made to the Honorable Court on the subject, and the Honorable Court's ultimate order be received; and your Memorialist and his brother officers, as in duty bound, will ever pray,

(Signed) J. COMYN,  
Lieut. Col., Commanding 24th Bengal, N. I.  
And all the officers of the corps present

## INDIAN NEWS.—CALCUTTA.

*See of Calcutta.*—The India Gazette of May 31, stated that the See of Calcutta was to be offered to a Mr. Law, a member of the Ellenborough family; the appointment of Mr. Turner had not then reached India.

*Steam Navigation.*—The navigation of the rivers Ganges and Berhampore, by means of steam, occupy greatly the attention of government; but the difficulty has hitherto been insurmountable to construct a vessel adequate to stow a sufficient quantity of fuel for the supply of its engine. A letter has been published by a correspondent in the Bengal Hurkaru, in which he states that he has completed by a long series of arduous and expensive experiments; and that he can now produce steam of a sufficient power to work either high or low pressure engines, and by a much cheaper material than coals, by which a steam vessel may be navigated to any part of the globe, carrying with her a supply of fuel for a voyage of 18 months. The discovery, he says, has been effected by an alteration in the construction of the furnace and the boiler,—the engine itself remaining untouched.

*Mr. Buckingham.*—The following letter appeared in the Bengal Hurkaru of May 16, addressed to the editor:—‘Sir, as I was talking with a friend on the proceedings of the committee instituted for the presentation of the East Indians’ Petition to Parliament, the names of several individuals whose conduct have shown a partiality to their countrymen, were brought on the *taps*; and among them that of the indefatigable Buckingham was mentioned as being one under whose auspices our cause will meet with more sympathy than it is likely to receive from Mr. Crawford. At all events, it was thought advisable to solicit the aid and influence of that distinguished philanthropist (Mr. Buckingham) in favour of a cause, the object of which is, the abolition of our oppressive grievances.’ Signed, ‘J.’

*Atrocious Murder.*—A Bombardier of artillery, with a comrade, who had been to visit a friend on the 14th of May, were returning home through Mahim Woods, the Bombardier being in a state of inebriation, when a dispute arose between them as to the direction of the road, and the Bombardier left his comrade and ran into the woods. The other was obliged to leave him, expecting that he would find his way home in safety. Next morning the Bombardier was found by the Police in a retired thoroughfare in the woods, his head having been beaten in by some blunt instrument. A coroner’s inquest brought in a verdict of wilful murder against some person or persons unknown. No evidence transpired to criminate any one. A reward of 500 has been offered by the authorities for the apprehension of the murderer.

*Deaths of Lieutenants Bedingfield and Burlton.*—A letter received in Calcutta gives the following melancholy account of the fates of these two unfortunate officers who were barbarously murdered at Nunklow near Gowhatty, the former on the 4th and the latter on the 6th of May. The officers had both gone there for the benefit of their health. —‘Four or five hundred Kooscahs and Garrodes surrounded the house, and poor Bedingfield went out amongst them unarmed to see what they wanted. They immediately seized him, and after tying his hands behind his back and cutting the tendons of his legs, commenced shooting at him with arrows. It is said that he told them, if it was his life they wanted, to kill him at once, which they accordingly did, and cutting off his head, planted it on a rock where the house formerly stood. Poor Burlton, upon seeing his friend’s fate, defended the house, assisted by a few Sepoys of the Assam Lascar Infantry and his servants, and held out in gallant style for a day and a night, until the house was set on fire, when they sallied out and made good a retreat of about ten miles towards Gowhaltie, and keeping up a constant fire, kept the savages off until a dreadful shower of rain coming on wetted their ammunition, and rendered their fire arms of no use. The small party then dispersed. A few of those who took shelter in the jungle escaped; but Burlton, and an European writer, (Bowman) having both kept the pathway, were immediately

massacred. The former was in the act of extracting an arrow from his wrist, when he was cut down, being in an exhausted state from the immense exertions he had made, and his previous ill health.

Rumours prevailed that Mr. Scott, agent to the Governor-General, and his surgeon, Beadon, had likewise suffered. They had set off two days before from Nunklow to a place called Cherapoonfie, with the intention of fixing upon a proper site for the proposed sanatorium. Letters have subsequently been received, which stated, that Mr. Scott and Dr. Beadon were well: and an official notice, dated May 5, announces that Mr. Scott had taken possession of Nunklow, for the purpose of establishing the sanatorium.

*Expedition under Captain Lister.*—Rajah Teerut Singh, after the massacre at Nunklow, in which between thirty and forty men were killed, including two unfortunate English gentlemen, moved southward—perhaps with the hope of overpowering the political agent. Whatever his farther designs might have been, they were, however, completely frustrated by the prompt operations of the political agent; who, calling in the aid of the Sylhet Light Infantry Battalion, directed Captain Lister, commanding that corps, to proceed against the insurgents. Accordingly, that officer being instructed that the Rajah, with a considerable body of followers, had taken up a position in the strong fortified village of Moomlee, three miles west of Churra-Poongee, lost no time in proceeding to attack the place, and a communication, dated the 14th inst., states, that after some resistance the place was taken by storm, when several of the Rajah's party were killed, but he himself made his escape, being favoured by the thickness of the jungles.

A communication, of the 15th instant, from Mamloo, mentions that intelligence having been received, that the Rajah, or some of his adherents, was at Ly-Runchoo, a place situated upon a mountain, about 3000 feet high, and separated from Mamloo by an extensive valley, Captain Lister made arrangements for moving on the place.

From the difficulties of the road, and the ease with which many parts of it might have been defended, it was considered advisable to attempt taking the place by surprise. At midnight, therefore, on the 14th, Captain Lister, with a party of one hundred Sepoys, marched secretly for Ly-Runchoo, during a storm of rain. A little before day-break, he reached the place, which he found evacuated, but destroyed it; and, after giving his party a few hours rest, returned to Mamloo. Teerut Singh was reported still to be in the neighbourhood, but the number of his followers, it is said, was considerably reduced.—*Government Gazette*, April 27.

Accounts have since reached Calcutta, stating the detachment, under Captain Lister, had taken two stockaded villages, Myring and Sunburee, on the 30th of April; and that Nunklow was captured on the 2d of May, after a slight resistance. Captain Lister received a wound in the thigh by an arrow.

*Half Batta Regulation.*—Hopes were entertained at Bengal that Government would still be induced to revoke this regulation; but a circular, from the Commander-in-Chief, dated from Head-quarters, at Poore, 27th of April, has dispelled these hopes. The circular intimates, that it is the intention of the Right Hon. the Governor-General to transmit to the Court of Directors the papers and memorials on the subject. His Lordship, in conclusion, expresses a hope that the Court of Directors will see fit to re-consider the regulation.

*Tracts of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.*—These publications have been so much approved of in India, that it has been suggested, under certain modifications, to translate them into the language of the country, for the purpose of instructing the Natives.

*Agricultural and Horticultural Society.*—An extraordinary meeting of this Society was held on the 29th of April, for nominating the Committee of Management and other purposes. Sir Edward Ryan, President, in the chair. It appears from the statement of accounts that the funds are not in a flourishing state, the society is



free of debt, but without any thing in hand. It was proposed to circumscribe its operations by parting with a portion of their garden ground.

*Insolvent Debtors.*—A Petition signed by 17 Christians, 15 Mahomedans, and 77 Hindoos, has been presented to the Hon. Sir Charles Edward Grey, praying that the present indefinite scale of fees of the Insolvent Debtors' Court may be revised, and a moderate and definite scale of fees fixed: and that an optional permission may be given for persons to conduct their own causes on the same plan as the Plea Rule of the Supreme Court, and that a pauper's attorney may be allowed for sworn paupers. The petitioners represent that otherwise this Act will not be available for those persons for whose benefit it was intended.

*Danish Possessions in India.*—We learn that a gentleman, personally not unknown in Calcutta, M. Christenson, has been appointed Governor of the Dutch possessions in India, and that he has recently arrived at Tranquebar, and assumed the government. His Danish Majesty, it is understood, has expressed his anxiety to see the Danish trade in India revived, and the new Governor has received instructions to promote that object by every means in his power. The vessel which conveyed M. Christenson to Tranquebar is the first ship from Denmark, during the last 29 years, that has made a direct voyage to her colonies, but it is expected that the intercourse will hereafter be active and alike beneficial to the mother country and its dependencies. Serampore can never, of course, be rescued from its present insignificance as a place of trade: and in every other point of view, instead of being of any value, it must rather be an incumbrance upon the limited resources of the Danish Crown. Generally speaking, an outward cargo from Denmark will sell better on the coast than in Bengal, and many articles of Indian produce suited to the Baltic market are not procurable at so cheap rates here as on the coast, but still it is to Calcutta that Danish traders must principally look for rice, salt-petre, and Indigo.—*India Gazette*, April 16.

*Funds.*—The commotions which retrenchments and other lately introduced regulations have excited, have resolved the different classes which they affect into provisional notions. There are in circulation propositions for instituting funds for various purposes intended to ameliorate anticipate evils: in particular, one to be called the 'MILITARY RETIRING FUND;' another, 'THE MEDICAL RETIRING FUND;' and another, 'THE EAST INDIA COLONIZATION FUND;' the latter, it is suggested, should solicit the co-operation of "THE CALCUTTA APPRENTICING SOCIETY."

#### BOMBAY.

*The Supreme Court.*—The decisive measure adopted by Sir J. P. Grant in shutting the court, has occasioned an immense division of party, and diversity of opinion. It is understood that a high judicial authority in another part of India, upholds the legality of Sir J. P. Grant's measures, but doubts the expediency of carrying them into effect under existing circumstances. Sir John Malcolm it is said, has expressed himself so strongly on the subject, in his communication with England, as to have requested, that should the measures of Sir J. P. Grant be approved of, that the same counsel which conveyed the approval to India, might likewise convey his, Sir John Malcolm's successor. The Government at home having decided against the Judge, there will of course on that pretext, be no necessity for the resignation of the Governor.

*Dispersion of Banditti.*—The Banditti who assembled in the Jungles, on the Nasiche range of Ghauts to the number, it was reported, of between 3 and 400 men, and who had been committing depredations, and keeping that part of the country in a state of alarm for several months previous to the 13th of April, were on that day surprised and dispersed, and their chief with three of his sons and a number of his men, taken prisoners by Subadar Bicajee Jadoo, an old officer serving under the

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It is said, but we can scarcely credit it, that orders have been sent out to supersede Sir John Peter Grant, with permission to the learned Judge to practise at the bar.—*Ed.*

orders of the Inspector of Forts, as Killadar of Puttah. The Ahmednuggur Sebundy Corps and other troops have been for some time in pursuit of these marauders.

*Fire on the Esplanade.*—We are extremely sorry to state that the new building on the Esplanade, especially erected for sick officers, was entirely consumed by fire at about two o'clock on Sunday morning. Several officers quartered in the Bungalow, have been severe sufferers by the disaster; and one of them we believe, lost every thing he possessed.—*Mercury, March 24.*

*Indian Editors.—Memorialising—Liberty of the Press.*—As many a paper has before now made its fortune by lending its pages to the promotion of disaffection and complaint, we cannot marvel at the pertinacity with which our cotemporary clings to his position, that the Medical officers may obtain relief, by publishing their grievances in his columns. In recommending this course, however, it surely behoves our cotemporary, if his sympathy with the Medical service be sincere, at least to confine himself within the boundaries of truth. Let him, if he can, obtain a letter a week from each Surgeon and Assistant Surgeon on the establishment, wherewith to decorate his pages, but let him not, in furtherance of this purpose, insidiously attempt to draw them aside from the adoption of the *only* course through which we maintain they are likely to obtain relief. It is unfair both to the appellants, and the party appealed to. It *cannot* be true that the Court of Directors have long ago prohibited the Local Government from receiving memorials from any 'bodies' of men in the service, for such memorials *have actually been submitted* through the Governments of Bengal and Bombay—the latter being from the Civil Service, remonstrating against the appointment of Military men to Civil offices, and the former, as we hear, from the Bengal Artillery, on the subject of allowances. But, supposing such a prohibition ever had been communicated to the Local Government, were not the means of evading it so obvious as to render it absolutely nugatory? Could not each member of the service send in a *separate* memorial, thus giving utterance to the complaints of the whole body, without actually addressing the Court in a body? Our brother is deceiving himself, but he will find it hard to impose his creed on us without the 'ocular proof' of the *truth* of his positions. Let him then favour us at once with a copy of the prohibitory order of the Court of Directors, or we can assure him he will obtain no credit for his assertion, either with ourselves or the Medical service. Of the Freedom of the press enjoyed at present in India, the less said by our cotemporary the better. The Governments of Bengal and Bombay, having little to fear from the efforts of factiop, do certainly allow of a latitude of discussion never before sanctioned in this meridian; but it should be borne in mind, that the Press Laws\* nevertheless remain in full force, and against their operation at any time Government may think expedient, there is not the least security. We did not chuse to hazard the exercise of these laws on our own persons by publishing a letter which sneered at 'capricious authority' and 'Leaden-hall Street,'—our brother was bolder, and published the letter. But his escape in this and many other instances is no guarantee for permanent security, and until that is obtained by the abolition of the power of *transmission*, we shall take the liberty of exercising our own discretion, as to the rejection or acceptance of inflammatory productions. Our brother cannot be displeased with us for a resolution which gives him a monopoly of correspondence, in one particular branch at least.—*Bombay Courier, May 2.*

*Law Officers.*—It gives us great pleasure to state, that Mr. Dewar, the Acting Advocate General, has been confirmed in that appointment by the Honourable the Court of Directors. Mr. Henry Roper is consequently confirmed in the office of Clerk of the Crown. The number of Barristers at Bombay has received an accession by the last arrival in the person of Mr. M. Kennedy.—*Bombay Courier, May 16.*

*Death of the Nizam.*—Accounts were received yesterday from Hyderabad men-

\* Can our cotemporary be serious, when he says he knows of no Press Regulation but Rule, Ordinance, and Regulation I. of 1826? He surely has not been made an exception to the practice of sending each Editor on his appointment a list of prohibited subjects of discussion, in the shape of a letter from the Chief Secretary?

tioning the death of His Highness the Nizam, which took place at eight o'clock on the morning of the 21st instant. His Highness has been succeeded by his eldest son Nasir oo Dowlah, and the greatest tranquillity was said to prevail.—*Bombay Courier, May 30.*

*Appointment of the Chief Justice.*—The appointment of Mr. Dewar to the exalted post of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, appears to yield general satisfaction throughout the settlement; and this arises as much from a belief in his perfect fitness for the office, as from the sentiments of regard and esteem with which the learned judge has inspired all who have had the pleasure of forming his acquaintance since he arrived in Bombay two years ago. It is certain that Mr. Justice Dewar ascends the bench under advantageous circumstances which none of his predecessors could boast. To a competent acquaintance with the different branches of English Law, his Lordship, we believe, unites the peculiar advantage of a knowledge of the language, habits, and prejudices of the people, and of the constitution of the community amongst whom he is appointed by his sovereign to dispense justice. Of the importance of this acquisition every Judge who has ever sat on the Indian Bench must have been duly sensible, but few we suspect have been able to find leisure enough, amidst their multifarious duties, for the application necessary to its possession.—*Bombay Courier, June 6.*

*Dukhan Thunder Storm.*—We are informed that the annual Dukhan thunder storms have this year been unusually numerous, violent, and continued, and attended with more fatal accidents from lightning than at any former period. On the 21st May, two gentlemen on a shooting excursion, some miles from Poona, were driven to seek shelter from an approaching storm, under some lofty and stout trees: the lightning struck a tree adjoining to them, and it, together with another, were subsequently blown down, the violence of the wind being so great, that the gentleman could not keep to their feet without assistance from a fixed object. On the same day a house was struck in the village of Boosreegaon, ten miles north of Poona, and burnt. On the next day the sleeping tent of Major Sykes, pitched under trees at the Hubbus Baugh, Joonur, was struck. There were six persons in the tent, three fell lifeless, and the other three were struck but not injured. Two of the victims were old and valuable hamalls. The accidents on which the fate of individuals depend, afford cause for deep reflexion: had the poor people, when the tent were pitched in the morning, completed a small trench, round the walls, as was their custom in unsettled weather, and which would not have occupied them five minutes, they would not have been in the tent for the rest of the day. The oversight was remarked, but the people were worn out with a long march, and a preceding wet night, and they were not recalled from their dinners to complete their labours. In consequence, the first heavy shower flooded the tent. Mrs. Sykes was providentially driven from it, to the sitting tent. The people were re-assembled to take down the walls with a view to dry the floor, but ere this object could be effected, the storm returned from the north east, and while they were occupied in hastily affixing the walls again, the electric fluid fell on the eastern tent pole which had a long iron spike at the end of it, shivered the top and bottom of the pole, into capillary fibres, leaving the centre unharmed, and struck down the unfortunate men, who were in different parts of the tent, and not so near to each other, as Mrs. Sykes was to the man in the eastern part of the tent, but whose fall was unseen from the intensity of the light having obscured her vision. Two of the men who were killed were severely burnt, and each had a patch of skin taken from his left breast. The third man had not the slightest mark of injury. The tent was not burnt, nor was there any other mark of fire, than a hole of the size of the little finger, in the white musquito curtains, as if a red hot iron had suddenly been passed through them. The tree was struck in three places; a piece of the bark stripped off thirty or forty feet up the stem, carried underneath the fly and shell of the tent (the walls being down,) and lodged upon the bed; a branch over the tent was snapped in two, the broken end presenting a multitude of fibres like paint brushes; finally the tree was struck on the opposite side from the tent, a circular hole to the depth of the bark being made of the diameter of a two ounce ball, the edge of the hole having the same capillary character as the ends of the broken branch. On the

26th May, Lieutenant Boyd's house at Poona was burnt down by lightning, and report states, that during the period of the storms, a man and two bullocks were killed at a well in the Poona cantonments; the porch to a gentleman's house was injured; five or six horses struck down at Kirkee and one of them killed; two grass cutters killed. Accounts from Nassuck state, that a horse was killed in a stable in the town.—*Bombay Courier*, June 6.

*Liberty of the Press.—Free Discussion, &c.*—From the circumstance of the Government of this country having found it necessary on two or three occasions to punish, by transmission to Europe, Editors of papers who have transgressed the rules laid down for their guidance, the question of the expediency, or otherwise of placing the Indian Press on the same free footing as the Press in England, has insensibly been mixed up with the general question of renewing the Charter. Many of those who are loudest in advocating the abolition of the Company's monopoly, and the transfer of the Government of India to the hands of the Crown, are sanguine that such a 'consummation' will bring with it 'freedom of discussion'—'the blessings of publicity'—'the palladium of rights, &c.'—but on what foundation this expectation rests we are at a loss to discover. The Mauritius Press, and the Ceylon Press, specimens of the offspring of which have lately been sent us, exhibit a sacrifice of intelligence to narrow policy, and a control over the simplest records, rarely equalled and certainly not surpassed by the most despotic Governments in the world. Official announcements, Shipping news, Births, Marriages, and Deaths, constitute, with hardly an exception, the sum total of the 'local' of these journals, while Extracts from the most *wholesome* and *orthodox* English and foreign papers make up the rest of the Gazettes. Yet these settlements are under the Crown, and governed by King's Officers; they are colonized to a certain extent, and 'publicity' is as essential to *their* prosperity, as it ever can be to the welfare of India. It is probable, therefore, that a change in the administration of the affairs of this country, will either have no influence whatever on the character of the Press, or it will lead to the adoption of restrictions, more severe and painful, because enforced, than any an Indian Editor has ever yet had to complain of.

We suspect too that it is not in the instance of the Press alone that the much prayed for change, will be found to have more fancied than real charms. Colonization, in the only sense in which India ever can be colonized, will, under the present enlightened Government, have made such rapid strides, that little or nothing will be left us to wish for in that particular. Remuneration for public services, judging by its scale in other colonies, is rather likely to retrograde, than advance in liberality under the King's Government; while acts of injustice and oppression, on the part of the executive, instead of immediate exposure, will enjoy a pleasant shelter in official intrigue, the formulæ of colonial offices, and the inattention of Colonial secretaries and their subordinates.

Altogether, though we admit there is room for improvement in India, and that the Company's system needs a little modification, we are of opinion that the transfer of the Government to the crown, will neither be of advantage to England, nor of permanent benefit to India. There is no necessary and positively beneficial change that cannot be as well, and better, effected by leaving the monopoly undisturbed, as by its sudden overthrow, and the tossing over to ministers a branch of patronage hitherto judiciously and beneficially dispensed.—*Bombay Courier*, June 6.

*Launch.*—On Monday morning last (May 9), a beautiful vessel of nearly 900 Tons burthen, belonging to Mr. Thomas Crawford and Hormusjee Dhujee, was launched at the Mazagon Dock Yard, in the presence of some thousand persons including the major part of the European society of Bombay. At about twelve o'clock, every thing being ready, the vessel received her name from Lady Malcolm, and glided into her new element amidst the loudest acclamations, displaying as she moved, her appellation, "The Sir Charles Malcolm," inscribed on a white pendant. A salute was fired from the saluting battery in honour of the interesting event, and the European portion of the assembled community sat down soon after to an elegant tiffin provided by the worthy owners, and laid out under spacious marquees erected for the occasion. The health of Crawford and Hormusjee Dhunjee was proposed

by Sir Charles Malcolm and drank with three times three, Mr. C. returning thanks and drinking the health of Sir C. and Lady Malcolm. Towards the close of the repast the parsee builders were called and presented with shawls by Lady Malcolm, an honor which appeared to gratify them exceedingly. Soon after which the company retired.

The *Sir Charles Malcolm* is considered by competent judges to be a very superior specimen of ship building, and to reflect the greatest honour on Nowrojee Jamsetjee and Ardaseer Framjee, the builders. She is constructed after a plan by the late Mr. John Pollexfen, and her capacity is deemed extraordinary for her build. Her dimensions are as follows:—Extreme length, 160 feet, 6 inches; extreme breadth, 37 feet, 3 inches.—*Bombay Courier*, May 30.

### MADRAS.

*Steam Travelling and Mail Coaches.*—Great exertions are making to expedite the intercourse between Madras and Bombay, with a view to the proposed establishment of a line of steam packets between that port and England, via, the Red Sea and Mediterranean. It is anticipated that a company will be induced to form itself for the purpose of embarking in the speculation. By this route, the Mails are proposed to be conveyed; and the projectors reckon that when horses are laid on the road for the over-land journeys, and a regular communication of steam packets adjusted, that six or seven weeks will be sufficient space for a voyage from India to England. The first steam-boat for Suez is to leave Bombay in November, on an experimental trip. Coals have been forwarded up the Red Sea; and besides the *Enterprise*, there is another powerful vessel being built for the purpose at Bombay, which in case of the plan being carried into execution will become the principal Port for the Steam-Rockets.

*Celebration of His Majesty's Birth-day.*—The Government-Gazette contains a letter, dated Neelgheries, April 23, giving a flattering detail of the rapid improvement of that station; and as it is chiefly occupied by Europeans, a new church has been set about building. The ceremony of laying the foundation-stone was fixed for the birth-day of his Majesty, and in honor of the day the church is called St. George's. The ceremony was conducted with great pomp; and in the evening the Residents of the Cantonment were entertained with a ball and supper, given by the Right Hon. the Governor.

*Islands of Ice.*—Extracts from the Log-book of the ship *Mary Ann*, Captain O'Brien, from London, now in the Roads. 'At sun-set saw four islands of ice bearing from S. E. to S. S. W. they were covered with snow, and that nearest the Ship was in lat. 41° 42', south and long. 44° 20' East; the extent of this island we took to be N. W. and S. E. a quarter of a mile, and a hundred feet high. The atmospheric air by the thermometer in the round-house was at sixty, and the sea-water at the surface fifty-seven; took in the steering sails, hauled up to the N. eastward, and kept the ship under commanding sail for the night.'—*Govt. Gaz. Extra.* May 16.

### NEILCHERRY HILLS.

This infant settlement, chiefly for the benefit of invalids, is making great way in popular estimation, and forming a feature of prominence in the attention with the Indian public, every circumstance relating to it is snatched at with avidity, and considered a matter of primary importance. The following is a specimen of some of the communications sent to the Directors of the Press for publication.

'Let it be known to the Sporting World, that upwards of seventy couple of woodcocks have been killed on these blue mountains of the East during the last season, i. e., from October to March—of these thirty-eight couple have fallen by the gun of one gentleman. It may be as well to take this opportunity of conveying some idea to your readers of this extraordinary country, and the game to be found on it. Topographical descriptions of the Neil-Gherries are already published, but from what I had read and heard, I did not expect to find any thing like what they

are either in feature or climate. I arrived here in January, and ascended the mountains at Good-loon, whence the road here is twenty miles, unlike any thing in India—undulating downs all the way, copses and woods scattered beautifully on the sides of the hills. At that time there was a hard white frost every night, and the sensation of the crisp frozen grass under your feet in the morning was quite enough to drive fever, &c. &c. from any man. We had frost till the beginning of March. At this place there is a lake more than six miles in circumference, and about thirty houses—more being now in the course of erection—many of them situated at the sites of woods, which bear the appearance of those planted for effect in Parks in England, but being evergreens they have the advantage. In all of these woods are to be found “*Sambre*”—Black Deer—(to judge of the size of which it is enough to say that a buck weighed thirty-nine stone) jungle sheep, the ibex, tigers, bears, hogs, wild dogs, jackalls, pea-fowl, jungle fowl. There are also hares, snipe, and quail.

The following is a kind of cautionary communication published in the ‘*Bombay Courier*,’ which is attested as having been audited and declared correct by the proper authorities :

Memorandum of Duty received from Mr. J. Hallaway for Goods imported from Bombay.

Beer . . . . .	14 Dozen	7 Rs. per Dozen	98	0	0	2	1	80
Madeira Wine	8 Ditto	14 . . . . Ditto .	112	0	0	8	3	84
Sherry ditto . .	6 Ditto	21 . . . . Ditto .	126	0	0	10	0	32
Port ditto . . .	6 Ditto	18 . . . . Ditto .	108	0	0	8	2	56
Almonds, &c.	1 Bundle		15	1	60	1	0	93
Sugar Candy .	1 Pical	200 Rs per Candy	47	2	0	3	3	20
Total . . .							35	0 95
Deduct Duty paid at Bombay as per Certificate No. 673 produced here 26th February 1829 . . . . .								
							11	2 10
							Rupees . . .	23 2 55

#### SINGAPORE.

PROPOSED LIBRARY AND READING ROOM.—A letter inserted in the ‘*Bengal Hukari*’ gives a prospectus of a Public Library and Reading-room; and suggesting that the building may be so constructed as to answer the purposes of a town-hall, ball-room, and billiard-room, Forty gentlemen, it is calculated, will become shareholders at 100 dollars each, besides being annual subscribers at 20 dollars each. The subscription of strangers is to be at the rate of 30 dollars per annum. A sum having been subscribed for a monument to Sir Stamford Raffles, which has never been erected, the projector of the public library suggests the propriety of appropriating the funds for the monument to the erection of the library, and naming it ‘*THE RAFFLES*.’

#### JAVA.

Java. The apprehension of the priest Kai Madja has led to no satisfactory results: his supposed influence in the country appears to have been an illusion, and Depo Nagoro is as active as ever; the tract of country in which the rebellion is raging extends in length about 100 miles, and is about the average breadth of 30. The Dutch army is divided into eight columns, which act independently, and the want of proper co-operation forms but a feeble remedy for the firmly organized measures of the rebels. It is supposed that to this may be attributed the protraction of the contest. The present Governor has taken very vigorous measures, yet the Dutch Government considering the state of Java as almost desperate, have determined, it is said, to give the Island a Governor of the first rank, and in the person of M. de Falck, the present Ambassador at the Court of London. The fidelity of the rebels under all trials is astonishing; and the facility with which intelligence of the movements of the Dutch Army is spread among them is incredible.

## CAPE.

CIRCUIT COURT GRAAF REINT.—The following trial was heard before Mr. Justice Kekewerh, at the Sessions commencing on the 20th June :

Klaas Dampies, charged with an assault on the slave Cupido, of William Coenradie. The prisoner pleaded not guilty.

The slave Cupido, being duly sworn, stated as follows :—About the beginning of January 1829, I was with my young master at the cattle farm, and on the 6th, or thereabouts, was called to my master's residence. On entering, I met the prisoner, whom I saluted, upon which he commenced beating me. This was about eight o'clock in the morning; he then directed the rest of the servants to stand in line, and gave each a piece of reed about seven inches long to hold; to me he gave two, and previous to lighting them, told me mine would grow longer; I held the reeds until the flame burnt my hand, when I threw them away. The prisoner then laid a broomstick on the ground, and on each side of it made a cross in chalk, placing sulphur in the middle. I was then commanded to jump forwards over the burning sulphur, which I repeated twice or thrice. I then demanded if he could now prove I had used enchantment in making my master's legs swell so big? Upon which he called for thongs of leather, with which he pinioned my arms behind, saying, 'Now you old jackal, we shall find it out;' he then plucked a lock of hair from my right temple, and calling for two threads of silk, which he laid on my head in the form of a cross, fastening my hair in small bushes, he rubbed it all over with brandy and monkey's dung, holding a candle till it caught fire; he then ordered one of the other slaves to hold the candle close to my back, which made me exclaim, Oh, help me, for the pain is very great, and more than I can endure! I told them if I deserved such cruel punishment my master should send me to Graaf Reinet. Prisoner answered he had the power to do with me as he wished, for my tricks to my master, and would be responsible for the consequences. I was then stripped, and held up by the heels, and beat on my naked body with the *agter paard shamboek* until my body was *stukkeerd gestagen*, and to save myself from this treatment I confessed I had made my master's legs swell, upon which they let me go.

The witness further stated, that from the cruel treatment he had experienced, he was quite unable to work, and was frequently obliged to lie down from weakness.

The prisoner being asked if he had any thing to say in his defence, said he was a heathen, and of course could do nothing on a christian's place without the authority of the master.

The Jury returned a verdict of guilty. The prisoner was sentenced to receive 45 lashes at the market-place, and to be confined two years, with hard labour.

*South African Advertiser, Aug. 15.*

*Locusts.*—A correspondent from Graham's town states, while writing, on the 1st of August :—our annual visitors, the Locusts, in spite of all prediction that the late severe weather would have thinned their numbers, have again appeared in the vicinity of this Town, and commenced their destructive operations: how far they will extend, it is impossible to conjecture; we are in hopes, however, that the birds which it has been ascertained are within a few hours of us, on the Fish River beyond De Bruin's Poort, will continue to follow them to this quarter, and tend to lessen their ruinous devastations. Many of our farmers have sown very largely this season, and should they again suffer as they did the last, the consequences would be most calamitous. Our markets, entirely supplied with meal by importations either by sea or land from the Western Districts, experience continued fluctuations; at one time this article rose as high as 35 Rds. per muid, this week it has fallen to 27 and 28; we hope it may continue to fall, as the present Contractors for the Military are receiving large supplies from Cape town.

*Malay Priests.*—*Police Office.*—At Cape town Police Office great complaints are made on account of the difficulty of getting Malay priests to attend and administer the customary oaths to Mahomedans: business on this account is frequently delayed. The priests not having any allowance made them for their attendance, is the

cause of their unwillingness to attend : and it is in agitation to solicit Government to obviate the evil by making an allowance to the priests for their trouble.

*East India Company's Charter.*—A Public Meeting was held for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament respecting the trade of this Colony, as connected with the renewal of the Hon. East India Company's Charter, on the 22nd of July, at which a string of resolutions were passed, reflecting on the effects of the Company's Monopoly, and agreeing to petition Parliament against a renewal of the Charter. The following are two of the resolutions :—

"That the increase of shipping engaged in the private trade to India, and touching at the ports of this Colony since the partial opening of that trade in 1815, is, in the opinion of this Meeting, a decisive proof of the advantages which may be fairly expected from the entire removal of all restrictions on the enterprise of merchants engaged in the Eastern trade—" and "That the trade of this Colony with China be put upon the same footing as that with any other place to the Eastward of the Cape."

#### EXTRACTS FROM GENERAL ORDERS.—BOMBAY.

*Marine.*—The Act 4th Geo. IV. cap. 31, entitled 'An Act to consolidate and amend the Laws for punishing Mutiny and Desertion of Officers and Soldiers in the Service of the East India Company, and to authorise Soldiers and Sailors, in the East Indies, to send and receive Letters at a reduced rate of postage,' is extended to the Bombay Marine Service; and all persons in the service of the Company belonging to the Bombay Marine, commissioned or non-commissioned officers, or soldiers respectively, in the Company's army, are to be liable to the provisions of the said Act, and to the same rules and articles of war, and the same penalties, as the officers and soldiers of the Company's other forces, from January 1, 1829.

*Medical Board.*—A general order, issued August 27, states, that members of the Medical Board are to be hereafter relieved from that situation at the expiration of five years from the date of nomination to it, unless on any occasion the Government shall be of opinion that the continued service of any member of the Board is indispensable to the public interests, in which case such individual may be continued in that situation until a decision on the case shall be made known. Members who shall have been in that station not less than two years and not less than twenty years in India, including three years furlough, shall be permitted to retire from the service and allowed 500*l.* per annum. Members who shall have served five years in that situation, and not less than twenty years in India, including three years furlough, shall be permitted to retire, and allowed 700*l.* per annum. Superintending Surgeons, who shall have been in that station not less than two years, and not less than twenty years in India, including three years furlough, shall be permitted to retire from the service, and allowed 300*l.* per annum. Superintending Surgeons, who shall have served five years in that situation, and not less than twenty years in India, including three years furlough, shall be entitled to retire on 365*l.* per annum. Retirements under the above regulations may take place either in India or in England. Superintending Surgeons, who come to England on sick certificate, shall resume that rank and station on their return to their duty.

*Kittoor Prize Money.*—A general order of May 2, announces that the Honourable the Governor in Council is pleased to direct, that the distribution of the property be now confided to the Prize Committee at Bombay, referred to in the general order of the 18th September, No. 260, which is declared to be a 'General Prize Committee.' The abstracts for the distribution of the Kittoor Prize Property are accordingly to be preferred to the General Prize Committee at Bombay, and that the property should be distributed by the public officers of Government, instead of through the agency of Messrs. Shotton and Co. The total amount of the prize property captured at Kittapoor, with simple interest up to the 31st March last, is rupees 12,50,107 2 69.



**CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND  
CHANGES IN INDIA.**

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—C. Calcutta.]

- APPERLEY, W. W., Lieut. 4th Light Cav., on furl. to Deyrah.—C. April 27.
- Atkinson, Charles, Cornet, posted to 18th L. Cav.—C. April 29.
- Armstrong, G. C., Lieut., Interp. and Quar.-Mas. 47th N. I., to offic. as District and Station Staff at Sandoway, from 19th Jan.—C. March 20.
- Austen, G. P., Ens., to do duty with 30th N. I.—C. March 3.
- Anderson, G., Assist.-Surg., app. to 1st L. Cav.—C. March 3.
- Airey, H. C., Ens., posted to 59th N. I.—C. March 4.
- Abbot, S. A., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. March 27.
- Aitchison, W., Lieut.-Col. Adj.-Gen., on leave on sick cert.—M. April 16.
- Ash, H. Ens., 20th N. I., to act as Interp. to the left wing of the 2d Light Cav.—B. April 30.
- Ayton, Frederick, Cadet Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—B. June 12.
- Beatson, Robert Wedderburn, 72d N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. May 8.
- Bartlett, W. Ens. 68th N. I., on leave on sick cert.—April 27.
- Beerlton, P. B., Lieut. Artill., on leave on sick cert.—C. April 27.
- Biddulph, G., Ens., posted to 45th N. I.—C. April 29.
- Buist, Geo., Cornet, posted to 10th L. Cav.—C. April 29.
- Barker, T. B., Assist.-Surg., app. to med. charge, 66 5th batt. Artill.—C. May 1.
- Bland, H. J., Capt. 9th N. I., on furl.—C. May 2.
- Blanshard, J. H., Lieut. 63d N. I., attached to depot at Landour.—C. March 20.
- Bristow, G. W. G., Ens., to do duty with 44th N. I. C.—March 3.
- Bristow, C. M., Ens., to do duty with 44th N. I.—C. March 3.
- Brown, L. C., Lieut. 53d N. I., transf. to pension estab.—C. March 20.
- Burkengyoung, F. W., Ens. 5th N. I., attached to depot at Landour.—C. March 20.
- Burton, C. E., Ens., to do duty with 30th N. I.—C. March 3.
- Bush, J. T., Ens., posted to 12th N. I.—C. March 4.
- Biddulph, G., Ens., posted to 45th N. I.—C. March 4.
- Burnet, J. H., Ens., posted to 16th N. I.—C. March 4.
- Bridge, Wm., Ens., posted to 62d N. I.—C. March 4.
- Bigge, H. L., Ens., posted to 11th N. I.—C. March 4.
- Bremner, C. S., Ens., posted to 64th N. I.—C. March 4.
- Bush, R. Y. B., Ens., posted to 65th N. I.—C. March 4.
- Bluett, W. H. C., Lieut. 45th N. I., to act as Interp. and Quar.-Mas. to 71st N. I., v. Kinlock.—C. March 12.
- Buckhouse, F. G., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. March 27.
- Barker, T. B., Assist.-Surg., returned to duty.—C. March 27.
- Ballantine, Lieut.-Col., to comm. at Sholapore.—B. April 3.
- Bayley, R. A., Lieut. 5th N. I., to be Adj., v. Prescott.—B. April 14.
- Brown, W. J. Capt. 8th N. I., to act as Brig.-Maj. to forces.—M. April 16.
- Bucks, G. B., Lieut. Marine Serv., to be Commander, v. Guy, invalided.—M. April 3.
- Boscawen, Geo., Midshipman Marine Serv., to be Lieut., v. Bucks, prom.—M. April 3.
- Browne, A. W., Maj. 11th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. March 31.
- Brown, G. St. B., Lieut. 7th N. I., to be Capt., v. Graham, dec.—B. April 30.
- Brown, T. Lieut., to act as Adj. to 11th N. I., v. Parsons, on sick cert.—B. May 2.
- Brown, Capt., to conduct the duties of the Brig.-Major's Office at Surat, v. Gillano.—May 18.

Bradford, Sir Thomas, (K.C.B.), to officiate in the mil. comm. and the whole executive powers in the absence of Sir John Malcolm.—B. May 29.

Bailey, B., 2d Lieut. Artill., to be 1st Lieut., v. Lloyd.—B. May 25.

Budden, H. W., Lieut. 18th N. I., to act as Fort-Adj. at Asseerghur, v. Taph, on furl.—B. May 25.

Crane, C. J., Capt. 23d N. I. returned to duty.—C. May 8.

Culley, T., Capt. 2d N. I., furl. extended.—C. May 8.

Curling, C. S., Sur. Med. Estab., returned to duty.—C. May 28.

Cautley, R. Lieut., to act as Interp. and Quar.-Mas. to 10th L. Cav., v. Gaistin.—C. April 27.

Campbell, R., Lieut., Interp. and Quar.-Mas. 43d N. I., on leave on sick certifi.—C. April 27.

Carlyon, C., Ens., to do duty with 44th N. I.—C. April 29.

Cooper, G. L., Lieut. Artill., on furl.—C. April 29.

Costley, R. C., Major 7th N. I., on furl.—C. April 29.

Clifford, W., Lieut. 39th N. I., to be Adj., v. Palmer.—C. May 1.

Cruikshanks, Geo., Ens., posted to 2d Eur. Reg.—C. March 4.

Colebrooke, W. H. E., Ens., to do duty with 14th N. I.—C. March 3.

Corfield, A. H., Ens., to do duty with 44th N. I.—C. March 3.

Chalmers, J. W. C., Ens., posted to 43d N. I.—C. March 4.

Crossman, C., Cadett, prom. to Ens.—C. March 27.

Cullimore, D. adm. Veter. Surg.—C. March 27.

Campbell, Jas. G., Lieut. 6th L. Cav., on furl. to Eur.—C. March 18.

Campbell, R. M., Lieut. 33d N. I., on furl. to the Isle of France.—C. March 29.

Campbell, D., Lieut.-Col., to comm. in Candeish.—B. April 3.

Crawford, J., Assist.-Surg., to be Vaccinator N. W. Div. of Guzerat.—B. April 6.

Cleland, W. D., Lieut.-Col. comm. 19th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—M. March 31.

Conwell, A., Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. April 21.

Cruikshank, James J. F., Cadet Engin., prom. 2d Lieut.—B. June 12.

Creed, Richard, Cadet of Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—B. June 12.

Creed, Henry, Cadet Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—B. June 12.

Carless, Thomas G., to be Lieut. Mar., v. Pepper, prom.—B. May 8.

Cunningham, Charles, Sen., Super. Ens., to rank and posted 1st Eur. Reg.—B. May 18.

Campbell, John, Cadet, promoted to Cornet.—B. May 18.

Clarke, J. S. Mr., to be Dep. Collec. in the Central Div. of Cuttachi.

Dewar, A. C., Ens., to act as Adj. to the 15th N. I., v. Evans.—C. April 29.

Davis, C. E., Capt. 58th N. I., on furl.—C. April 29.

Dyke, W. H., Lieut. 60th N. I., on furl.—C. April 29.

Doolan, R. W. C., Ens., to do duty with 44th N. I.—C. March 3.

Davidson, F. R., Ens., posted to 41st N. I.—C. March 4.

Davidson, C., Ens., posted to 31st N. I.—C. March 4.

Davenport, Jas., adm. Assist.-Surg.—C. March 27.

Don, Assist.-Surg., to be Vaccinator to Deckan.—B. April 6.

Dallas, P. G., Cornet, to be Acting Quar.-Mas. of the left wing 2d L. Cav.—B. April 14.

Durack, F., Lieut. 24th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. March 31.

Davis, J., Lieut. 11th N. I., to be Adj., v. Parsqns; on furl.—B. May 2.

Ewart, J. K. Mr., to be Assist. to the Magis., and Collector of Land Rev. at the Central Div. of Cuttachi.—C. May 5.

Erskine, W. C., Ens. 73d N. I., to do duty with 46th N. I.—C. April 7.

Evans, F. R., Lieut. 26th N. I., on furl.—C. May 2.

Erskine, W. C., Ens., posted to 73d N. I.—C. March 4.

Elton, R. W., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. March 27.

Elliott, J. H. the Hon., to be Post-Master-Gen.—C. May 12.

- Flower, J. R., Lieut. 25th N. I., to rank, v. Jones, dec.—C. May 8.  
 Fraser, Arch. Wm. Windham, Lieut. 8th L. Cav., on furl. to Eur., for health.—C. May 8.  
 Forbes, J. V., to act as Adj. to 15th N. I., v. Evans.—C. April 27.  
 Fagan, Christopher Geo., Cornet, posted to 1st L. Cav.—C. April 29.  
 Ferris, J. H., Ens., from 7th to 43d N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Forbes, J. V., Lieut. 15th N. I., to act as Interp. and Quar.-Mas. to 10th N. I., v. Stuart, prom.—C. March 5.  
 Fagan, L. C., Ens. 2d Eur. Reg., to be Lieut., v. Wilson, prom., v. Midford, cashiered.—C. March 27.  
 Fuller, C. W., adm. Assist.-Surg.—C. March 27.  
 Fiddes, Thomas, Major 42d N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. March 18.  
 Frederick, J. E., Lieut. 18th N. I., on leave on sick certif.—B. April 20.  
 Fraser, Assist.-Surg., placed at the disposal of the Superin. of the Marine, for Marine duty.—B. May 2.  
 Farquharson, J., Capt. 9th N. I., to assume comm. of troops at Sholapore.—B. May 28.  
 Freeman, W. C., Lieut. 2d Gren. N. I., on furl.—B. May 30.  
 Farrell, F. T., Capt. 6th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—B. June 2.  
 Franklin, Henry, sen., Supernum. Ens., to rank, and posted to the 2d Gren. N. I., v. Hudson, promoted.—B. May 25.  
 Graham, C., Lieut., 55th N. I., attached to depot at Landour.—C. March 20.  
 Grange, R., Ens., to do duty with 10th N. I.—C. March 3.  
 Grant, Jas., Ens., posted to 3d N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Grounds, J. E., Ens., posted to 46th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Gilman, P. C., Lieut.-Col. 67th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. March 20.  
 Gibb, Assist.-Surg., to be a Vaccinator, v. Duncan.—M. April 6.  
 Gibb, H., Assist.-Surg., to be a Vaccinator, to N. E. div. of Guzerat.—B. April 6.  
 Gillum, R. W. Capt., Maj. of Brigade, to act as Assist.-Adj. Gen. to Guicowar Subsid. force.—M. April 16.  
 Graham, J., Capt. 7th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. April 2.  
 Grant, C. W., Lieut. Engin., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. April 11.  
 Gordon, G. F., Major 2d L. Cav., to assume the comm. of the brig. at Kattywa.—B. April 30.  
 Gaisford, Thomas, Cadet, prom. to 2d Lieut.—B. June 12.  
 Gray, G., Assist.-Surg., to be relieved from Marine duty.—B. May 2.  
 Grice, Charles F., comm. Mar. to be Capt., v. Guy.—B. May 8.  
 Graham, T., Lieut. 2d Gren. N. I., to be Capt., v. Inglis, dec.—B. May 25.  
 Hamilton, the Hon. Wm., Lieut. 24th N. I., to be Capt., v. Mackenzie, dec.—C. May 8.  
 Hodges, Thomas, Mr., adm. Assist.-Surg.—C. May 8.  
 Hughes, H. P., Capt. Artill., to do duty with Artill. at Dum Dum.—C. April 27.  
 Homes, W. B., Lieut., to offic. as Adj. to the 12th N. I., v. Ludlow, on furl.—C. April 27.  
 Horne, W. G., Ens. to do duty with 44th N. I.—C. March 3.  
 Hough, J., Vet. Surg., to do duty with 8th Light Cav.—C. March 3.  
 Hulse, H. C., Vet.-Surg., to do duty with 3d L. Cav.—C. March 3.  
 Hayward, F. T. C., Ens., posted to 73d N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Hill, R., Lieut. 70th N. I., Loc. Horse, to be Adj., v. Hamilton.—C. March 4.  
 Hamilton, G. W., Lieut. 34th N. I., to act as Quar.-Mast. and Interp., v. Leicester.—C. March 12.  
 Hawthorne, R. J., Cadet, prom. to Cornet.—C. March 27.  
 Honner, C. T., Lieut., to be Acting Adj. to the left wing of 2d L. Cav.—B. April 14.  
 Haggart, C., Capt. 1st Eur. Inf., to be Brig.-Maj. to forces, v. Ottey.—M. April 16.  
 Hughes, R., Lieut., to act as Quar.-Mas. to 3d N. I., v. Berdwood, on sick certif.—B. April 30.

Halpin, O., Ens. 7th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Brown, prom.—B. April 30.  
 Hughes, R. M., Lieut. 12th N. I. to be Fort-Adj. at Surat, v. Brown, prom.—  
 B. May 2.  
 Howisson, J., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to sea for health.—B. May 28.  
 Harvey, J. J., Mr., to be Principal Assist. in Rohtuke Div. of the Dehlee Terr.  
 —C. May 12.  
 Hall, Edwin, Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. May 25.  
 Hudson, Robert, Ens. 2d Gren. N. I., to be Lieut., v. Graham, prom.—B. 2d  
 Gren. N. I.

Jacob, W., Assist.-Surg., app. to 35th N. I.—C. April 30.  
 Jones, Nath., Lieut. 57th N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Holroyd, ret., v. Mor-  
 rieson, prom.—C. March 27.  
 Jackson, J., Lieut., to be acting Adj. to a detachment of 25th N. I.—B. April 30.  
 Jacob, W. Capt. Artill., to take charge of the Assist.-Adj.-General's and Bazaar  
 Departm., v. Leighton, on furl.—B. April 30.

Kennedy, J. D., Ens., rem. from 65th to 25th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Kay, R. D., Ens., posted to 2d N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Kewney, H., Ens., posted to 50th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Knatchbull, R. E., Cadet Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. March 27.  
 Kirby, J. S., 1st Lieut. and Brev. Capt. Artill., to Capt., v. Chesney, retired.—  
 C. March 27.  
 Kennett, B. Capt. 13th N. I., on furl. to Eur. via China, for health.—B. May 30.  
 Kennett, Lieut.-Col., to proceed to Baroda to assume the comm. of the Subsid.  
 force.—B. June 3.

Long, R., Ens. 25th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Jones, dec., v. Margrave, prom.—C.  
 May 8.  
 Lumley, James Rutherford, Ens. 24th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Hamilton, prom.—  
 C. May 8.  
 Lowry, R., Ens., posted to 21st N. I.—C. April 29.  
 Loveday, Wm., Lieut., posted 37th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Leighton, T. Capt., Assist.-Adj.-Gen., to act as Dep.-Adj.-Gen. of army.—M.  
 April 16.  
 Lancaster, R. T., Lieut. 10th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. May 14.  
 Lechmere, N., Lieut. Horse Artill., to act as 2d Dep. Commis. of Stores at  
 Presid., v. Law, on sick certif.—B. May 15.  
 Leeson, Charles, P. Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. May 18.  
 Lewis, R., Ens., 22d N. I., returned to duty.—B. May 18.  
 Lloyd, J., 1st Lieut. Artill., to be Capt., v. Barton, dec.—B. May 25.  
 Le Messurier, G. P., Capt. 14th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. May 27.

Mackinnon, K., Assist.-Surg., (M. D.), app. to the Med. dut. of the Civ. Station  
 of Tirhoot, v. C. Mackinnon, res.—C. May 8.  
 Murray, Thomas, Lieut.-Col. 69th N. I., returned to duty.—C. May 4.  
 Moule, J. Capt., 23d N. I., on furl. to presidency.—C. April 27.  
 Marshall, J. N., Ens. 73d N. I., on furl. to Meerut.—C. April 27.  
 Manly, J., Surg., 10th N. I., on leave on sick certif.—C. April 27.  
 Monteath, T., Major 35th, N. I., app. to charge of 35th N. I., v. Stoneham.—C.  
 March 20.  
 M'Queen, S., Capt. 44th foot, attached to dépôt at Landour.—C. March 20.  
 Miller, G., Lieut., to act as Interp. and Quar.-Mas. to 25th N. I., v. Margrave,  
 prom.—C. March 20.  
 Morris, C. A., Ens., posted to 26th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Macleod, T. H. S., Ens., posted to 34th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Macadam, Jas., Ens. posted to 33d N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Martin, Peter, Ens., posted to 44th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Macdonald, John, Ens., posted to 36th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Mee, J. E., Ens., posted to 72d N. I.—C. March 4.

- Mundy, W., Ens., posted to 69th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Moore, John, Cornet 1st L. Cav., to be Lieut., v. Grant, struck off the list, v. Scott, prom.—C. March 27.  
 Marriott, Edwin, Ens. 57th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Jones, prom.—C. March 27.  
 Money, W. J. H., to be Assist. to the Magis. and to the Collector of Ghazepore.—C. May 12.  
 Maughan, T., Lieutenant 12th N. I., to be Adj., v. Hughes, prom.—B. May 30.  
 M'Gillivray, F., Lieut., to be Assist.-Superin. of the Construction of the Mint, v. Grant, on furl.—B. May 2.  
 Mitchell, T., Lieut. 15th N. I., to act as Interp. to the right wing of 2d L. Cav.—B. May 14.  
 Mitchell, J. M., Ens. 1st Eur. Reg., to be Lieut., v. B. Mitchell, res.—B. May 15.  
 Malcomson, John P., adm. Assist.-Surg.—B. May 28.  
 Mackintosh, R. H. Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. May 25.  
 Nash, S. Lieut., to act as Adj. to 4th L. Cav., v. Master.—C. April 29.  
 Nisbett, D., Ens. 53d N. I., to be Lieutenant, v. Brown.—C. March 27.  
 O'Halloran, J. N., Ens., to do duty with 16th N. I., at Sangor.—C. April.  
 Phillans, W. S., Lieut., rem. from 4th troop 3d brig. to 2d troop 2d brig. Hor. Artill.—C. April 27.  
 Phillott, J., Ens., rem. from 10th to 23d N. I.—C. April 29.  
 Payre, S. P., Ens., to do duty with 30th N. I.—C. March 3.  
 Palmer, Geo., Ens., posted to 27th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Phillott, Johnson, Ens., posted to 25th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Pott, G., Ens., posted to 3d N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Pond, J. R., Ens., posted to 67th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Parker, W. J. Ens., posted to 1st Eur. Reg.—C. March 4.  
 Prior, C., Lieut. 64th N. I., to Adj., v. Wilson.—C. March 12.  
 Pasmore, W., Capt. 19th N. I., to be Dep.-Assist.-Adj.-Gen. on estab., v. Seymour, prom.—C. March 27.  
 Powell, S., Major, Dep.-Adj.-Gen., to act as Adj.-Gen. of army, with a seat at the mil. board.—M. April 16.  
 Parsons, J. E., Lieut. 11th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. April 21.  
 Penley, Capt., to take charge of the Assist. Quar.-Mas.-General's departm., v. Leighton, on furl.—B. April 30.  
 Pepper, John, Lieut. Mar., to be Comm., v. Grice, prom.—B. May 8.  
 Parry, E. W. C., Lieut., to be Quar.-Mas. and Interp. to 21st N. I.—B. May 18.  
 Price, Henry, Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. May 18.  
 Phillips, Richard, Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. May 28.  
 Pelham, Henry, Lieut. 10th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. June 3.  
 Reid, H. A., Ens., posted to 71st N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Robson, Assist.-Surg., to be Vaccinator to Southern Co ran.—B. April 6.  
 Robertson, R., Major 2d Gren. Reg., returned to duty.—B. May 18.  
 Rainey, Lieut.-Col., to be Priv. Sec. to his Excell. the Acting President in Council.—B. May 30.  
 Ratlborne, A. B., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. May 25.  
 Rudd, Henry, Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. May 25.  
 Stoddart, Thomas, Surg. Med. Depart., returned to duty.—C. May 8.  
 Scott, Jonathan, Capt. Artill., furl. extended.—C. May 8.  
 Simpson, J. M., Ens. 17th N. I., on leave on sick certif.—C. April 27.  
 Small, B. D., Assist.-Surg., on furl.—C. April 27.  
 Sage, J. C., Lieut. 12th N. I., on furl.—C. April 27.  
 Struthers, W., Lieut. 14th N. I., on furl.—C. April 29.  
 Stokes, J., Assist.-Surg., (M. D.), posted to 6th Loc. Horse.—C. April 30.  
 Steel, J., Assist.-Surg., (M. D.), to take med. charge of 43d N. I.—C. May 2.  
 Smith, E. F., Ens. 23d N. I., on furl.—C. May 2.

- Stewart, A., Lieut. 2d Eur. Reg., attached to depot of Landour.—C. March 20.  
 Smith, H. B., Lieut. 37th N. I., attached to the depot of Landour.—C. March 20.  
 Steward, R., Ens., to do duty with 44th N. I.—C. March 3.  
 Sandeman, J. Ens., to do duty with 44th N. I.—C. March 3.  
 Simpson, R. S., Ens., posted to 42d N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Sandeman, John, Ens., posted to 47th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Shaw, John, Ens., posted to 61st N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Spencer, R., Ens., posted to 26th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Sturt, A. A., Ens., posted to 6th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Scott, C. C. J., Ens. 32d N. I., to act as Quar.-Mas. and Interp. to 22d N. I., v. Sampson.—C. March 5.  
 Shakespeare, W. M., 2d Lieut. Artill., to be 1st Lieut., v. Kerby, prom.—C. March 27.  
 Sharpe, J. G., Lieut. 24th N. I., returned to duty.—C. March 27.  
 Strange, T. L., Esq., to be Register to Zillah Court of Malabar.—M. April 7.  
 Sheriffe, Maj. 2d Eur. Inf., to comm. brig at Deesa, v. Jarvis.—B. April 10.  
 Stevenson, T. Capt. Horse Artill., to be Agent for the manufacture of Gunpowder, v. Barton, dec.—B. May 30.  
 Sutton, T., Lieut. Artill., to superintend the construction of public buildings at Rajkote.—B. June 1.  
 Saunders, Robert, Mr., to be Superintend. of Stamps, and to retain the office of Mint Master.—C. May 12.  
 Stuart, J. G., Surg. 11th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. May 21.  
 Stover, R., Lieut.-Col. Artill., returned to duty.—B. May 25.  
 Smith, H., Lieut.-Col. comm. at Sattaree, perm. to visit the presid. on urgent affairs.—B. May 25.  
 Stovell, M., Assist.-Surg., placed at the disposal of the Superintend. of Marine for Marine duty.—B. May 25.  
 Tibbitt, J. W., Hospital Steward, on leave on sick certif.—C. April 27.  
 Thompson, J. C., posted to 63d N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Tollemache, Wm, Ens., posted to 22d N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Towgood, J., Ens., posted to 35th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Trower, C. F., Ens., posted to 48th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Thomson, J. J., Assist.-Surg., to Med. duties of the Bussora Agency, v. Montefiore, res.—B. April 30.  
 Treasure, Charles N., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. May 18.  
 Trash, Fred., Assist.-Surg., returned to duty.—B. May 28.  
 Venables, G. H., Ens., to do duty with 44th N. I.—C. March 3.  
 Verner, J. E., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. March 27.  
 Valliant, T. N., Lieut. 24th N. I., to offic. as Interp. to 2d Eur. Reg. —B. May 18.  
 Welchman, F., Capt., to act as Adj. of Pioneers.—C. April 27.  
 Wood, A., Surg., rem. from 5th to 4th batt. Artill.—C. May 1.  
 Watson, H., Ens., posted to 1st Eur. Reg.—C. March 4.  
 Wake, C. H., Ens., posted to 34th N. I.—C. March 4.  
 Woodward, R. Lieut. 2d N. I., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mas., v. Farrington.—C. March 5.  
 Wilson, C., Lieut. 2d Eur. Reg., to be Capt. of a Comp., v. Harrison, dec., v. Bolton, dec.—C. March 27.  
 Walker, R., Cadet of Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. March 27.  
 West, F. A. Esq., to be Register to Zillah Court of Bellary.—M. April 7.  
 Whitehill, C. Lieut.-Col. 10th N. I., to assume comm. as sen. officer of the troops at Candeish.—M. April 16.  
 Willoughby, J. R. T., Lieut. 25th N. I., to act as Interp. to the Guzerat Prov. Batt.—B. April 30.  
 Whitelock, C. R., Sen. Sup. Ens., to take rank, and posted to 7th N. I.—B. April 30.

White, W. G., Major Artill., returned to duty.—B. May 25.

Ximenes, H. J., late Lieut. 20th -N. I., latterly on the Pens. Estab., perm. to return to Eur.—C. March 20.

#### BIRTHS.

Agnew, the lady of A. K., Esq., of a daughter, at Nagpore, May 8.  
Anstruther, the lady of Aysheford, Esq., 54th N. I., of a daughter, at Jumalpore, April 11.  
Agabeg, the lady of Aviet, Esq., of a son, Calcutta, April 14.

Battye, the lady of G. W., Ens., Civ. Serv., of a son, at Berhampore, March 19.  
Boileau, the lady of Lieutenant-Colonel J. P., Horse Artillery, of a son, at Meerut, March 20:

Bedell, the lady of William, Esq., of a daughter, at Chowringhee, March 24.

Byrne, the lady of Henry, Esq., of a son, at Madras, March 31.

Birdwood, the lady of William, Esq., Civ. Serv., of a son, at Bombay, March 24.

Blackley, the lady of G. W., Captain 13th N. I., of a son, at Bombay, May 10.

Campbell, the lady of Captain H. H., the Nizam's Serv., of a son, at Bombay, April 18.

Delamain, the lady of Lieutenant-Colonel, (C. B.) commanding at the station, of a son, at Agra, March 9.

Fawcett, the lady of Captain John, 6th N. I., of a daughter, at Malligaum, April 18.

Geddes, the lady of Captain W., Horse Artillery, of a daughter, at Dum Dum, May 17.

Gouldsbury, the lady of F., Esq., of a son, at Nalda, May 9.

Greaves, the lady of W., Esq., of a daughter, at Comercolly, March 22.

Græme, the lady of Lieutenant C. H., 5th Light Cavalry, of a daughter, at Secunderabad, March 22.

Goodenough, the lady of R. H., Esq., 26th regiment, of a daughter, at Sattara, March 18.

Hall, the lady of Henry, Major Comm. Mhairwara, Loc. Batt., of a daughter, at Beaur.

Hewett, the lady of Lieut. P. S., of a son, at Arungabad, April 27.

Irwin, the lady of Thomas, Cornet 4th Light Cav., of a son, at Meerut, March 21.

Lowe, the lady of John, Esq., of a daughter, at Chowringhee, April 17.

Mackinnon, the lady of C., Esq., Civil Assistant Surgeon, of a son, at Allygurh, April 25.

Manson, the lady of Captain, Artillery, of twin sons, at Bombay, April 25.

Nisbet, the lady of Josiah, Esq., of a daughter, at Darwar, March 25.

Pattle, the lady of J., Esq. Civil Serv., of a daughter, at Chowringhee, March 19.

Parlby, the lady of Lieutenant-Colonel, (C. B.) comm. 9th N. I., of a son, at Wallajahbad, March 29.

Pinson, the lady of Captain, 46th N. I., of a son, at Palaveram, April 26.

Ray, wife of the Rev. Edward, of a son, at Ridderpore, March 18.

Ricketts, the lady of Henry, Esq., of a daughter, at Balasore, March 22.

Russell, the lady of Lieut. J. A., sub. assist. comm. gen., of a son, at Belgaum, March 21.

Sinaley, the lady of Edward, Esq., of a daughter, at Madras, March 30.

Shaw, the lady of D., Esq., (M.D.), of a son, at Rutnagheeree, May 3.

Thomson, the lady of Captain, Major of Brigade, Agra and Muttra frontier, of a daughter, at Agra, March 17.

Thomson, the lady of David, Esq., of a daughter, Calcutta, April 14.

Vibart, the lady of John, Esq., Civ. Serv., of a son, at Ahmudabad, May 30.

Willis, the lady of Lieutenant A., of a son, at Calpee.

Wynch, the lady of P., Esq., Civ. Serv., of a daughter, at Chowringhee, March 21.

Worral, the lady of H. L., Capt. dep. paymr., Cawnpore, of a daughter, at Cawnpore, April 10.

#### MARRIAGES.

Barclay, Andrew, Lieut. 12th N. I., to Miss Jane Lydia Mullins, at Nusseerabad, March 12.

Burnes, James, Esq., Surgeon to the Residency of Bhooj, to Sophia, second daughter of the late Maj.-Gen. Sir George Holmes, K.C.B., March 28.

Brownlow, Henry B., Esq., Civ. Serv., to Miss Amelia Chester, at Calcutta, April 9.

Child, H. M. Esq., Civ. Serv., to Miss Mary Confey, at Calcutta, March 25.

Erskine, Hon. John C., Beng. Civ. Serv., second son of Lord Erskine, to Margaret, youngest daughter of the late John Martin, Esq., of Tyrone, Ireland, at Calcutta, April 20.

Fiddes, T., Maj. 42d Beng. N. I., to Mrs. Pauli, relict of the late G. Pauli, Esq., at Madras, April 25.

Græme, the Rev. Geo., to Mrs. Harris, relict of the late Henry Harris, Esq., M. D., 1st Memb. of the Med. Board at the Presidency, at Bangalore, April 7.

Gray, Robert, Capt. 30th N. V. B., to Selina Jane, daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. F. Walker, 4th L. Cav., at Madras, March 29.

Hardie, Alexander, Mr., 1st Hosp. Assist. Vet. Batt. at Dapooly, to Miss Mary Lennard, at Calaba, May 17.

Hadow, Henry Patrick, Esq., son of the Rev. James Hadow, of Streatham, Bedfordshire, to Jane Charlotte, second daughter of Richard Holden Webb, Esq., of the Custom House, London, at Madras, May 18.

Jones, John Lloyd, 30th N. I., to Mary Adelaide, eldest daughter of Thomas Jarret, Esq., at Madras, April 20.

Johnstone, R. P. H., Capt. of his Highness the Nizam's Service, to Miss Joanna Lloyd, only daughter of the late Capt. James Lloyd, of the same service, at Bombay, May 11.

Low, J., Maj. 17th Mad. Inf., to Miss Shakespeare, second daughter of the late John Shakespeare, Esq., Ben. Civ. Serv., at Mussuree, April 10.

Montgomerie, Edm., Esq., Civ. Serv., to Isabella Anne, second daughter of Lieut.-Col. Sullivan, at Bombay, March 18.



Malcolm, Sir Charles, Knt., (R.N.), Superintend. of the Marine, to Miss Elmira Riddell Shaw, daughter of Maj.-Gen. Shaw, at Malabar Point, April 11.

Marshall, G. B., Lieut. 17th N. I., 4th son of the Rev. G. Marshall, Rector of Donagh, County of Donegal, Ireland, to Lydia Jane, second daughter of the late Thomas Lambert, Esq., of Milford, in the County of Galway, Ireland, at Cannanore, April 27.

Money, Robert Catton, Esq., Civ. Serv., to Miss Mary Gray, daughter of the Rev. J. Gray, Chaplain in Cutch, at Cutch, April 28.

Montagu, the Rev. Horatio, to Ann Elizabeth, only daughter of the late Capt. Thomas Wood, of the Madras Engineers, and niece of the late Lieut.-Gen. Sir Geo. Wood, K.C.B., of the Bengal Army, at the Hotel of the British Legation, at Berne, in Switzerland, Sept. 23.

Norris, Francis Brooke, Esq., of his Highness, the Nagpore Rajah's Serv., to Isabella, third daughter of the late George Wm. Fillio, Esq., Bombay Civ. Serv., at Ghuntwarass, May 5.

Richardson, C. W., Cornet 5th L. Cav., to Mary Margaret Woolmere, eldest daughter of Capt. T. C. Squire, H. M.'s 13th, L. Inf., at Denapore, March 19.

Smith, Henry, Esq., of Batiboys, in the County of Wicklow, Lieut.-Col. of the 1st L. Cav., on the Bom. Estab., to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir John Peter Grant, of Rothiemurchus, of Invernesshire, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, at Bombay, June 6.

Swetenham, James, Capt. 10th N. I., to Miss Eliza Moorisy Roberts, at Kurnaul, April 18.

Thomson, Capt. 12th N. I., and Dep. Assist.-Commis.-Gen., to Caroline, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. Gall, 37th N. I., at Kurnaul, April 18.

Verpleogh, J., Esq., to Miss J. C. Vant Hart, at Calcutta, May 12.

Voorst, G. Van., Esq., of the H. Comp.'s steam vessel *Irrawaddy*, to Louisa Elizabeth Rutter, at Calcutta, May 7.

Walters, Henry, Esq., Civ. Serv., to Miss Eleanor Campbell, at Sylhet, March 20.

Wood, George, Mr., Assist. in the Mil. Audit.-Gen.'s Office, to Miss Margaret Palmer, at Calcutta, April 22.

## DEATHS.

Bluett, W. H., Lieut. 45th Reg., and offic. Interp. to 71st N. I., at Sangoi, May 6.

Blenkensop, the infant daughter of Lieut. 34th N. I., at Sangor, May 2.

Burton, Philip Bowles, Lieut. Beng. Artill., youngest son of the late Wm. Barton, Esq., of Wykin Hall, Leicestershire, and Donhead Lodge, Wiltshire, aged 25, near Nunglow, April 4.

Barton, James, Capt. Artill., Agent for Gunpowder, aged 36, at Matoongha, May 19.

Chitty, Maria Jennette, orphan daughter of the late Lieut. Aynatta Chitty, at Mussooree.—May 4.

Currie, Harvey Christian, youngest son of Frederick, Esq., Civ. Serv., at Goruckpore.—April 14.

Durand, John Charles A., Ens. N. I., only son of the late Maj.-Gen. Durand, of this Presidency, at Jaulna, April 18.

Dumoulin, Thomas, infant son of Jas., Esq., at Calcutta, April 17.

Fawcett, Agnes Maryanne, infant daughter of James, Esq., at Senhora de Monte, April 28.

Graham, Capt. James, on board the 'Lady East,' lately comm. the 7th Reg. Bomb. N. I. He died off Vingoria, and was interred in the English burying at Cabo, April 11.

Goodiff, J. B., Capt., comm. 15th N. I., at Sucheena.

Hailes, the infant son of H., Esq., at Doaba, April 20.

Indell, Thomas Weman, son of the late Captain Thomas Weman Indell, at Calcutta, April 27.

Meriton, Richard Philip, infant son of Capt. R. O., Paymaster Baroda Subsid force, at Bombay, May 11.

Mackenzie, Frederick, Capt., 64th N. I., at Noncolly, April 21.

Mesquita, Rev. Fr. Mandel de, of the Order of St. Augustine, aged 41, at Calcutta, April 17.

Prince, R., Esq., Surg. attached to the Civ. Estab., at Chittoor, March 12.

Pinchard, John, Lieut., Hor. Artill., aged 27, at Pundigal, April 18.

Roche, Frederick, son of Lieut. F. B., 5th Cav., at Kurnaul, April 29.

Robertson, David Augustus, third son of W. T., Esq., Civ. Serv., at Futtihpoor Bhitourah, April 17.

Rowland, Sarah, wife of M., Esq., at Bhewndy, May 30.

Shepherd, J., Esq., late of Malda, aged 28, nephew of the Rev. Dr. Marshman, at sea, on board the Falcon, March 3.

Toulmin, Wm. M., Esq., aged 35, at Serampore, May 9.

Thereza, the Most Rev. Fr. Manuel de Santa, Ex-Provincial to the Community of the Order of St. Augustine, in India, Professor of Theology, and Synodal Examiner to the Archbishopric of Goa, aged 52 years, at Calcutta, May 6.

Varde, W. H., Esq., 11th N. I., aged 28, at Bangalore, April 9.

Whyte, John, Esq., late Comm. of the ship Caledonia, May 9.

Wall, W. A., Lieut. 20th N. I., at Hursole, May 21.

Wynne, Harvey Price, the infant son of T. P. Esq., Civ. Assist.-Surg., at Patna, April 27.

## SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

## ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date, 1829.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date 1829.
Sept 29	Portsmouth	Coromandel ...	Boyes ..	Bengal ..	March 30
Sept 30	Dover ..	Andelmetschappy	Allen ..	Batavia ..	May 15
Oct 8	Cork ..	Mt.St.Elphinstone	Rietchie ..	Bombay ..	June 10
Oct 9	Holyhead ..	Ganges ..	Jefferson ..	Ben ga ..	April 30
Oct 9	Romney ..	Coronet ..	Daniell ..	Tasmania	April 26
Oct 12	Downs ..	Lady East ..	Evans ..	Bombay ..	April 6
Oct 12	Kingstown..	Claremont ..	Macauley ..	Bombay ..	May 14
Oct 12	Holyhead ..	Cartha ..	Lindsay ..	Calcutta ..	April 22
Oct 13	Gravesend ..	Proctor ..	Bragg ..	Bombay ..	May 23
Oct 13	Plymouth ..	Kate ..	Snowden ..	Mauritius	June 28
Oct 13	Dover ..	Eldred ..	Matthews ..	Madeira ..	Sept. 7
Oct 14	Liverpool ..	Midias ..	Watson ..	Australia..	
Oct 16	Liverpool ..	Nandi ..	Hawkins..	Calcutta ..	May 13
Oct 17	Downs ..	Lady Rowena ..	Russell ..	Tasmania..	May 18
Oct 19	Margate ..	Gipsey ..	Henderson ..	Bengal ..	May 4
Oct 19	Liverpool ..	Fortune ..	Gilkison ..	Bombay ..	June 16
Oct 19	Downs ..	Duke of Roxburgh	Brown ..	Madras ..	July 6
Oct 19	Cowes ..	Maria ..	Cobb ..	Batavia ..	June 30
Oct 19	Cowes ..	Bengal Merchant	Duthie ..	Sourabaya	
Oct 19	Downs ..	Coquette ..	Thornton	South Seas	
Oct 19	Portsmouth	Vesper ..	Brown ..	N. S. Wales	
Oct 19	Portsmouth	Roslyn Castle ..	Duff ..	N. Zealand	June 5
Oct 19	Bombay ..	Andromache ..	Furneaux..	Bombay ..	May 23
Oct 19	Downs ..	Hero ..	Fell ..	Bombay ..	June 17
Oct 20	Downs ..	Woodbine ..	Onston ..	Mauritius	July 17
Oct 20	Downs ..	Regulus ..	Hales ..	Mauritius	June 14
Oct 20	Portsmouth	Rockingham ..	Morris ..	—	April 6
Oct 20	Clyde ..	Hunter ..	Aikins ..	Australia..	June 8
Oct 20	Cork ..	Crown ..	Pinder ..	Manilla ..	May 15
Oct 20	Downs ..	Margaret ..	Craig ..	Tasmania	May
Oct 20	Downs ..	Lyra ..	MacLeod..	S. Seas ..	
Oct 20	Dover ..	Foxhound ..	Cornet ..	S. Seas ..	
Oct 21	Dover ..	Cygnat ..	Morce ..	Bengal ..	May 20
Oct 21	Liverpool ..	George & Mary ..	Roberts ..	Bengal ..	May 3
Oct 21	Downs ..	Columbine ..	Browne ..	Cape ..	Aug. 3
Oct 21	Downs ..	Mountaineers ..	Clark ..	Canaries ..	
Oct 22	Dover ..	Ruebens ..	Hamilton	Batavia ..	
Oct 23	Gravesend ..	Margaret ..	Miller ..	Cape ..	July 19

## ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander	Port of Depart.
1829				
April 8	Bengal ..	Resource ..	Stoddart ..	London
April 20	V. D. Land ..	Georgiana ..	Thompson ..	London
April 21	Madras ..	Mary Ann ..	Spottiswood ..	London
April 29	Bengal ..	Bridgewater ..	Manderson ..	London
April 30	Bengal ..	Lady Melville ..	Clifford ..	London
May 4	Bengal ..	Andromache ..	Laws ..	London
May 4	Bengal ..	Laurel ..	Tait ..	Greenock
May 6	V. D. Land ..	Resource ..	Smith ..	London
May 8	V. D. Land ..	Orelia ..	Hudson ..	London
May 11	N. S. Wales ..	Princess Royal ..	— ..	London
May 11	N. S. Wales ..	Lord Melville ..	Browne ..	London
May 14	N. S. Wales ..	Elizabeth ..	Collins ..	London
May 14	Madras ..	Morning Star ..	Barker ..	London
May 14	Bombay ..	Herefordshire ..	Hope ..	London
May 16	Madras ..	Gen. Palmer ..	Thomas ..	London
May 16	Madras ..	Mary Ann ..	Osborne ..	London
May 17	N. S. Wales ..	Jane ..	Elsworthy ..	London
May 18	Calcutta ..	John Woodhall ..	Ramsay ..	Hull
May 19	Bombay ..	Buckinghamshire ..	Glaspoole ..	London
May 19	Madras ..	John ..	Freeman ..	London
May 20	Calcutta ..	Hythe ..	Arbutnot ..	London
May 20	Calcutta ..	Farquharson ..	Cruickshank ..	London
May 20	Calcutta ..	Duke of York ..	Locke ..	London
May 21	Bombay ..	Fortune ..	Gilkison ..	Glasgow
May 21	Bombay ..	Runnymede ..	Wildridge ..	London
May 24	Bombay ..	Lady Feversham ..	Ellerby ..	London
May 24	Calcutta ..	Royal George ..	Grant ..	Liverpool
May 25	Calcutta ..	Inglis ..	Dudman ..	London
May 25	V. D. Land ..	Prince Regent ..	Mallard ..	London
May 25	V. D. Land ..	Vibilia ..	Stephenson ..	London
May 25	V. D. Land ..	St. George ..	Finlay ..	London
May 26	Bombay ..	Janet ..	Southean ..	London
May 27	Bombay ..	Wm. Maitland ..	Jameson ..	London
May 28	Bombay ..	Hero ..	Fell ..	Liverpool
May 29	Bombay ..	Rifleman ..	Bleadels ..	Liverpool
May 29	Calcutta ..	Lady Han.-Ellice ..	Liddle ..	London
May 31	Bombay ..	Mary Ann ..	O'Brien ..	London
June 1	Bombay ..	Calcutta ..	Watson ..	Liverpool
June 1	Bombay ..	Ontaria ..	Arnold ..	Liverpool
June 2	Bombay ..	Duke of Sussex ..	Whitehead ..	London
June 7	Madras ..	Elizabeth ..	Phillips ..	London
June 9	Madras ..	Christiana ..	Hall ..	London
June 13	Calcutta ..	Catherine ..	Kincard ..	Greenock
June 14	Calcutta ..	Diadem ..	Wilson ..	London
June 15	Madras ..	Thames ..	Forbes ..	London
June 16	Madras ..	Royal Admiral ..	Wilson ..	London
June 17	Madras ..	Repulse ..	Gribble ..	London
July 17	Bombay ..	Gen. Kyd ..	Serle ..	London
July 1	Madras ..	Windsor ..	Haviside ..	London

## DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date. 1829.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Sept 29	Hull ..	Maria ..	Wakefield ..	Mauritius
Oct 1	Liverpool ..	Warren ..	Ronaldson ..	Mauritius
Oct 6	Downs ..	Atlas ..	Hunt ..	Cape
Oct 11	Portsmouth ..	Sesostris ..	Yates ..	Bombay
Oct 2	Liverpool ..	John Taylor ..	Largie ..	Bengal
Oct 12	Downs ..	Protector ..	Thomas ..	Swan River
Oct 14	Portsmouth ..	Lady Holland ..	Snell ..	Bengal
Oct 14	Plymouth ..	Seppings ..	Loader ..	Ceylon
Oct 14	Downs ..	Hebben ..	Fowler ..	Mauritius
Oct 15	Portsmouth ..	Bee ..	Buckpit ..	Madeira
Oct 15	Cowes ..	Margaret Forbes ..	Bancroft ..	China
Oct 22	Portsmouth ..	Lord Amherst ..	Thornhill ..	Bengal
Oct 24	Cowes ..	Cath. Elizabeth ..	Lutzens ..	Padang
Oct 24	Downs ..	Patriot ..	Guild ..	Cape
Oct 23	Downs ..	Warrior ..	Stone ..	Cape
Oct 23	Downs ..	Sir Wm. Wallace ..	Matthews ..	Cape
Oct 23	Downs ..	Eagle ..	Smith ..	Singapore
Oct 25	Downs ..	Peter Proctor ..	Terry ..	Cape

## GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

Per *Henry*, from the Cape. Captains Fuit and Gaznor; Lieutenants Bland, Lancaster, and Daniell; Adjutant Hollingsworth; Messdames F. Fuit, Mylner and child.

Per *Lady Rowena*. Dr. Anderson, R.N.; Messrs. J. Archer and Wales; three Masters Carr and Littlejohn.

Per *Andromache*. Lieutenant Parbury; Mr. Shotton and wife.

Per *Hero*, from Bombay. Captains Twinham and Pelham; Mr. Ainslie and Mrs. Frith.

Per *Vesper*, from Sydney. — Towns and R. Brown; Drs. W. C. Watt, A. D. Wilson, and Wilson.

Per *Rockingham*, from Madras. Major Robinson; Captain Hickin; Lieuts. Rasser, Otley, Therrold, and Hoskins; Master Maclean.

Per *Duke of Roxburgh*, from Madras. Captain W. W. Baker; Lieutenants Strong and Hancock; Cornet Ruit; Rev. M. C. Traveller; Dr. Macfarlane; Messrs. James Stewart, George Gordon, junior, and James Blandford; Masters Gray and Wilson; Messdames Traveller and 4 children, Gray, and Colonel Hamilton and 6 children; (2) Misses Bells and Bushby.

Per *Nandi*, from Bengal. Lieut. Beatson; Alexander Colvin, M. M. Joseph, and William Walker, Esq.

Per *Claremont*, from Bombay. Lieutenant Parsons; Dr. Wylie; Rev. A. Crawford, Mrs. Crawford, Misses C. Mitchell and Stevenson, Master Stevenson.

Per *Coronet*, from Van Dieman's Land; Messrs. Hunter, Forster, Beecher, and Fenning; Captain Smart.

Per *James Grant*, from the Mauritius. Captain Gordon; Dr. Logan; Messrs. Pomaroux, Tremoulet, and Levergere; Messdames Pomaroux, and Tremoulet, Misses La Gardore.

# THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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No. 72.—DECEMBER, 1829.—VOL. 23.

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## ON THE FORMATION OF EAST INDIA ASSOCIATIONS IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF ENGLAND.

IN closing the Twenty-third Volume of *THE ORIENTAL HERALD*, and with it the existing Series of the Work, for the purpose of following it up by an improved plan of publication, in continuation of the same labours, directed to the same end,—it gives us the highest pleasure to look back upon the past, and to see that our labours have not been in vain. During no period of the last six years that this publication has existed, and through the whole of which time it has been earnest and unremitting in its appeals to the people of England, on behalf of their fellow-subjects in India, has the interest excited in their behalf been so warm or so general as in the year now advancing to its termination. Since the month of January last, when Mr. Buckingham commenced his personal tour throughout the country, for the purpose of following up his writings by personal appeals to his countrymen on the great subject which now for twelve years has occupied his chief attention,—there have been formed, in different parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Associations, Committees, and other bodies, having for their object the dissemination of information respecting Indian affairs, and combined operations to prevent the renewal of the East India Company's Monopoly, which bid fair to effect their object, even if their number should not increase beyond what they at present are. The same cause which led to the formation of these, will, however, produce others; and as Mr. Buckingham hopes to be able to follow up the labours of the past year, with increased exertions, in other parts of the country, during the coming year,—we have no doubt that two or three hundred distinct associations of this description may be formed in the kingdom, before the period arrives in which the final decision must be given on the Indian question.

These bodies, fortunately, contain among them members of the leading official authorities, and the most intelligent merchants and manufacturers of the several places in which they have been

formed; and to these have also united themselves clergymen of different denominations, professional men, and others who feel a general interest in the welfare of their country, and in the consequent prosperity of her distant dependencies. The public press of the kingdom has by this means been enlisted in favour of opening India and China to British enterprise; and there is scarcely a provincial journal in the country that has not given its support to the good cause. Extracts from these we have given, from time to time, in these pages; but our present purpose is to show how the formation of these associations elicits the talents of well-informed men, in parts of the country, that but for such associations, would take no interest in the general question; and if the example which we are about to cite, were to be followed extensively throughout the kingdom, there would very shortly not be a town or village in which the evils of the East India Monopoly would not be clearly understood, and whose alliance might not, therefore, be counted upon in any measures to prevent its renewal. The following is an address from the enlightened Magistrate of Whitby, Mr. Richard Moorsom, made to his fellow-townsmen, on the formation of the 'East India Association,' at Whitby, adverted to in our last. Let it be compared with the address of Mr. Sadler, delivered in the same place; and let the reader judge of their respective merits:—

*'On the Commercial Intercourse betwixt Great Britain and India.*

'If the various nations which now occupy the surface of the habitable globe had always, each, been restricted to the use of those productions to be procured from its own soil alone, what a diminution of comfort and enjoyment must have been the consequence, and how lamentable would have been the condition of the human race. Without that mutual intercourse and communion to which commerce gives birth, how slowly would civilization have proceeded; if indeed any opportunity could have been afforded of calling into action the faculty of progressively improving his condition, which appears to be one of the distinguishing attributes of man. If we consider our own country, in particular, now so fair and flourishing, solely in its natural prospect, without reference to the benefits which commerce brings in her train, what a barren and uncomfortable spot of earth would appear to have fallen to our share. With a barren soil, and an inclement and variable climate, surrounded by an apparently impassable barrier, which would seem as if intended purposely to render all communication with the rest of the universe difficult, if not impracticable,—had we never been visited by a people more civilized than ourselves, all that could, by possibility, have been obtained, by the severest toil, and the most unremitting exertions, would only, perhaps, have amounted to a very scanty subsistence, and imperfect shelter for a few scattered tribes of wandering barbarians. But, with the introduction of commerce the

first dawn of an improving society begins to be visible; the accumulated knowledge existing in any country becomes common property; the human intellect is stimulated by the creation of new wants, and by the anxious desire of ministering to their satisfaction; sterility of soil is remedied by improved methods of cultivation; the imperfection of climate is no longer felt, for now we have the whole world open to furnish us with those commodities denied to us by the inclemency of our own; while the ocean, that seemingly impassable barrier, affords the readiest means for the conveyance and mutual exchange of the superfluous produce of every realm. Without an intercourse of this kind, the inherent powers of the richest and most fertile soils would, for the most part, remain dormant; nature, indeed, might furnish us with the bare necessities of life, but it is commerce, which not only gives us a great variety of what is useful, but, at the same time, supplies us with every thing convenient or ornamental,—in brief, with all, the possession and enjoyment of which distinguish civilized man from the same being when roaming in the savage state.

‘Commerce, in its real essence, rejects with scorn the protection which governments, in their rage for interference, have not unfrequently, and with such mischievous consequences, attempted to bestow upon it. It requires no treaties for its maintenance and support; for the principle which regulates its operations is the communication of mutual benefits; it contains, naturally, no element of strife or disunion; for it aims at a compensation and remedy for respective disabilities; and thus, while rendering one country prosperous, the interest of every other is in an equal degree promoted. “In fixing, by laws as immutable as those by which the level of the ocean is preserved, that nations, in different climates, and in different stages of society, shall each possess a something which the others want, the Almighty Ruler of the universe has established a principle of harmony, of union, and of concord, to counteract the brutal ferocity and savage enmity of man; it mitigates the horrors of war; it heightens the blessings, and prolongs the duration of peace. It is the balm poured into the bitter cup of that dissension, and anger, and jealousy, which separate one nation from another: it is the tie, disregarded often by the careless observer, or mere politician, but of adamant strength, by which, in a worldly point of view, man is linked to his fellow-man.”\*’

‘Hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvæ:  
Arborei frētus alibi, atque injussa virescunt  
Gramina. Nonne vides, croceos ut Tmolus odores  
INDIA mittit ebur, molles sua thura Sabæi?  
Continuo has leges, æternaque fœdera certis  
Imposuit natura locis.’

‘But there are advantages of a higher impress and more important

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\* Whitmore's Letter on the Corn Laws.



character still, for the furtherance of which the same instrumentality has been strikingly effective. By the philosophical inquirer into the state of human manners, and the circumstances from which they have received their peculiar mould and disposition, commerce has invariably been pointed out, as affording powerful means for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge, and for the overthrow of those long established and pernicious customs and opinions which, in every age and in every country, have retarded the improvement of society. In England, the decline and final extinction of feudal barbarity and disorder is, in an especial degree, to be attributed to the extension of commerce, and the establishment of manufacturing industry in different parts of the country. In the northern portion of our island, the whole clan system, with its habits of predatory warfare and private revenge,—habits, which the direct influence of the law was incompetent to reach, gradually sunk under the silent but progressive operation of the same cause. In the middle ages, the trading republics of Italy were not less remarkable for the extent of their commerce, than for the learning and intelligence of their citizens, and the aptitude by which they were distinguished for the reception of new impressions. The custom, now superseded by the progress of society, of resorting personally, for commercial purposes, to the great fairs holden in various parts of Europe, lasting for eighteen or twenty days in succession, and, whilst they lasted, giving to an unenclosed waste the appearance of a well-ordered and populous city—afforded excellent opportunities for the dissemination of knowledge, and, by giving general publicity, for the correction of local abuses. In the total absence of all those means, by which, at the present day, the circulation of intelligence is quickly extended to parts the most remote, there is every reason to believe that commerce thus, indirectly, presented a ready channel for the conveyance of general information; that, in this manner, the perversion of Christianity, and the vices, ignorance, and apathy of the Romish clergy, became the subject of debate to inquiring minds in every country; the personal commercial intercourse, rendered necessary by the circumstances of the times, contributing powerfully to cherish and keep alive that spirit of investigation and resistance to ecclesiastical oppression, which, gathering strength in each succeeding year, finally enabled Luther to accomplish such important, memorable, and happy changes.\*

India has, for more than two centuries, been brought into moral contiguity with, and, for a considerable portion of that period, been under the guidance and direct control of this highly intellectual and commercial nation: but any thing like the full benefit to be derived from such a connection is yet to be experienced. We dwell

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\* See on this subject a most interesting article in the *Quarterly Review* No. 73.

like strangers in the land, into which, step by step, we have advanced, from the coast to the interior. From the Himalayah chain to Cape Comorin, we have long ruled, with almost undisputed sway, over one hundred millions of people, occupying a soil teeming with fertility; and placed under every variety of climate; and yet, so little has been effected commercially, politically, or, as regards the moral improvement of the inhabitants, that the reproach of Burke, uttered long ago, is equally apposite at the present moment; and, were the British power in India now suddenly to terminate, scarcely a vestige would remain by which future inquirers could trace its once paramount existence throughout the land.

‘That the commercial intercourse betwixt Great Britain and India—two portions of the globe differing widely in soil, climate, and productions, and accessible to each other by a moderate sea voyage, should not, long ago, have given rise to a trade of vast importance and extent, is, certainly, matter of reasonable surprise. While every other branch of our commerce has been progressively advancing, this, which offers a scope for increase almost unlimited, has alone continued almost stationary. What other causes can be assigned for this anomaly than these?—that our Indian trade has been carried on under the withering influence of a monopoly; that the principle of free competition has been unknown, and British energy, enterprize, and capital, almost excluded from all communion with the inhabitants of the interior of Hindoostan. That these are the two causes is evident from the start which the trade has made since the restrictions were partially removed in 1814, when the last renewal of the Company’s Charter took place. In 1814, the total value of our exports to India and China was as follows:—Company’s trade, 1,117,515*l.*; private trade, 578,889*l.*; total exports, 1,696,404*l.* Such was the height which the trade had reached after a painful struggle of two hundred years!

‘It is, however, pleasing to contrast the vivifying and exhilarating effect already resulting from the partial breaking down of the monopoly. In 1826, only twelve years after the confident assurance of the Company’s servants that, from the unvarying and peculiar nature of the Hindoo character, it was visionary to expect any increase in our traffic with India, the trade had attained the following amount: Company’s trade, 1,292,833*l.*; private trade, 3,584,300*l.*; total exports, 4,177,133*l.* Thus, while the Company’s trade continued nearly stationary, the spirit and enterprise of private adventure had increased the export of British produce to the amount of more than three millions sterling.

Since we ruled over India, as the sovereign deputies of the Mogul Emperor of Delhi, what has been effected, or rather, it might be asked, has any thing been undertaken for the improvement, civil and moral, of the condition of our subjects, the numerous inhabitants of that country! We have, it is true, lodged our governors and their

subaltern functionaries in sumptuous modern palaces ; but we have suffered the ancient edifices and monuments of that country—structures which taste and good feeling labour every where to preserve, as the records of generations passed away—to fall to ruin and perish. Have we endeavoured to impart to the Natives of India any portion of that varied knowledge and those scientific attainments of which we are the possessors ? It is a melancholy fact, but not the less true, that in India, science and knowledge have derived little advantage from our sway ; they still only shine with a faint and dubious light ; while a native Hindoo, who, in spite of every disadvantage, steps beyond his accustomed sphere, and manifests a spirit of inquiry, and a desire of improvement, even though that spirit and desire should lead within the pale of Christianity, is almost certain to draw down upon himself the displeasure of the Government, and become the object of its suspicion and dislike. Have we applied any portion of the territorial revenue we draw from the inhabitants, in improving the arts of social life, or in promoting the domestic trade of the country, by an increased facility imparted to the transit of goods through our dominions ? General testimony declares the agriculture of India still to be as rude—manual labour to be equally as unassisted by the more refined process of machinery—the whole land to be as strange to roads, bridges, and canals, to every thing which facilitates the march of internal commerce, as it was five hundred years ago.

‘But a deeper reproach yet remains : have we done any thing, not to say to put down, but only officially to discountenance the horrid system of superstition by which the Natives of India have so long been enthralled ? Have we even *attempted*, in the plenitude of a sway never before witnessed in Hindoostan, to do that which the Portuguese, with a power, trifling as compared with ours, effected with the most perfect ease and security ? Alas ! the suttee, under English rule, still calls in vain to England for help, though so piercingly, that her cries will occasionally be heard above the loud sounds of the Brahminical music, and the shouts of a besotted multitude ; the gurgling stream yet frequently proclaims, though Britain refuses to listen, that unnatural parents, impelled by a sanguinary fanaticism, are sacrificing their tender offspring : yet how should Britain array her power against enormities like these, while Juggernaut continues to ride triumphant on his car, and to receive the yearly homage of his votaries, and to flourish under the protection of an English government, which even dares to replenish its coffers, and draw a revenue from the polluted source afforded by the worshippers of that Moloch ?

While the government of India has displayed so glaring an indifference to the cause of Christianity, the reflection is consoling, that this inertitude has been, in some degree, compensated, and the national character redeemed, by individual exertion emanating from

home. Missionaries, sent out by various societies in this country, are now, and have long been, engaged in the dissemination of truth throughout India, and in translating the Scriptures into the numerous vernacular and learned dialects of that extensive country. A project like this, it might have been supposed, could scarcely be expected to meet with opposition from a Christian government. Experience proves that the temporal advantages which originate and follow in the train of Christianity are striking and evident; through all the world, wherever it has prevailed, it has been (indirectly, of course, for its objects are of a far higher nature) the great instrument of civilization; in the countries where it is established we witness progressive improvement, while those which are deprived of its benign influence present a melancholy spectacle of ignorance, barbarity, and decay. On such a ground as this, the lowest ground on which Christianity advances a claim for attention and support,—the tendency to improve the civil condition of all who embrace its doctrines, it is singular that the East India Company and their agents should not have eagerly lent their assistance, countenance, and protection, to those meritorious individuals, who devoted themselves to labour in this important and hitherto neglected field. Yet, strange to say, the very contrary was the case! instead of support, they met with opposition; and the present generation will scarcely believe, though the circumstance must be fresh in the recollection of all who remember the controversy excited by the Missionary question, twenty-five years ago, that an attempt should have been made to prove, by argument, that it was wrong to make known the revelation of the true God to our fellow-men; or if, in some instances, it might be permitted, (as in the case of *remote* nations,) that we ought not to instruct *that* people, who were affirmed to be the *most* superstitious, and *most* prejudiced, and who were, moreover, *our own* subjects.

‘The want of a free expression of public opinion, through the medium of the press, has evidently tended to perpetuate and support the various abuses, religious, civil, and commercial, which, up to the present day, have continued to infest our system of rule in India. Where freedom of speech and publication are unknown, even good laws are of little avail, for their dictates will be set aside: it is easy to conceive, then, what must be the effect of the absence of these immunities, where arbitrary power, in its fullest extent, so completely prevails. The East India Company still claims and exercises a power, which was originally given for the protection of their commerce, at an early period of their career, when, with the permission of the Mogul, and trembling at his beck, they had planted factories in two or three insulated positions on the Indian coasts. This power, the right of sending all British subjects, whatever may be their business or occupation, without cause alleged, or specified crime, out of the country, while foreigners, of every description, are free from its operation—the Company now uses in

support of its political despotism. When it occasionally happens that a writer appears in India, whose innate rectitude of feeling and energy of mind prompts and enables him to place in open daylight the scene which is passing before him, such a conduct, so truly characteristic of a British spirit, speedily draws down the full weight of government displeasure, which, unchecked by public opinion or the enactment of positive law, is enabled, without effort, to ruin the individual, and blast all his prospects of worldly advantage.

'The approaching termination of the Company's charter is pregnant with important consequences, for good or evil, to England and to Hindoostan : in proportion to this importance, it becomes us to embrace every opportunity, and use every means for the acquisition of general and correct knowledge of the subject, which so soon will be brought forward for discussion in Parliament. Associations for this purpose have existed, for some time, in many of our large towns, and are extending themselves gradually through the kingdom : a better means for furthering the purpose to be kept in view can hardly be devised ; the benefit of similar institutions, in keeping up a circulation and interchange of intelligence, in all other cases, has been felt and acknowledged. The question, far from being simply a commercial one, possesses great moral interest ; we wish to ascertain, not only if the mercantile capabilities of the two countries have received the fullest possible development from the present restricted system, but, also, whether it be the best calculated to improve the character of the Natives of India, and to aid in diffusing Christianity throughout the eastern world. If inquiry and investigation should prove such to be the case, then every thinking man will readily exclaim, " Let the charter be renewed, and suffer the East India Company to perfect that which they have so worthily begun." But, if the contrary be rendered evident,—if it be demonstratively shewn that monopolies, in general, are unfavourable to commerce, and that this one, in particular, by restraining the intercourse which would naturally have arisen, of the people of England with those of Hindoostan, has had a powerful influence in perpetuating and keeping alive the wretched superstitions of the latter country, some great change will be imperatively called for, and must necessarily take place: for if, with our imperfect faculties, it be permitted us to attempt to scan the ways of Providence, we may be allowed to believe that, in placing a country like India under the guidance and control of Great Britain, it was not merely intended that we should enrich ourselves from the productions of her fertile soil ; but the boon included also a higher condition, it has entailed upon us the obligation of becoming instrumental in improving the character of her inhabitants, and imparting to them the benefits of a purer and holier religion.'

# PROTESTANT CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT IN ASIA.

DR. SHEPHERD, whom many of our readers may remember as one of the Presidency Chaplains at Calcutta, has recently published a pamphlet on the present condition of our Indian ecclesiastical establishment, and the means of increasing its influence and efficiency. This is a subject respecting which, we are sure, information from any quarter would be acceptable to a large majority of our readers ; but it is particularly valuable from the pen of one whose opportunities of knowledge have been most extensive, and who is entitled, by his character and functions, to be heard with deference and attention. After the recent denunciation of lay interference in the concerns of the Church, we confess we would gladly have avoided the discussion of this question ; but our attention was pointedly directed to it by the reverend author ; and having read his temperate but impressive statements, we know not on what plea to refuse his request to assist in their circulation. To say the truth, we take shame to ourselves for having so long neglected to inquire into matters of such serious importance. The Clergy, possibly, may have some pretence for remonstrating against a vexatious, meddling, vindictive inquest into the extent or employment of their wealth ; they may not unreasonably resent a niggard apportionment of emolument and duty, which would rob them of those claims to respect and reverence, without which their sacred office would soon become the mockery of the depraved ; but he surely will not be deemed an enemy to the Church, who claims, on the part of English parents, some provision for the spiritual welfare of their children ; who calls upon a Christian government to evince some solicitude for the cause of Christianity ; who, for the sake of heathen millions, urges an effort to reclaim them from their present state of ignorance and superstition ; who implores, in the name of the gallant countrymen, to whose valour we are indebted for our stupendous Indian empire, that they be no longer treated as the beasts which perish, but as accountable beings, who have souls to save, and a higher object than earthly glory to attain.

To the prelates of the Church of England, we more particularly appeal ; we demand of them a reason for the unheard of indifference to the cause of religion, which is manifested by the destitute condition of the Indian Church. Of what use are the high privileges and exalted rank which they enjoy among the nobles of the land, if not employed in promoting the interests specially committed to their care. If our memory serves us right, one of the most strenuous opponents of the removal of religious disabilities in the House of Lords, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in deprecating the admission of Roman Catholics to political power, urged the extreme

danger which might result to ecclesiastical establishments in the Colonies, from the influence of sectarian prejudices, or scruples in the breasts of the King's Ministers. His Grace is reported to have said, that he conceived it to be impossible for any person of a religious mind to look to this country without considering her to have long been a chosen instrument for carrying religion to the uttermost ends of the earth; and that, in his judgment, his Majesty could not be fitly represented by a Colonial Secretary who did not profess the doctrines of the Church of England. If after all these protestations of zeal for the propagation of religious truth, it should appear, on the authority of Dr. Shepherd, that the poor and depressed society of the Church of Rome,\* in these countries, has done more in the extension of Christian knowledge throughout the East, than the wealthiest and most powerful hierarchy in the world; and that, in fact, the Right Reverend Bench have, with a full knowledge of the inefficiency of the provision for the religious wants of our Asiatic empire, exhibited the most culpable indifference to their increase,—we trust we may be pardoned for suggesting the propriety of some exertion on the part of those who are anxious to promote the welfare of the people of India, or have friends and relatives in the East, whose interest it is their duty to guard.

Let us not be supposed to insinuate that the dignitaries of the Church of England have been guilty of any studied or intentional discouragement of Christianity in the East. We willingly acquit them of lending the direct sanction of their approval to the toleration of the abominations which are practised by the permission of our Indian Government; we do not say that they have misapplied any fund entrusted to them for the support of the Indian Church, or frustrated any scheme for promoting its prosperity, but we do accuse them of criminal neglect, of timid and unworthy silence, in the place and at the time when it was their duty to speak out; we reproach them with an unwarrantable connivance at the miserable parsimony of the East India Company, in a branch of their administration over which, by the special provision of the English Legislature, they are appointed to watch. We refrain at present from presenting the disgraceful contrast between the policy of Portugal in the days of her prosperity and the system now pursued by England, because we trust that the time is not far distant when some disposition will be evinced in Parliament to redeem our national character in this respect, and to efface the scandal with which the neglect of this imperious duty has long afflicted the Christian world.

Before we proceed to the statements of Dr. Shepherd, it may not

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\* It appears, from Dr. Shepherd's pamphlet, that there exists a regular communication between the head of the Catholic Church at Goa, and the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, and that a gentleman, by name Slater, was lately removed from Croston, in Lancashire, where he officiated as Roman Catholic Priest, and appointed Bishop of the Mauritius.

be amiss to present to our readers a short notice of the Indian Church, and of the mode in which the 'wise and paternal' Government of the East India Company have provided for the spiritual wants of their servants and subjects. Previously to the last renewal of the Company's privileges there was no specific legislative provision for the support of religion in the East. The Charter of King William had, indeed, required the Company to maintain ministers in India, but their number and emoluments were left to the discretion of the Directors, who acting on the belief of the invincible ignorance of the Hindoos, limited their religious establishment to the wants of the European service. The necessity of a license to reside, and the power of arbitrary deportation, vested in the Governors of the Presidencies, will suffice to account for the non-performance by others of a duty to which the Company had omitted to attend, and whatever opportunities of religious observance were enjoyed at the Presidencies before the year 1813, they are attributable to the zeal of the European inhabitants, and the patronage of the local Government.\*

'Never,' says Dr. Shepherd, 'was there a period when the Church was better attended by the laity, nor the duty more zealously performed, nor the Clergy so independently situated, as when the Marquis Wellesley was at the head of the Government of India. To advert to the labours of the Clergy, who were then officiating in Calcutta, is only an act of justice to the memory of those who have finished their course, and are no more; their names must be still remembered by many of the present directors, and their zeal cannot be forgotten. Surely then it is not equitable to represent the European Society at that period in India so totally neglectful of their religious duties as to be little better than Heathens; nor is it just to maintain that the saving truths of religion have been only within the last fifteen years preached, or with due attention regarded in the metropolis of the East. In an attendance on the public service of our Church, the Marquis Wellesley, when in Calcutta, set an example worthy of his exalted situation, and which was not lost on our countrymen there resident. To the Clergy his Lordship held out every encouragement; and by his munificence placed them in a situation no less independent than the gentlemen of the Civil Service. It was under the auspices of the Marquis Cornwallis that St. John's Church, now the Cathedral, was built; and the interest his Lordship took in the observance of public worship, and it may be said in every thing connected with the good of the Church, is so fully recorded in the proceedings of the vestry, at which his Lordship on several occasions presided, as to satisfy the most credulous that the duties of religion were, even at that time, with due solicitude observed.'

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\* It deserves to be noted that the Cathedral of Calcutta stands on a piece of ground given by a Hindoo Rajah, for the specific purpose of building a Christian Church.



Before the termination of the Charter of 1793, petitions from various parts of the United Kingdom had been presented to Parliament, praying that provision might be made for the resort of Missionaries to India, to introduce religious and moral improvement among the Natives; and in compliance or perhaps evasion of their prayer, his Majesty was empowered by the 53 Geo. III., to erect a Bishoprick for the whole of the British territories in the East Indies, and three Archdeaconries, the appointments of which were to be paid out of the territorial revenues of India. Letters patent were accordingly issued on the 2d May, 1814, by which the See of Calcutta and the Archdeaconries of Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay, were established, the whole being declared subject and subordinate to the *jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury*. The salary of the Bishop was fixed at 5,000*l.*, and that of the Archdeacon at 2,000*l.* per annum. This, with the addition of an Archdeacon in New South Wales, a few Chaplains, and Scotch Presbyterian Ministers at the Presidencies, the Mauritius, and the Cape, constitutes the whole of the Protestant Church establishment of Asia. The spirit in which the Directors of the East India Company and the Archbishop of Canterbury have executed the trust thus vested in them by the Legislature, may be best learnt from the following extracts, some portions of which will, we make no doubt, be extremely edifying to our readers:—

‘If it be, as the Bishop of Chester asserts it to be, “a duty incumbent on those who aim at promoting the substantial prosperity of Christ’s Church, to make, in the first instance, a due provision for such of its branches as are without the appointed means of edification and grace; and are consequently in danger of a gradual dereliction, first, of the ordinances, then of the moral duties, and, lastly, of the belief of Christianity,” what will be said when it is affirmed, that since 1805-6 there has never been an officiating minister with the King’s soldiery in India, *when on active service in the field?*’

‘If we look to the formation of our armies, that have been employed in the Peninsula of Europe, we shall find that on every occasion a Chaplain was appointed to each brigade, in addition to the one at head quarters; whereas, NOT EVEN ONE Chaplain has ever marched with the British troops on the Peninsula of India. What possible excuse can then be offered for such flagrant inattention to His Majesty’s explicit and positive commands, relative to the religious instruction and comfort of the soldier, in whatever country, or on whatever duty he may be employed?’

‘That such a gross neglect should have existed for so many years, and even during the period we have had a prelacy established in the East, must excite astonishment. Indeed, it must almost appear incredible, that while we have been labouring to convert others to our faith, we should have been so notoriously regardless of

our own household. That the cause of conversion in the East must have materially suffered by such a continued neglect, cannot for a moment be doubted; for while the public services of our Church are manifestly neglected by us, when surrounded by our native brethren-in-arms, how can we as reasoning men expect to make converts to our religious persuasion? While we are regardless of those already in the faith, such an expectation is not in accordance with common sense; nor is it in accordance with the reasoning faculties of man.

‘It is a lamentable, but *undeniable* fact, that since the conclusion of the late heroic Lord Lake’s last campaign in 1804-5, there has never been *one* Chaplain with any one of the numerous armies that have taken the field. The fact is of such a nature—so hostile to every just notion of religion—so contradictory to the feeling of the country, and in such direct opposition to that part of the existing law, the *Articles of War*, that the melancholy fact will scarcely appear credible.

‘The Bishop of Chester would certainly appear not to have been aware of the circumstance, when in his late discourse his Lordship takes occasion to remark, “that the recent success of our arms to the eastward of the great Peninsula, afford an opportunity of making known the truths of the gospel to a people, &c. &c.” What will his Lordship say, when informed that with those several armies, by which *those successes* were obtained, there was not a single established Chaplain, nor even a solitary Missionary?

‘It may with surprise and earnestness be asked—Can this gross omission, this dereliction of a most responsible duty, have existed for upwards of one-and-twenty years? This total inattention to His Majesty’s express orders, this contemptuous disobedience of the Articles of War respecting the due performance of religious duties when British soldiers take the field, have prevailed for such a lengthened period? The reply is in the *affirmative*, and the assertion is *most unreserved*. And in order to confirm the truth of the sorrowful assertion, it will be but to travel back to the siege and capture of Kemona in 1807, at which place his Majesty’s troops were employed, and where, in conjunction with those of the Company, they severely suffered. Let it be inquired if a Chaplain were present on that occasion to administer religious consolation to the wounded and dying, or to pay the last sad office to the dead. Not one! With his Majesty’s troops at the storming of Callinger?—No! With his Majesty’s troops at the conquest of Hattrass?—No! With his Majesty’s troops at the capture of Kolunga?—No! With his Majesty’s troops at any *one* period of the time when the armies were employed against Nepaul?—Not one! With his Majesty’s forces against Java, or even during the several years we had possession of that island and its dependencies?—Not one! Nor was there a *single* Chaplain with the 25,000 or 30,000 men lately employed against

Bhurtpoor! It has already been observed, that during the several campaigns against the Burmese, there has never been one Chaplain with *any one* army engaged in that war: And when the cholera morbus was spreading devastation in the camp of the late Marquis of Hastings—when hundreds were dying in a day, and the roads and camp were literally strewed with the dead—that revered and illustrious nobleman was deterred not only from appointing, but accepting, the proffered services of a Chaplain, from his Lordship's inability, on the part of the local Government, to grant him any compensation, either *as* covering the extra heavy, and to him ruinous, expenses he would unavoidably be obliged to incur, or *as* a remuneration for services of no ordinary kind, and on no ordinary occasion.

'Such are the much-to-be-lamented consequences arising from the Court of Directors' orders, dated 5th of June, 1805, and promulgated in India, on the 15th of May, 1806.—How many thousands of our gallant soldiery have expired from wounds and sickness without those consolations of religion which our Church holds out! How many thousands of them have been committed to the earth without that last duty—that last tribute of respect being paid to their remains, which that Church enjoins! and how many thousands of our Sepoys have returned, after those several campaigns, to the cultivation of their fields, extolling in the bosoms of their families our prowess, our humanity, and our faith;—*faith not towards God, but towards man*;—thus holding us up as patterns in heroism, and in every noble quality but one—RELIGION! In her service they have had too much reason to believe that we are very deficient, or very supine; and in either case, neither they, nor their families nor connections are, with such a feeling as that apparent deficiency or evident supineness must produce in their minds, likely to become converts to the truths of the gospel.

'If we turn our eyes to the unwearied exertions of individuals in the furtherance of religious instruction to their necessitous brethren at home, this prevailing neglect of our countrymen abroad appears in still stronger colours; and not less unaccountable than to be deplored.

'In the daily prints we often read the result of meetings, whose professed object is *to bring our sailors to the true knowledge of the living God and their Saviour*: and however we may differ on certain points of doctrine and opinion with some of the promoters of such meetings, we can as Christians do no less than commend their efforts, and pray for their success. At one of these late meetings\* the present Marquis of Cholmondeley took occasion to observe, that "as a Churchman he felt it his duty to state that he would not support the undertaking, if its object had been to gain proselytes from

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\* Port of London and Bethel Union Society.

the established religion ; but as its object was to promote the eternal welfare of seamen, of whatever Christian sect they might attach themselves to, he considered it as deserving of the encouragement of every man who wished well to his fellow creatures."

'How cordially must every true Christian join in such his Lordship's sentiments ; and what a sad reflection do such meetings cast on any Government that neglects the best interests of their brave defenders, or tacitly permits their own orders on a point of such vital consequence to the Church Establishment, and through her to the Constitution, as the religious instruction of the British soldier, to be treated with a contemptuous neglect.—And if ever there was a subject that required a rigid investigation on the part of this Government—if ever there was a matter of importance to the State that demanded a Parliamentary inquiry—it is the contemptuous neglect which has for so many years been manifested in the non-observance of those laws (for the Articles of War can be considered in no other light) which were enacted and still continue in force for the better securing to the British soldier the means of religious instruction and comfort, wherever he may be employed.'

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'As it might here be expected that *some measure* be devised, whereby the *existing evil* may for the present be remedied, (and which, it is to be hoped, will be altogether removed by the enactment of further regulations on the renewal of the Charter) the following suggestion is respectfully submitted to the consideration of the governing powers.

'That the former regulations relating to the appointment of a Chaplain by the Commander in Chief, as one of his own personal staff, be renewed—that such Chaplain be considered under the special orders of his Excellency—that he be at all times ready to accompany the King's troops on active service, both when his Excellency assumes the personal command on those occasions, or in his judgment thinks from the number of Europeans so employed the services of such Chaplain are expedient—and that the extra pay and allowances as drawn by the Rev. Dr. M'Kinnon, when with the army under the personal command of the late Lord Lake, be continued till some other and adequate provision or compensation for the arduous duties and extra heavy expense attendant on the situation of a Chaplain General, or the only Chaplain to an Indian army (for it must be recollected that a Chaplain for each brigade, as with our troops on the continent of Europe, is not procurable in India,) be finally adjusted.

'When the Court, in their order of the 5th of June, 1805, abolished all extra allowances paid to Chaplains for extra duties, it may fairly be presumed, that they never took into consideration the probability or possibility of a Chaplain being in the execution of his

duty, put to any extra and unavoidable expence. At Muttra, there are two regiments, one of cavalry, the other of infantry; and the lines occupied by them are at a considerable distance from each other: the two regiments at Khanpore are similarly situated, being at the extremes of that extensive cantonment, and therefore, in visiting the hospitals, and in the ordinary execution of his duty, the Chaplain must incur additional expense; and also additional exposure and trouble to that which falls to the lot of Chaplains at those stations where there is not one, or more than one, European regiment stationed. Why then should not the Pay and Batta, according to his Majesty's warrant, bearing date Sept. 3, 1796, be enforced at all stations where two, or more than two of his Majesty's regiments are cantoned? And this is the more reasonable when the regulations, relative to extra pay and allowances, in favour of their Civil and Military servants, are taken into consideration. Whenever a Civil servant is sent on any extra duty he receives extra pay, under the title of Deputation Allowance, and whenever a Military servant takes a command, he is entitled to the batta of a superior rank, in consideration that from such command he is liable to additional expenses. And as a datum to direct us in respect to the fair claim that every Chaplain has to some consideration, where there are two regiments cantoned, the following order is annexed, in the earnest hope that it may meet the benevolent attention of those in authority, who will not forget that "the labourer is worthy of his hire," and, that a Chaplain has often a wife and family to look up to him as perhaps the only earthly source from which they can obtain present support, or future provision.

It may here be not unaptly remarked, that an officer, when directed or appointed on any occasion to read prayers to the troops, under the absurd designation of *acting Chaplain*, has been allowed to draw the extra allowance, that *very* extra allowance for extra duty which has been refused to a regular Chaplain. Among the instances that may be produced, *one* will be sufficient for the present purpose. Was not Lieut. G. J. Hendy appointed by the late Sir Stamford Raffles to read prayers on certain occasions; and did he not draw the pay and batta of a regular Chaplain, as acting Chaplain at that station? That the necessity for adopting such a measure was unnecessary, will be best proved by the following undeniable circumstance:—*The author, on reaching Calcutta, about two days after the departure of Earl Minto on the expedition to Batavia, and finding transports still in the river, waited on Colonel Carey, Sir G. Hewitt's Military Secretary, and tendered his services, expressing his readiness to embark with a detachment of artillery, then preparing to join the armament proceeding to Java. The Colonel received his proffer with polite attention; but declined it, observing, that there was no provision made for a Chaplain, either to meet his expenses, or to remunerate him for his services; and*

added, that the whole of the tonnage was taken up by the officers and men, and that there was no part appropriated for a Military Chaplain.

'It may here be enquired, whether a prelate of our Church was then in the country. Not at this time. But Bishop Middleton arrived soon after, and was in the country while Lieut. Hendy was performing the *sacerdotal functions of a Priest* : and the only way to account for his Lordship's non-interference, was his non-acquaintance with the fact. And such facts as the foregoing prove the expediency of giving the Bishop a seat in Council, so that his Lordship may personally attend whenever he has any thing to propose regarding the Church establishment. The reasonableness, and indeed fitness of his Lordship's presence in support of such matters as he may deem proper to press upon the attention of Government, relative to *Religion*, must be unquestionable ; but his Lordship's voice should, of course, be strictly confined to the concerns of the Church, and never raised excepting when questions affecting her interests, or those of her ministers, come under the cognizance or discussion of Council.'

On the subject of furloughs and resignations, the following observations are deserving of attention :—

'The number of Chaplains in the Company's service, if effectively kept up according to the late increase, may be fairly considered as sufficient for the due performance of the several duties required of them. But as, from the remoteness of India, a district remains long unsupplied with a Clergyman, on a vacancy occurring, by the furlough, resignation, or death of the Chaplain or incumbent, the number cannot be regarded as *effectively kept up*, without six or eight extra Chaplains being in the country ready to officiate at any vacant district. For the future, therefore, the Chaplains should not be appointed as heretofore specifically to either Presidency, but to India generally, and placed at the disposal of the Bishop, who would thus be enabled to supply the place of a Chaplain who may be absent on sick-certificate or three years' furlough. And whenever a vacancy should occur by resignation or death, the Court should without delay send out to the Bishop another supernumerary Chaplain, *who* in his turn should succeed to a fixed appointment. Such an arrangement would not interfere with the actual patronage of the Court, and would in some measure obviate a most serious evil, for it has occurred that one-third of the stations on the Bengal establishment has been vacant at one time—an evil the present regulations, in regard to furlough, are more calculated to increase than to rectify. For a Chaplain in the Hon. Company's employ becomes entitled to a three years' furlough after an actual residence of seven years in India ; and this without any restriction as to the number of Chaplains who may be present in the discharge of their official duties ; so that out of thirty on the establishment, twenty may at

one time take advantage of the regulation, and absent themselves from the cure of their respective districts or parishes. And, indeed, so far do the regulations tend to increase the evil of such absenteeism; that if a Chaplain should remain abroad in the zealous discharge of his duty for a period of twenty-one years, *without once availing himself of the allowed furlough*, and should by his conduct so far obtain the approbation of the local authorities as to be placed in the higher and more lucrative situations on the establishment; he would be deprived of *every advantage* should ill health or family affairs compel him, after that long service, to take advantage of the furlough to which, fourteen years before, he was entitled—for, under the present regulations, he would not be permitted by the Court to return to his rank and situation, but be reduced to the humiliating circumstance of being appointed on his return to India, to an inferior situation in the service.

‘Thus, strange as it may appear, every inducement is held out to a Chaplain to avail himself of the authorized furlough on the very instant he is entitled to it; no regard being paid as to *how*, or *by what means*, his place during a three years’ absence is to be supplied. Under the *present regulation* it would be cruel and unjust to the individual to oppose his leave of absence on that or any other ground, for self-preservation is the law of nature. And, if a man must, notwithstanding the most praiseworthy exertions in his vocation, be deprived of his rank and situation by the injurious effects of a regulation, primarily enacted for his benefit, he cannot be blamed for making that regulation so far subservient to his own views, as to avail himself of the only advantage which, in its changed form, it may hold out—viz. *the permission to visit his native country for three years, after a period of seven years’ service*. In so doing, he would lose nothing by his return to India, as on his arrival he would be appointed to a station of equal emolument to that which he had relinquished; whereas it has been shewn that the old and zealous Minister would forfeit all the advantages of that station in the service, to which by a *long and unrelenting discharge of duty* he had attained, should an impaired constitution, or the urgency of family affairs bring him to England *after treble the period* of service required by the regulations. For he would be reduced to the distressing alternative of retiring on a pension not adequate to his support, or of submitting to the mortification of being placed on his return to India in an inferior station in point of rank and emolument, and of seeing his *junior* in the service (who had in the early part of his ministry taken advantage of his furlough, and absented himself from duty for the allowed three years) in *possession* of that preferment, which imperious necessity had alone compelled him for a time to quit.

‘That the regulation granting a furlough to the Chaplains originated from a beneficent intention on the part of the Court of

Directors cannot be doubted; and that it was intended by them not only as a restorative to a constitution that might suffer from the baneful effects of an ungenial clime, but as a reward for past services, and as an incentive to future exertions, cannot be questioned. In order then to make the now-existing regulations as to furlough, answerable to the benevolent design of the Court, without infringing on the primary privilege granted to the Chaplains, at the same time keeping in view the vital interests of religion, as far as the residence of an officiating ministry can promote them—Chaplains should be entitled to the furlough after a seven years' service, with the proviso, that only to one-sixth of the Clergy in each establishment such privilege should at one time be granted—and that the claims of individuals to the indulgence should be regulated by seniority in the service. At the same time, as an inducement to the Clergy to remain in charge of their several districts, it should be further engaged, that on their arrival from furlough within the authorized leave of absence, they should be permitted to return to the stations they had for such period left, if previously thereto licensed by the Bishop; and also, that their rank in the service, and their claims to stations of superior emolument, should not be affected by their temporary absence, but preserved to them in the same manner as rank and pay are guaranteed to all other absent servants, who in the East India Company are entitled to the privilege of furlough. And to the end that there might be always a sufficient number of Clergy in India to officiate at the vacant stations or districts, the expediency of having a certain number of supernumerary Chaplains in India, as has already been suggested, as also in what manner it would be advisable to have them appointed, must be apparent. For the increasing the Clergy on each Establishment, and the multiplying the districts in proportion to such separate increase, would not in a comparative estimate of expense, so readily as the plan proposed, counteract the evil consequences arising from stations or districts being for a long period left without an officiating minister.

Dr. Shepherd next proceeds to inquire into the best and safest mode of propagating the Christian faith throughout our Eastern possessions. That the Natives are not very likely to discover the beauty and perfection of a system of religious doctrine, the teachers of which appear to enjoy but little veneration among ourselves, we are quite disposed to believe. We cannot, however, indulge the sanguine expectations which our author entertains of the probable effects of giving to the Indian clergy a higher rank in the table of precedence. To the station claimed for them by Dr. Shepherd they are clearly entitled, but we should anticipate much more effect from the increase of their number, and their means of indulging in acts of charity and benevolence, than from the mere assignment to them of a higher place in the gradation of society. No one who has read the works of the Abbé Dubois can doubt that the conversion of the Hindoos must be a matter of extreme difficulty. We are very far,



however, from believing with the Abbé that the case is desperate. If suitable encouragement were held out by the British Government, to the profession of Christianity; if Natives were made eligible to offices of emolument and trust, and a judicious preference were shown towards those who had abjured idolatry; if the disgraceful treatment of the half-caste Christians were discontinued, and means provided for the religious education of Hindoo children, we still cling to the hope that the people of India would gradually be induced to receive the truths which have hitherto been preached in vain. It were idle to conceal the fact, that as things now stand Hindooism and Mahometanism receive more encouragement than Christianity. Belief in the latter is no passport to favour or consideration; its professors are persecuted and proscribed. While this injustice exists, it were madness to expect the conversion of the people of India. Like other men, they may be stimulated to undergo privations in expectation of reward; but the numbers of those who are capable of a magnanimous sacrifice of fortune, friends, and reputation, for conscience sake, is in India as elsewhere, comparatively small, and the profession of Christianity involves the loss of these, without any prospect of an equivalent in the confidence or estimation of Government. We would not be understood to differ with Dr. Shepherd on the principle of the suggestions which follow, but we confess we attach less importance to them than he appears to do. As auxiliary to a generous and liberal encouragement to the profession of Christianity in India, they are well deserving of consideration, but until that be resolved upon, the relative rank of factors and junior chaplains, or senior chaplains and junior merchants, seems to us of little consequence.

‘It has already been shewn that a great and sad neglect has for years existed in respect to our countrymen in India, *to those who are already believers*,—and that, consequently, there could not possibly be any just ground for entertaining a reasonable expectation of bringing the heathen into the fold of Christ. The best and safest method now to be recommended, if we would induce them to quit the error of their ways, is no longer to remain in that of ours; but to let our attention be directed to those means which may best tend to demonstrate that we have A CHURCH WE VENERATE, AND A CLERGY WE RESPECT.

‘The means, which would be pointed out by any discriminating mind, *possessed of local knowledge*, would be those, which would place the character of our Church on the highest ground; and none would so materially tend to that desired end as A DUE AND PROPER ATTENTION TO ITS ORDINANCES, IN WHATEVER PART OF THE COUNTRY WE ARE ENGAGED; AND THAT RESPECTFUL COURTESY IN PUBLIC SOCIETY, WHICH THE DIGNITY OF THEIR OFFICE INDISPENSABLY REQUIRES, AND ON WHICH THE ULTIMATE SUCCESS OF THEIR LABOURS SO MATERIALLY DEPENDS.

‘Towards the attainment of this great object there might be

adopted one very simple arrangement, which, in its result, would prove of greater importance than at first view may appear,—viz. that of placing the Company's Chaplains on a more suitable rank relatively to the several grades in the civil service: and as from the nature of their education and office they cannot go out as boys, a proper rank in the table of the Company's Precedency should be assigned them on their arrival; viz., those termed junior chaplains on the same grade with factors—the senior chaplains with junior merchants—the Presidency Chaplains of St. John's Cathedral with senior merchants—and the Archdeacon with the Company's Advocate-General, all according to their respective priority of rank. To advert to such a precedence in our own country, would be deservedly ridiculed; in a country, however, like India, governed in a great measure by the force of opinion, it is a matter of more consequence than will be generally believed, if our object be to impress on the minds of the Natives the sacred character of our religion, and the respectability of the priesthood. The rank assigned to each individual by the Table of Precedence is regarded with a most punctilious attention by all classes among our own countrymen, who from early habits are led to pay more respect to outward appearances than they generally merit. In the prevailing opinion of the Natives, a superiority of rank is the very acme of all perfection. They are from childhood such servile observers of the very minutiae of precedence, and such abject slaves to all their numerous forms of courtesy, that they know no other way of judging than by outward appearances. When, therefore, they have from their infancy been taught to pay the most devoted deference to their own priests, and perceive that our clergy in general society, wherever precedence or courtesy is publicly observed, hold an inferior rank, (for they know the exact precedence assigned to every grade in the service) it is not probable that they can entertain very high notions of our religion; and if they do not, how can we reasonably expect that they will become converts to it. The Asiatic in his ideas—in his habits of life—in his notions of religion—in his unvarying observance of its forms, and under his general view of things, must not be contrasted with the native of Africa, or the islander of the South Seas; and, consequently, in his conversion there are difficulties to be surmounted, and these considerably increased by his attachment and adherence to *caste*, which many zealous members of our societies at home, whose object is the propagation of our holy religion, do not fully comprehend, or will not take into the general account. Hence the importance which ought to be, *especially in that country*, attached to a regular ministry, is completely lost sight of. The most fanciful speculations after conversion, as if the objects of our benevolence were a rude and uncivilized people, are greedily laid hold of;—while the very means by which the success of our efforts might be rationally expected, are totally neglected; and all thoughts as to the religious interests

of the numerous and widely dispersed members of our own Church, are absorbed in the vortex of a visionary enthusiasm.

‘By the foregoing expression it is not intended to decry any legitimate attempt to convert the Natives of India, but the method by which such conversion has been hitherto attempted. In the furtherance of that great object it must be had in remembrance that the Natives of India are a civilized and polished people;\* attached to their religion, however absurd its dogmas must appear to us; and more advanced in learning than is here generally credited: they are a people whose sobriety and honesty are conspicuous—whose resentments, when roused, are not easily appeased; and, withal, proud and high minded.† To convert such a people to our profession of faith, must be a work of difficulty as well as of time; and if we do not pursue the proper and regular means, we shall not accelerate conversion, but retard it: perhaps we may do much worse; for if the means we make use of to produce conversion, should by temerity in our proceedings provoke their resentments, or by a careless indifference to the dignity of our Church excite their contempt, the consequences may be serious, and the error irretrievable.‡

‘It may here be remarked, that such is the effect that outward appearances have on the mind of the Native, that he is in a manner governed in his opinions and actions by any superficial display of consequential greatness. Hence in all the religious shows or ceremonies peculiar to that country, there is much pageantry and ostentatious pomp, which tends to furnish him with a belief that there is some HIDDEN CHARM in the object of his idolatry. As then his attention is thus attracted by superficial appearances, if we would make him a convert to our Church, we must give that Church a certain dignity in his eyes—a dignity commensurate with his notions of outward or worldly grandeur, and which may ultimately lead him to seriously contemplate that beautifully grand assemblage of Christian graces, that constitutes the supremacy of our religion over every other religion that does, or ever did exist in the world.

‘It follows, then, that the best and indeed the most reasonable way to attract the attention of the Native to the due reverence of our Church Establishment, is to place its ministers, as already urged,

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\* ‘‘I know no part of the population except the mountain tribes, who can, with any propriety of language, be called uncivilized.”—*Bishop Heber*.

† ‘‘Little do the majority of those who I have seen deserve the gentle and imbecile character often assigned to them.”—*Ibid*.

‡ ‘When Christianity has once obtained a footing in a heathen country, and planted there a colony, which after a period of seeming prosperity and promise, has been ejected, or crushed by violence, the cause of the gospel receives a signal detriment; the prince of darkness erects a trophy, which renders very difficult a fresh attempt to plant there the Standard of the Cross.’—*Bishop of Chester's Sermon*.

on an equally respectable footing with the Civil Service, so as to give to them that influential weight in society, which would have the effect of inducing the Natives to regard them with that deference they ever pay to the higher orders of the Civil servants in the Company's employ: and this would be effectually done by the corresponding rank proposed. Without such influential weight in a society like that of India, the Chaplains cannot command the respect of those among whom they move; and without that respect the Natives will never be induced to regard them as Ministers of a religion worthy their most serious attention. And if they be not imperceptibly led, or gradually persuaded to consider its precepts, and reflect upon its truths; and thus, step by step, allured to admire the economy of redemption; how can we possibly expect them to become converts to its faith? It is, therefore, by an outward shew of respect on the part of the Government, and those in local authority, to the Clergy as a body, and also by themselves as a body being patterns of benevolence as well as teachers of religion—in fine, by their examples as well as by their exhortations that conversion, humanly speaking, is to be expected.'

The point on which we are most inclined to differ with Dr. Shepherd, is the extreme anxiety which he displays not to press inconveniently on the Company's treasury. With him the expediency of this or that scheme of church policy and government in the East, becomes a mere matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, as if the expenditure of thousands or tens of thousands would not be well repaid by the diffusion of the blessings of Christianity throughout Asia. That Dr. Shepherd should have become infected with this miserable economy in the service of the East India Company, is not at all surprising, for we are well aware that the inability to incur additional expence, has long been a conclusive argument against improvements of every description. Whether an increase in the number of judges, or of priests, be proposed, the answer is "we can't afford it;" and to that plea, as things stand at present, there is to be sure no satisfactory reply. It would be in vain for the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Board of Control, to urge an increase of the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment, without either providing some means of its support other than the territorial revenues of India, or instituting a strict inquiry into the disposal of every rupee of surplus, drawn from that source, beyond the actual exigencies of the Indian Government. Mr. Rickards has long ago incontrovertibly proved, that the sums annually paid into the treasuries of India, are more than sufficient for all the just purposes of its public administration. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Board of Control, and Dr. Shepherd too, are in fault, because, instead of resolutely probing evils of the present system, and denouncing to Parliament and the country the unprincipled dissipation of the wealth which is wrung from the industry of India; they content themselves with the suggestion of mere palliatives, and studiously

abstain from the indication of any scheme of reform, which is likely to prove unpalatable to the sovereigns of Leadenhall Street. There, every principle of public duty to England and to India, is with shameless effrontery sacrificed at the shrine of patronage. To preserve that patronage, the cumbrous establishments of imperial power are maintained as charges on a trade, which without the artificial support of influence and revenue, were insufficient to employ a pedlar; expensive factories are supported where none are wanted, and the expenditure of ambassadors defrayed, where there is not business for a travelling clerk. For this all the duties of government are neglected, the just claims of the army are unsatisfied, the administration of justice is abandoned to beardless boys, and the ministers of religion compelled to betray their trust, or be martyrs to its execution. To us it appears that the most expensive establishment suggested in the following extract, were, by no means, a provision too ample for the Church of Asia. It is not necessary that the proposed Bishopricks of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and the Cape, should be endowed with the opulence of Durham, or of Derry, but that sufficient provision be made for the due and orderly administration of the rites of religion to those who are already believers, and the succession of Christian ministers for the conversion of heathen nations, acknowledging the sovereignty of England, seems to us to be a duty, the performance of which, as long as the least unnecessary expence exists of any kind, no financial difficulty can excuse. The scheme of a navigating bishop, half priest, half sailor, and whose visitation is traced by Dr. Shepherd, were truly apostolical, but we very much fear that 'nolo episcopari,' would be returned to an offer of the new mitre from every parson in the United Kingdom, unless, indeed, it be the learned and pious divine to whose zeal in the conversion of souls, we are indebted for the work under review.

'Dr. Buchannan's zeal for an Episcopal establishment in the East, urged him to suggest the expediency of appointing a metropolitan Archbishop, and three suffragan Bishops, &c. &c. But near two years previously to such his suggestion, viz., 1805-6, a plan for Church Government in India had been proposed on a much more moderate and limited scale; and under, at that time, a prevailing supposition, that all our foreign possessions were, in Church matters, controlled by the Bishop of London, as being attached to his Lordship's diocese, the proposed measure was submitted to Bishop Porteus, who, expressing his own approval, advised its being submitted to his Grace of Canterbury for further consideration, and which was accordingly done.

'The measure proposed was, the appointment of a Vicar-General, or Bishop, with three Archdeacons. The latter were to have been the three senior Chaplains at the three Presidencies, who, having risen from the junior situations, and served at the several stations of their respective Presidencies, would have been

enabled to assist the Bishop with every local information relative to the rules and regulations of the service,—the manner and customs of the country in regard to the Europeans,—the habits and prejudices of the Natives,—the stations, as to their locality and importance, in respect to the number of Christians,—and indeed as to the various other matters of which a Bishop in India should necessarily be in possession. The Archdeacons were to receive 500*l.* per annum, in addition to their salary as senior Presidency Chaplains. Here, at the very outset, was a saving of 4,500*l.* per annum, as each Archdeacon now receives 2,000*l.* per annum :—and thus there would already have been a saving of nearly 70,000*l.*, whilst the establishment would have been much more efficient than that now formed.

The Bishop was not to have been considered as stationary or fixed to either Presidency; but to be a truly Asiatic Bishop, extending his visitation to the interior, as well as to the Presidencies. He was to have spent his first year in personally visiting each station on the Bengal establishment,—in consecrating such churches as might be built in the interior of the country,—in holding confirmations at the head stations of every district, &c.—and in issuing such regulations for the furtherance of religion as, from his own local knowledge he might deem expedient. (Considering the extent of country, and the number of stations where his presence is actually required, together with the arrangements he would have to make, it would take him the year in a proper fulfilment of his duties.) He was afterwards to have proceeded to Madras, and to have spent the greater part of the second year on that establishment, in a similar performance of his episcopal functions. On the third year, after visiting Bombay and its interior, he was to have returned to Bengal; and thus was he to have made his triennial visitations of stations as well as of Presidencies.

‘It may be recollected, that when India was first erected into a see, the Island of Ceylon formed no part of the diocese of Calcutta. The expediency of making it a part of that diocese originated with the late Bishop Middleton, who, in his third visitation, deemed it expedient to include Penang. Thus, much of the valuable time, which that prelate would have been enabled to have given to visiting the interior of his diocese, was engrossed by sea voyages. A similar encroachment on the time of the late Bishop Heber is to be lamented; and, consequently, how to prevent its recurrence merits consideration.

‘The Bishop of Chester, in his discourse already adverted to, observed, that “the duty incumbent on a Christian Government, of providing for the religious instruction of its Christian subjects, is a duty which cannot be denied, however the acknowledgment of it may be evaded.” The force, therefore, of his Lordship’s observation must be acknowledged to be such as to warrant a suggestion on the expediency of appointing a second Bishop; should the object

which the societies for the propagation of the Gospel, at home and abroad, have in view, viz., the "establishment of three Bishopricks instead of one," be for the present postponed. Indeed, such a measure may be opposed and rejected on the ground of increasing expence, without meeting other, and perhaps still stronger, claims to the beneficent consideration of the Board and the Government, than those within the limits of the three Presidencies; for it may justly be advanced, that if our ecclesiastical establishment be of any use—if Episcopacy be necessary or essential any where, some such form of discipline, and such an order as that of Bishops, are surely wanted, to superintend the Protestant Church in our islands, no less than on the continent of India. And as we are assured, by the voice of truth, that whatever good we can do should be more especially done to the household of faith, the appointment of a second Bishop, to the eastward of the Cape, appears to be a measure so truly desirable as hardly to be resisted.

'By the appointment of a *second* Bishop, whose episcopal functions should be directed to the colonies and islands eastward of the Cape, the future Bishop of Calcutta would be empowered to confine his duties to the continent of India; and not, like his regretted predecessors, for the favourable accomplishment of a sea voyage, have to hasten through the interior of his extensive diocese, in order to take advantage of the different monsoons which prevail in the Eastern seas.

'Under a supposition that a *second* Bishop should ultimately become appointed, and consequently his attention be directed to our colonies or possessions in that distant quarter, the following is the course, with the several places of stoppage, which he could, with advantage to the best interests of religion, most conveniently to himself, take in his visitation. And as his residence, if Bengal, Madras, and Bombay form the diocese of Calcutta, would be nominally or ostensibly at the Cape, his visitation is considered to commence from *that* point.

'Leaving the Cape, it would be desirable for him first to visit the Mauritius, which may be considered, in point of distance, from twenty to thirty days' sail; from thence he would go to Ceylon, a passage of about three weeks; from Ceylon he would cross the Bay of Bengal, and reach Penang in about twelve or fifteen days. On quitting Penang, he would sail through the straits of Malacca, and touch at Singapore, in his way to Canton, a voyage from sixteen to twenty days. On his departure from Canton he might visit Melville Island, another of our settlements, and from thence through Torre's Straits, to York Point, coasting New South Wales to Port Jackson; this voyage would occupy about three weeks; from Port Jackson to Van Dieman's Land would be a passage of about ten days: and sailing from thence to St. Helena, which may be considered the best course in his return to the Cape, he would finish his visitation in about three weeks more.

'But if the two Presidencies of Calcutta and Madras should, on deliberation, be deemed of sufficient magnitude for one diocese, *Bombay* might form a component part of the second Bishoprick. And, as the latter Presidency is the track of several China ships, as also the principal Port of the Company's marine, the Bishop from it would always have the best opportunities of making his visitations, and at the most moderate expense; and for which a fixed allowance might be made, in order to prevent any unreasonable charges.

'If Bombay were a part of the second diocese, the Bishop could visit the interior of this Presidency every other year, and the only difference in the route of his more extended visitation by sea, would be in his sailing *first* to Ceylon, and returning by the Mauritius to Bombay, which in this case would be his Lordship's ostensible residence instead of the Cape. In the course thus pointed out, the Bishop would be enabled to take his passage in such ships as might, in their times of sailing, offer most convenient accommodation; and as in the order of ports already laid down, there are always ships to be met with, it would be unnecessary to take up or engage any particular vessel for the whole visitation; which cannot but be desirable, as saving a vast expense, and making the Bishop master of his own time.

'An objection to the foregoing measure may arise from an apparent incongruity in uniting the Government colonies and a part of the East India Company's possessions under *one* Bishop, and hence as to the mode of payment of his Lordship's salary and pension. But be it recollected, that at this moment two Government colonies, viz., Ceylon and New South Wales, are annexed to the see of Calcutta, and therefore there can be no reason for allowing such objection to have any weight; and as the Archdeaconries of Ceylon and New South Wales would be transferred to the diocese of the second Bishop, the Government and the East India Company might readily adjust the payment of his Lordship's income, by a comparative relation to the different places he would have to visit, as being in his jurisdiction. That the *duties* of the two Bishops would, as to their own individual ease and comfort, bear no comparison; and that the performance of *those*, which would indispensably be required of the second Bishop, would be attended with danger, as well as many privations, must be evident; it follows then, that in point of income and retirement, the second Bishop should be placed on an equal footing with the Bishop of Calcutta.

We cannot conclude without expressing our acknowledgments to Dr. Shepherd, for the information which his pamphlet has been the means of communicating to the public, and we have great pleasure in recommending it to those who have the interests of religion and the honour of their country at heart.



## AN AUTUMN EVENING.

*From 'The Blackburn Gazette.'*

SEE the Autumn Sun declining,  
 Gilds with radiant gold the west ;  
 And his latest beams reclining  
 'On the Ocean's silver breast,'  
     Brighter glowing,  
 Ere he leaves the world to rest.

Still upon the verge of Ocean,  
 Lingers the refulgent ray,  
 Which adorns the downward motion,  
 Of the glorious orb of day,  
     As he mildly  
 Draws his parting beams away.

Where sultry heats, so late distressing,  
 Parch'd the arid sun-scorch'd ground ;  
 Now the gentle breeze refreshing,  
 Wafts odoriferous scents around,—  
     And all bounteous  
 Bids the fragrant dews abound.

Gleaming twilight, next succeeding,  
 Veil'd in mists is Nature's face ;  
 Further still she swift receding,  
 Yields to night her transient space,—  
     And flits away,  
 Other setting suns to grace.

Night, the hour of calm reflections ;  
 Night, the time of solemn thought :  
 Night, to view the vast perfections  
 Which the source of being wrought,  
     Draws her curtain,  
 And spreads her ebon shades afloat.

Hush'd in silence—lost in shadows—  
 Ev'ry aerial warbler still ;  
 Not a sound across the meadows,  
 Save the sweet ton'd Philomel,  
     Nightly chanting  
 By yon ever murmuring rill.

Now the Moon, in heavenly grandeur,  
 Rising sheds her mildest rays ;  
 And in true majestic splendour,  
 Travels through the glittering blaze  
     Of countless stars,  
 That spangle heaven's ethereal maze.

Thus, as night to night returning,  
 I've watched the calm retreat of day ;  
 Have view'd amaz'd, the sun adorning  
 The ample bosom of the sea,—  
     Then retiring,  
 Astonish'd how these things can be.

## VOYAGE FROM BOMBAY TO MADRAS AND CALCUTTA.

## No. V.

*Departure from Point de Galle in Ceylon,—Negapatam—Tranquebar—Pondicherry—Covelong.*

Point de Galle, April 22.

WE embarked at day-light under the expectation of a fresh land-breeze to take us out clear of the inner harbour before sun rise, the passage being so narrow, and hemmed in by sunken rocks on every side, that it is only with a fair wind that a large ship can get out. Being already unmoored, we slipped from a stern anchor laid out for us by one of the pilot boats. The wind was light from off the land, and gradually dying away, and the heavy swell that rolled in from seaward occasioned us twice to pitch our spritsail yard under, and one surf broke nearly over the forecastle, though we had then every stitch of canvas set, and were not going a knot a head through the water. We continued in this way with boats towing for fully three hours, during which time we had gone little more than a mile from our anchorage, and it falling now a dead calm, with a heavy sea breaking in from the southward, the ship was no longer under the management of the helm, and we were obliged to anchor. We rolled here during this calm in such a way as to endanger our masts, which, if not well secured, might have been fairly rolled over the side, and the ports were all shut in, and secured on both sides to prevent our shipping water. Some of the horses below were thrown off their legs, and indeed it was not an easy task to walk the deck steadily, since the ship rolled, and pitched and tumbled about as much as in the heaviest gale of wind, and though it was a perfect calm, the surf beat against the rocks under our stern with such force, as to throw their spray to the height of fifty or sixty feet in the air.

We remained in this unpleasant situation until past noon, when the sea-breeze set in, and enabled us to weigh and make sail. We could then but just weather a dangerous rock, called the Bellows, from its breakers giving forth a sound of blowing as they roll their foam over it, and lying off the easternmost point of the entrance to Gallee-harbour. Having cleared this at two P. M., the pilot left the ship, and we made sail to the southward in company with the *Laura*, Captain Dennis, from Mocha, bound to Bengal, who had sailed in the morning from the Outer Roads here, and not having since brought up, was consequently far a head of us.

At sun-set, having steered along a low and woody coast, in the direction of E.S.E. for about four leagues, we came abreast of a small islet, close to the shore, covered with trees, and called Woody Island. A little beyond this, to the eastward, we remarked the red

cliffs, which give the name of Red Bay to the height of the coast on which they appear. When the centre of the bay bore N.N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. we had the point of Dondra Head, bearing East, just visible through the haze.

We rounded this Cape, which forms the extremity of the Island of Ceylon to the southward, at the distance of about a league, the weather being squally, and the wind off the land. It is a low projecting point covered with cocoa-nut trees close to its extreme edge, and has this peculiar feature of distinction from low lands in general, that just off its pitch to the southward there is such deep water that no soundings are obtained within a mile of it, within one hundred fathoms of line.

23d.—At day-light, the visible extreme of Ceylon bore north, and we were at some distance from the land, a southerly current having carried us further off than the course, a distance by the log; for since rounding Dondra Head we had steered E. by N.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N. sixty miles, to pass outside the Great Basses, and at noon were in latitude  $6^{\circ} 1' N.$  and longitude  $81^{\circ} 44' E.$ , or to the S. E. of it.

We hauled now N.N.E., to make the Little Basses before dark, and at  $5^{\circ} 40' P. M.$  brought the breakers in one with Chimney Hill, bearing N.W. Having passed these two dangerous reefs, which, standing at the distance of seven and nine miles from the shore, impede the safe navigation of vessels round the S.E. coast of Ceylon, and have been the cause of many shipwrecks, we hauled a north course with the wind off the land, and a current setting to the northward and eastward, at the rate of a mile an hour.

At sun-set, the Chimney Hill bore N.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., and the northern visible extreme of the island N. by W. We found Captain Honsburgh's directions and delineations of the coasts, and its sea marks perfectly accurate throughout. These were evidently from observations made during his own voyages along this coast, and not from the authority of others, on which he has sometimes necessarily been obliged to rely; and it is but justice to this indefatigable and able hydrographer, to state that in all parts of the coast which he describes from personal observation, his descriptions are constantly accurate, clear, and intelligible.

\* 24th.—At day-light, we were within a league of the coast, which was here edged with a white sandy beach towards the sea, a plain country, abundantly wooded behind, and ranges of broken hills rising in the interior, presenting the aspect of a rich and a diversified country.

We had light winds from the southward and south-east, with fine weather, and smooth water. At noon, we observed in latitude  $7^{\circ} 14' N.$  and longitude  $82^{\circ} 2' E.$  with a remarkable piece of table land having a lump like a square tower rising from one end, called by the English Westminster Abbey, from its resemblance to that

edifice in shape, bearing S.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W., and another equally remarkable hill, called the Friar's Hood, in shape exactly like a friar's hood, when thrown over the head, bearing W.N.W. distant off shore from four to five miles.

The wind still being from the southward, we now steered N.N.W. to keep the shore aboard. At two p. m. a sail was discovered a head, turning to windward, and at 3° 30' we passed under her stern, and spoke her. She proved to be the ship *Duncan*, twenty-three days from Calcutta, bound to Bombay, to which port she belonged.

At sun-set, the hill of Westminster Abbey bore S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W., and the Friar's Hood S.W., distant off shore five or six miles. The wind now began to fall light, and draw more off the land, so that before midnight we were close hauled, steering N.N.E.

25th.—We intended to have anchored at Trincomalee for a few hours, partly for the execution of some business there, but the strength of the land winds which blew right off from the N.W., and the set of a current with them kept us at such a distance off the land in the morning, as to render our anchoring there difficult.

It fell calm at eight a. m., and we had a sultry day. The current now set us to the northward, and at noon we observed in latitude 8° 45' N., and were in longitude by chronometer 81° 38' E., with the top of some of the interior hills of Ceylon just visible above the water, bearing S.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W.

At sun-set, we were still a great distance off the land, though it was still in sight, and all our endeavours to close in with it were opposed both by the wind and the current. We were completely off the bank of soundings, having no bottom with a hundred fathoms of line.

During the night, it continued calm, with light airs at intervals from the seaward, but of short duration, and variable.

26th. At day-light we had drawn in so as to have the low land about Point Pedro and Point Palmyra, or the northern extreme of Ceylon, in sight from the mast-head, our soundings being in sixteen fathoms, full twelve miles off the shore. The whole of the northern portion of the island beyond Trincomalee, in the districts of Wanny and Jaffnapatam, forms a striking contrast with the general aspect of the country south of Colombo on the coast, and of Candy in the interior. The whole of the southern part of the island is hilly near the sea, and mountainous as it recedes inland towards the centre. Some of the ranges presenting masses of the most fantastic shape. The northern part is altogether one extended plain, with simply a beach of sand overhung by groves of cocoa-nut trees to be seen from the sea, fringing the coast, and not an eminence of any kind to be distinguished as breaking the line of those trees from the interior.

At noon we observed in lat.  $9^{\circ} 52' N.$ , and were in long.  $80^{\circ} 47' E.$  with soundings in twenty-six fathoms, and no land in sight. We had thus passed on the outside of the long sand bank, called Point Pedro Shoal, which curves round the northern extreme of Ceylon. This was surveyed by Capt. Heywood, in H.M.S. *Leopard*, in 1802, and a passage between it and the shore was found practicable—the channel being about three miles wide, and the depth throughout from seven to nine fathoms on soft mud. The shoal itself may be approached to six fathoms on the outside in the day time, and eight at night, and on the shoal itself there are in few places less than three fathoms water.

As we opened the straits between Ceylon and the Peninsula of India, called the Gulf of Manaar, on the south of Ramisseram and Adam's bridge, and Palk's Bay to the northward of Jaffnapatam, the winds drew more southerly through it, and we felt the northerly current here more strongly. These straits are not generally navigable by vessels drawing more than six feet water; but small brigs drawing twelve and thirteen feet, go down through them in the S.W. monsoon, when it would be dangerous for them to go round the southern extreme of Ceylon. On reaching the shoal barrier between Ramisseram and Manaar, they lighten to six feet by discharging their cargo, and after passing over, take it in again, this occasioning them a detention of three or four days only, as there are always labourers and boats here at the proper season to give the necessary assistance. On the island of Ramisseram is a celebrated pagoda, which is frequented by pilgrims from every part of Hindoostan. Its celebrity is connected with some local veneration of the spot on which it stands, and with some traditions regarding the passage of Adam's bridge, and the separation of Ceylon from the continent of India. From the Island of Manaar to Calpenteen is the scene of the pearl fishery, so that at particular periods of the year both sides of these straits have a superabundant population, and it is remarkable that though this northern and north-western part of Ceylon is much less fertile, less healthy, and less agreeable in every respect than the southern coast; it is here that all the most colossal ruins and surprising vestiges of the population, the wealth, the superstition, and often the useful labours of the early Ceylonese are found. There are some remarks and conjectures as to the cause of this seeming inconsistency, in the Introduction to Mr. Bartolacci's *Work on Ceylon*, which are both ingenious and satisfactory, and throw great light on the subject.

27th.—We had crossed over, with light southerly airs, from the Island of Ceylon to the Coast of Coromandel, steering N.W., to keep well in with the land, and keeping in from twenty to fifteen fathoms water.

At sun-rise, we found ourselves nearly abreast of Negapatam, within five or six miles of the shore. The town from hence had a

straggling appearance, though there were many neat buildings scattered along the beach near the sea shore. The fort is situated to the southward of the town, where there is a small river, having a dangerous bar at its entrance, and, therefore, navigable only by small country vessels, which must pass close to a battery on the north side of the river, either on entering or coming out, for there are two channels which are used, the weather one on going in, and the lee one in leaving the river, according to the prevailing monsoon. The anchorage for large ships in fair weather, is with the flag-staff west, in five fathoms; but in foul weather with the flag-staff W. by S., and the largest of the Pagodas of Nagore N.W. in seven fathoms, in both of which berths good holding ground is found. To the southward of Negapatam, about eight miles, is a long shoal with twenty to twenty-four feet water on it. It lies at the distance of from three to four miles off shore, and extends for six or seven miles in a direction of north and south. Small vessels, of course, pass over and inside it—but large ships generally keep without, approaching it no nearer than six and seven fathoms, as those are the depths close to its outer edge. The depths between it and the shore vary from three fathoms and a half to five. There is a rise of tide of three feet on the springs experienced here, and high water falls at five o'clock on the full and change.

The first Europeans who possessed Negapatam, were the Portuguese. From them it passed into the hands of the Dutch in 1660, who fortified it so strongly, that it formed one of their chief settlements on this side of India. It surrendered to the English in 1781, after withstanding a siege made by land and sea forces under the joint command of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes and General Sir Hector Munro. The besieging force is stated to have been much less effective than that of the garrison. The siege lasted about a fortnight, during which time the garrison made several desperate sallies, but were repulsed, and refused to listen to the summons to surrender. This was at length submitted to, however, on condition of military honours being granted to them, and private property respected. In the following year, when peace was concluded between the English and the Dutch; the town of Negapatam and its dependencies were ceded to the former by treaty, in whose possession it still remains as a dependency of the Government of Madras, and garrisoned and made tributary to that Presidency. Negapatam was considered formerly as the principal Port of Tanjore, and as such carried on an extensive foreign and inland trade. It imported cotton from Bombay and Surat, raw and worked silks from Bengal; sugar, spices, &c. from the Eastern Islands, Java, Sumatra, and Malacca; elephants, horses, timber, and gold, from Pegu; and the manufactures and productions of China from Canton. As it was itself chiefly a manufacturing town, its exports were made in muslins, chintzes, handkerchiefs,

ginghams,<sup>†</sup> cotton cloths, and coarse articles of clothing for the American and West India markets, suited to the wants of the negro slaves there. The wars of Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo, are thought to have been the chief cause of the decline of its consequence, and since that period it has not possessed much importance as a place of import for foreign trade; but there still continue to be large manufactures of cotton in the various kind of cloths made on this coast, carried on under inspection of a commercial resident and other officers at Negapatam.

To the northward of the town about three miles, we observed an old black pagoda of a rude and inelegant shape, standing close to the sea-beach, and about three miles farther to the northward, were five white pagodas, of a much more light and elegant form: These resemble, from a distance, five obelisks, for they are precisely of that shape, being square at the base, and rising to a considerable height till they terminate nearly in a point at the summit. On a nearer approach, the appearance of dark windows, or of something which form lines of black, alternately with the white, is seen. They all stand near each other, and the principal one being much higher than the rest, they form altogether an excellent sea-mark on the coast.

Close to these five white pagodas, and on the northern side of them, is the river of Nagore, on the bar of which it is eight feet at high water, and the rise of tides about three feet on the springs, when high water falls at a quarter past eight o'clock. The anchorage in the road of this place is two or three miles off the river's mouth, with the five white pagodas bearing W.S.W. in five fathoms. The town of Nagore, which is under the Government of Madras, and has a Commercial Resident, is a place of manufacture for cotton cloths, &c., and the Natives there are wealthy enough to have small square-rigged vessels for carrying on their own trade.

We had an earlier breeze to-day than we had been favoured with for many days past, and, crowding all sail, we soon came abreast of Karicaulo, neither the town nor fort of which are easily discernible from the sea, as they lie about three hundred yards up from the mouth of the river, on the northern bank of which they are seated. This place, with a rich and populous territory around it, was a grant of the Rajah of Tanjore to the French, in 1749, and at subsequent periods. It then exported the produce of the surrounding country, in rice and other grain, and the labour of the people in manufactured goods of various kinds. The country itself is represented as the most fertile of any portion of this coast, being watered by two navigable branches of the Cavery, which descend through it to the sea. The fort was besieged in 1760, by an English force under Major Monson, and there were then 155 pieces of cannon, besides mortars, and a proportionate quantity of ammunition and other military stores, found among the spoils when they surrendered.

There were then dependent on this settlement of Karicaul 113 villages, the revenue from which, including the customs of the port and town, produced 30,000 pagodas a-year.

At noon, we observed in lat.  $10^{\circ} 55' N.$ , and were in long. by a set of lunar distances taken in the morning and brought up to noon, of  $80^{\circ} 5' 10'' E.$ , and by chronometer, at the same time,  $80^{\circ} 3'$ , having the five white pagodas of Nagore to bear S.W. by S., and the town of Tranquebar to bear N.W., with soundings in fourteen fathoms.\*

The breeze continued to freshen from the S.E., and, as we hauled in N.N.W. in order to have a nearer view of Tranquebar, we came up abreast of it at one P.M., within the distance of a mile or two, so as to be able to distinguish all the buildings of the town quite plainly. The Danish flag was displayed from a very elevated flag-staff affixed to the northern end of the principal church, which had a tower at its other end, and stood apparently near the centre of the town. We answered this by the display of our own flag as we passed, and neither of us hauled them down until they were no longer to be distinguished by the other. The appearance of Tranquebar is interesting from the sea. To the southward were chiefly the dwellings of the Native Indians. The bastions of the fort, which were constructed of black stones, were seen close to the sea, with the surf beating on their foundations. In the centre was a large dark building, which appeared like a church, with a tower at one end and the flag-staff at the other. North of this, and apparently without the fort, was a pretty modern house, with a pillared portico, whose white columns were well contrasted with the verdure of a garden of trees behind them. Close by this stood a larger edifice close on the beach, with its light yellow front relieved by lofty pilastres in white chunam, facing the sea. The centre of the town showed the tops of many large and apparently well-built houses, and in the roads were anchored two brigs, and several smaller vessels, engaged most probably in trade. There is a small river at Tranquebar, for coasting boats, but vessels anchor with the flag-staff from W. to W.N.W., in five or six fathoms.

As a settlement of Europeans, Tranquebar was first subject to the Danes, whose flag still flies there. The circumstances which led to their first possession of it are worth noting. About the year 1612, Marcellus de Boschhonder, an officer of the second rank in the Dutch East India Company, was sent with letters from the States General, and Prince Maurice, of Nassau, to Cenuwieraat, Emperor of Ceylon, the object of which was to undermine as much as possible the interests of the Portuguese in India, and to expel them as speedily as possible from Ceylon. The Dutch ambassador was received with great consideration, and the result of his mission was a treaty between the States General and the Emperor, by which they were permitted to build a fort at Cotjaar, or Trincomalee, the



materials for which were to be provided by the Emperor, who was also to provide magazines of stores for their goods and merchandize. Boschhonder was detained in the island, at the Court of Candy, rather against his own wish, but, during a stay of several years, all the honours that could be conferred on him were granted by the King, and in the conspicuous part which he acted, both in council and in the field, where he repeatedly met and defeated the Portuguese, he became one of the greatest heroes and most distinguished characters in the country. He was at length invested with unlimited powers to conclude treaties and form any engagements he thought fit, in the King's name, and being unable to procure the necessary aid which they desired against the Portuguese, from this country, it was thought expedient to send him to Europe, in order to make known his powers to the States General, the Prince of Orange, and the Directors of the Dutch East India Company.

When Boschhonder arrived in Holland, some dissensions soon arose between him and the Directors of the latter body. This Prince of Mingore (for that, among a multitude of others, was one of his Candian titles) exalted above measure by the part he had acted in Ceylon, the influence he had acquired, the servility he had experienced, and the rank and the titles which he enjoyed, exacted more homage from the Directors than they were disposed to yield to one whom they regarded as their servant and inferior. The Prince of Mingore, accordingly, listening more to the suggestions of vanity than to the precepts of duty, repaired to Copenhagen, where, on the 20th of March, 1618, he concluded a treaty with Christian the 4th, King of Denmark, which promised to secure to that monarch those advantages, of which the want of more condescension in the Dutch East India Company, to their supercilious countryman, seemed to have deprived them.

Boschhonder sailed from Copenhagen, in the *Elephant* man-of-war, with a yacht to attend her, which had been furnished him by the Danish king, for the conveyance of himself, his wife, the Princess of Mingore, and their numerous retinue. The East India Company also sent five ships of their own for the purposes of trade, under the command of a Danish nobleman, named Gule Gedde. These were on the Company's own account, but for the *Elephant* and her yacht Boschhonder had guaranteed to the King of Denmark the payment of their value by the Emperor of Ceylon. This enterprising character unfortunately died on the passage out, and it was not until twenty-two months after leaving Copenhagen that the squadron anchored in the bay of Trincomalee.

On anchoring here, intelligence was sent to Candy of the arrival of the fleet, and of the death of the ambassador and his son, on the voyage, while copies of the treaty were forwarded, and a statement of the charges for the vessels, which were stated to have been, *all of them*, built for the Emperor, and to be awaiting his orders. The

Emperor's grief and disappointment at the death of his most distinguished favourite, was accompanied, also, with a feeling of so much indignation at the injustice of the claim made on him for vessels which he had neither authorized to be built, nor could ever hope to use, that he despatched messengers to declare he would have nothing to do with the ships, and that as for the treaty, he should never ratify or observe it.

The Danish Admiral, Gule Gedde, now thought fit to show his resentment on the yet unburied corpse of Boschhonder, which was still on board, as well as that of his son. It is said that the interment of this unfortunate ambassador was accompanied with circumstances of the most marked contempt, and an expression of the most vindictive feelings, while the corpse of the son, merely because his Danish Majesty, Christian the Fourth, had stood sponsor, at his baptism, was buried with all the pomp that the funeral obsequies of a royal infant could have demanded. From his wife, too, who still remained alive, to mourn over her husband and her child, this unfeeling Admiral took nearly the whole of her property, and sent her off to Candy, with three staatdogters, or maids of honour, and an old waiting-maid, where she remained at the court for about seven years, and then was taken by the Danish Admiral, Rowland Carpes, with the Emperor's permission, to the settlement at Tranquebar.

To amend, in some degree, for this failure of the expedition to Ceylon, Gule Gedde proceeded to the coast of Coromandel, seemingly in search of some eligible spot for a settlement; when he anchored at Tranquebar, and purchased of the Rajah of Tanjore the port itself, and a limited district around it, for the payment of an annual rent of 2,000 pagodas. The troops that were destined for Ceylon, and had come out in the squadron, were now landed here, and a factory, with a good fort for its defence, was soon erected, and the Admiral returned to Denmark.

The Jesuits had settled here some time before the arrival of the Danes, and their persevering labours had made many converts to the Christian faith. Their church is still existing, and besides it, there is another, belonging to the inhabitants and to the garrison, which is called Zion, and a third, erected by the Danish Missionaries, and consecrated in 1707, under the name of Jerusalem. In 1699, the Rajah of Tanjore, wishing to dispossess the Danes of Tranquebar, brought an army of 30,000 men against it; and after incredible labour and patience, they had brought their trenches to within half-pistol shot of the walls. The Danes had applied to the English, at Madras, for assistance, and just at this critical moment the reinforcements arrived. A sortie was immediately made on the besiegers, and they were put to flight, with great loss, and compelled to raise the siege. It was again besieged by the Rajah, in 1718, but without effect; and they have never disturbed them

since. In the year 1807, when the capital of the Danes was visited by the British fleet, the city of Copenhagen burnt, and all its ships of war brought over, for security, to ride in the ports of England. Two companies of Sepoys were sent down from Madras, to take quiet possession of Tranquebar, and both that place and Serampore, on the Hoogly, above Calcutta, the only settlements belonging to them in the East Indies, surrendered to us without resistance. Since the late restoration of affairs in Europe to their pretended former footing, both these places have been restored to the Danes, and their national flag was flying here as we passed it to-day.

We continued to enjoy a fine breeze from the S.E., and at four P. M. were abreast of Devicotta, a fort seated on a small island, just within the entrance of the river Coleroon. This place may be known by a thick grove of trees near the sea, and four remarkable buildings farther inland, called the Pagodas of Chalambaram, which bear directly west, when on a line with the centre of the grove. There is a dangerous shoal, which stretches from the mouth of this river to the southward, as far as the southern end of the Coleroon wood. It is steep too, on the outside the western, shoaling suddenly from twelve to four fathoms, so that it would be prudent not to approach it within fifteen. His Majesty's ship *Falmouth*, according to the testimony of Horsburgh, in standing toward this shoal in the night, with an intention to tack, in twelve fathoms, missed stays, and got into four and a half, where she anchored, and was fortunate enough to be able to warp out in the morning, as the weather was fine. The fort of Devicotta is said to be strongly built, and well planned, but is at present without a garrison. In 1768, it was taken from the Rajah of Tanjore, by an English force, under Major Lawrence, when the garrison were put to flight. It was once intended to have been formed into a harbour; and a formal cession of the surrounding territory was obtained by the East India Company, from the Rajah, with that professed view; but this object was abandoned, and it is still a place of obscurity, though still under the government of the Madras establishment.

At sun-set, we had the flag-staff of Porto Novo bearing S.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. off shore, about six or seven miles. This is described to be one of the best ports on the coast of Coromandel, but it can only be in southerly winds, when it is sheltered by the Coleroon shoal, just described, to the southward of it. To haul into this anchorage, it is advised to bring the flag-staff to bear W. by N.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N., and the two central pagodas of Chalambaram S.W. by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W., at the same time, when a vessel may stand in clear of the north end of the Coleroon shoal, and anchor in six fathoms mud, with the southernmost of the pagodas S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W., and the flag-staff of Porto Novo W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., off shore two miles. The river, or creek, is navigable only for small boats, and the water procured here is said to be bad. It was once a place of sufficient consequence to support both a French and

a Dutch factory at the same time; and there is still current a Porto Novo pagoda, a gold coin of their own mint, which is seen in the list of exchanges at Madras; but at present its commerce is confined to a small coasting trade.

As the breeze continued fresh and fair, and carried us along at the rate of nine knots, we were abreast of Cuddalore before dark. A little to the northward of this are the ruins of Fort St. David, a bone of contention between the armies of Pondicherry and Madras, the possession of which was disputed often and warmly during their contests in this country. The town of Cuddalore, which is about a mile to the southward of it, is large and fortified, and is still considered to be populous and flourishing, as a place of manufacture and trade. The site of the present town, with a small district around it, was purchased for 31,000*l.* sterling, from a Mahratta Prince, by Mr. Elihu Yale, on account of the English East India Company, in the year 1686. It remained in their peaceable possession for more than half a century, during which period it had been fortified sufficiently to resist two unsuccessful attacks which were made upon it by the French in 1746. This was the year in which the French Admiral, M. de la Bourdonnais, arrived on the coast of Coromandel, with a hostile fleet of eight ships, mounting 398 guns, with which he beat off an English fleet of six ships and 270 guns, and afterwards captured Madras; yet Cuddalore was able most effectually to resist the same force. In 1758, M. Lally, one of the most celebrated of the French Commanders in India, began his operations, by the siege of Cuddalore and Fort St. David. The town and fortress both capitulated, the garrison being unusually slender, and these were all taken prisoners to Pondicherry. The French then demolished the whole of the works of Fort St. David, reducing both it and all the villas and seats of the English in the neighbourhood to a mere heap of ruins. Since which period they have never been restored. The town, however, coming into our possession again at the following peace, recovered its former prosperity, as a manufacturing place, though not its importance as a military one, and thus it still remains to the present day.

Although we enjoyed all the pleasure which sailors never fail to derive from a fair and freshening breeze, yet it was a circumstance of regret to us all, that we should pass by Pondicherry in the night, more particularly as the boldness of the coast admits of sailing along sufficiently near to distinguish the most interesting objects, and as we had read that this capital of the French dominions in India, and seat of their supreme government, was the largest, the strongest, and the most beautiful European settlement in the East.

28th.—At day-light we could just perceive the hills of Sadras, and the pagoda near the sea at Mahavellipooram, on our larboard quarter, bearing about S.W. At day-light, we had the town of Covelong bearing N.W. by N., with a ship at anchor in the roads

here, and St. Thomas's Mount N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. The appearance of this place from the sea is extremely pretty, and some of the houses there seem rather mansions of the rich, than simple dwellings of Native traders. This port was the seat of the Ostend Company's factory, on their first arrival in India; and building a fort here in 1723, they made this their principal settlement, and retained possession of it as such until their Charter was suspended in 1727. It is at present under the government of Madras, and one of the principal places for the production and manufacture of salt.

In the afternoon, we anchored safely in Madras Roads.

## FAME.

*From the 'York Gazette.'*

I LOVE thee, mighty trump of Fame,  
When echoing to the winds of Heaven,  
Swells o'er the earth some glorious name—  
Some mind for man and nature given,—  
But more I love the secret praise  
That like the morn's half-opening rose,  
But by its scented breath betrays  
The bower in which its beauty glows !

I love thee, Sun, of stars the star !  
As, throned amid the heaven of blue,  
Rushes thy splendour free and far,  
O'er mountain top and vale of dew ;—  
But more I love the infant ray,  
As rising from its eastern cave,  
With circling flight, with fond delay,  
It seems to kiss the crimson wave.

I love to hear the Anthem's sweep  
Through old cathedrals dim and high,  
Like swellings of the midnight deep—  
Like echoes of the opening sky ;—  
Yet more I love the first faint tone  
That dies along the breeze's wing ;  
Now thrilling sweet, now dim and gone,  
As if a spirit touched the string.

I love thee, Genius, in the hour  
When triumph round thee pours its blaze ;  
When stands in bright consummate power  
The Spirit for a nation's gaze.  
Yet more I love the first rich glance  
Of thy dark eye through early gloom,  
The whisperings of thy half-waked trance,  
The first wild rustlings of thy plume.

A STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE; INCLUDING HINTS ON THE MEANS OF IMPROVING THAT EXPENSIVE AND IMPORTANT COLONY.

As all information relating to our Colonies must prove highly interesting to our readers, we have condensed into the present paper a succinct account of Southern Africa, so that the reader may perceive almost at a glance, and within a compass of a few pages, the natural capabilities and internal resources, as well as the peculiar advantages, of that important settlement.

Whether the ancients had any knowledge of the southern extremity of Africa is a doubtful point : but the first European navigator, who had the honour of doubling that promontory, was Bartholomew Diaz, an officer in the service of John the Second, King of Portugal. He proceeded to twenty-four degrees south, one hundred and twenty leagues beyond the track of former navigators ; and then, stretching boldly out to sea, never approached the coast again till he was forty degrees to the eastward of the Cape, which he had passed without seeing it. He then advanced as far as the River del Infanta, upwards of six degrees to the eastward of Agulhas, which is the most southern point of that vast continent, and near a degree beyond the Cape of Good Hope. The occasion of his return is unknown, but five and twenty leagues short of the above river, he erected a cross on an islet, or rock, which still bears the name of De-la-Cruz, in the bay of Algoa, or Del Algoa, so called from its having furnished a supply of water. The grand promontory which Diaz saw on his return, he named Cabo Tormentoso, from the tremendous storms which he had to encounter in his passage ; but this appellation was afterwards changed by his sovereign to that of Bona Esperanza, or Cape of Good Hope, as expressive of the prospect which the discovery held out of a sure path to India. The path, however, was not explored till ten years afterwards, when the same Diaz served with his brother under that great commander Vasco de Gama, who touched at the Cape, but without making any settlement there. Next to De Gama, was the Portuguese admiral Rio d' Infanti, who strongly urged his government to establish a colony on the southern coast of Africa, fixed upon a river for that purpose, to which was given his own name, but now called the Great Fish River. Some other attempts were made by different voyagers, belonging to the same nation, to colonize the Cape, but none of them proved successful, for the want of sufficient energy and management.

In 1620, the commanders of two English ships in the East India Trade, took formal possession of Saldanha Bay, under the authority of the Company and crown ; but no farther notice was taken of the Cape till the year 1650, when the Dutch East India Company sent out Von Riebeck to form a settlement there. That commercial body

however, never made any efforts to extend the Colony, or to improve the local advantages which they possessed, confining all their care to the Cape itself, as a port for the refreshment of their ships. Thus limited in their ideas, and fearful, perhaps, that a more flourishing colony would require an expensive military establishment, they threw every obstacle in the way of new settlers, allowed no trade to be carried on but what passed through their own servants, and made the Cape entirely dependent upon the government of Batavia. The wretched and jealous policy of the Dutch, was strikingly displayed in the law which they passed, that the nearest distance from house to house, in the interior, should be three miles, thereby keeping the settlers apart from each other, and preventing, as much as in them lay, a thriving population. Thus, a country abundant in natural riches and the means of subsistence, was neglected; the colonists became unsocial in their manners, and the natives either retired as they advanced, or, if any of them remained, it was only to be reduced to a miserable state of slavery, under the usurpers of their natal soil. Another proof of the selfishness, or sluggish indifference of the Dutch government, is the fact, that no geographical survey of the Cape, was ever made till the country fell into the hands of the English, when a map was constructed by the order of Lord Macartney. From this survey, it appeared that the extent and dimensions of the territory, composing the colony of the Cape, formed a parallelogram of five hundred and fifty miles in length, and two hundred and thirty-three in breadth, comprehending an area of 128,150 square miles. This great space of ground, excluding the population of Cape Town, was peopled by about 15,000 white inhabitants, so that each individual might be said to possess eight and a half square miles of ground. The whole territory is divided into four districts, viz. that of the Cape; of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein; of Zwellendam and of Graaf Reynet. The Cape district is chiefly composed of the mountainous part, which gives a general name to the whole Peninsula. The Table Mountain with the Devil's Hill on the east, and the Lion's Head on the west, forms the northern extremity of the peninsula, being in length from north to south about thirty-six, and in breadth eight miles, connected with the continent by a low flat isthmus.

False Bay and Table Bay, one washing the southern and the other the northern shore of the isthmus, are the usual places of resort for shipping. This last affords secure shelter in the pleasant season, that is, from September to May, when the south-east winds prevail; while Simon's Bay, on the western shore of False Bay, is safest for the rest of the year, when the northerly and north-westerly winds are strongest. The latitude of Table Bay is  $33^{\circ} 55' S.$ ; longitude  $18^{\circ} 33' E.$  Of Simon's Bay, the latitude is  $34^{\circ} 9' S.$ ; and longitude  $18^{\circ} 32' E.$

Cape Town is situated at the head of Table Bay, on a declivity;

and consists of about eleven hundred houses, regularly built, and disposed into straight and parallel streets, intersecting each other at right angles. Three or four squares give the town an open and airy appearance. In one is held the public market, another is resorted to by the peasants, from the country, with their waggons; and the third serves as a parade for the troops.

The inhabitants are about sixteen thousand, of whom six thousand are whites, and a mixture between Europeans and Africans, and the rest blacks. The vegetable produce of the Cape Peninsula, consists of grapes, with all the European, and many of the tropical fruits, esculents of every description, and barley for the use of horses. In other parts of this district, however, wheat is raised, and besides supplying the market with grapes and raisins, about seven hundred pipes of wine are made every year. Of these, near one hundred pipes consist of a sweet, luscious wine, called Constantia, the produce of two farms lying near the mountains. The grape is the Muscadel, and though the rich quality of the wine is in part owing to the situation, there can be little doubt, but that an article equally good, might with proper care, be made in other quarters. The vineyards, gardens, and fruiteries, are divided into small squares, and inclosed by cut hedges of oaks, quince trees or myrtles, as a security from the south-east winds, but the grain is raised on open ground.

The natural productions of the Cape Peninsula, are perhaps more numerous and beautiful than any spot of the same magnitude in the known world. Few countries, indeed, can boast so great a variety of bulbous-rooted plants; and at the end of the rainy season the plains at the foot of the Table Mountain, and on the west shore of Table Bay, exhibit a rich appearance of flowers of all colours, while the sides of the hills are finely scented with the family of geraniums, in all their different species. The frutescent, or shrubby plants, growing in wild luxuriance, furnish an endless variety for the labours of the botanist, who never fails to discover some species that have escaped the researches of former naturalists.

The peninsula of the Cape, however, is not equally favourable to the enquiries of the zoologist. The kloofs, or clefts of the mountains, still give shelter to wolves or hyænas, particularly the former, some of which venture at night into the town, whither they are drawn by the offal from the slaughter houses. All the mountains abound with a dusky coloured animal about the size of a rabbit, called here the das, but described by Linnæus under the name of *ilyrax capensis*, and by Pennant, the cape cavy. It is edible but of an indifferent flavour. A species of antelope called the griesbok, or grizzled deer, frequents the thickets and does considerable injury to the young shoots of the vine; and another species named the ducker or diver, from its manner of plunging and hiding itself



among the bushes, may be met with in the isthmus. But the steinbok, formerly the most numerous of the antelope tribe, is now driven from this part of Africa into the interior. The horses of the Cape are mostly of Javan origin, or imported from South America, which last, called the black Spaniards, are deemed most serviceable. Heavy waggons, however, are all drawn by oxen, these animals being remarkable for their strength and docility.

Round Table Mountain hover eagles, vultures, kites, and crows, which birds of prey make up for the depredations they commit, by clearing the roads of nuisances. Wild fowl is plentiful in the winter season, and all the bays and coast abound with excellent fish,—as perch of various kinds, soles, mackarel, and others unknown in Europe. Crabs, muscles, and oysters, the last equal to our own, are also numerous. In the winter, whales come often in the bays, and are taken with ease. They are in general from fifty to sixty feet in length, and yield each about six or ten tons of oil.

Insects abound in such variety all over the country, as to furnish an inexhaustible supply for the enquiries of the entomologist. A species of locust about the Cape, proves very injurious to the gardens, and a minute kind of sand fly is extremely troublesome to passengers; but it is remarkable, that the musquitos are much less offensive here, than on the opposite continent of America, and in the West Indies; scorpions, scolopendras, and large black spiders are noxious, and almost all of the serpent tribe are venomous.

The most striking object at the Cape, is Table Mountain, the north front of which, facing the town, presents to the eye a horizontal line, of about two miles in length. This stupendous mass of rock, appears as if it was supported by several buttresses rising from the plain, and inclining towards the face of the mountain, about half the way up from its base, thus giving it the semblance of a ruined fortress; these walls are 3582 feet above the level of the bay, but the east side, which runs off at right angles to the front, is considerably higher. The west side, along the seashore, is rent into hollows and worn away into pyramidal masses. To the southward, the mountain descends in terraces, of which the lowest communicates with the chain that extends the whole length of the peninsula. The two wings of the front, namely, the Devil's Hill, and the Lion's Head, make with the Table but one mountain; for though the summits have been separated, they unite at a considerable elevation of the plain. The Devil's mountain, the height of which is 3315 feet, is broken into irregular points; but the upper part of the Lion's Head, 2160 feet in elevation, resembles a dome like that of St. Paul's, placed on a high conical hill. There are no appearances of volcanic origin in any part of the mountain, nor have any fossilized remains been found imbedded on its sides. Nothing can be more sublime than the prospect from the summit of

the Table, all the objects on the plain, and in the bay below, being dwindled into mere specks and lines.

The murmuring surge  
That on the unnumber'd idle pebbles chafes,  
Cannot be heard so high.

Here grows, among a variety of handsome shrubs, the *anæa mucronata*, an elegant frutescent plant peculiar to the mountain, and a species of heath, called the *physodes*, the flowers of which are white and glutinous. The air on the summit in the winter, and the shade, is generally about fifteen degrees, of Fahrenheit's scale, lower than in the town: but in summer the difference is still greater, particularly when the fleecy cloud, called the 'table cloth,' appears on the mountain, and gives a sure indication of an approaching storm.

At the Cape they divide the year into two periods, called the good and bad monsoon; but as these are neither regular, nor of any determinate duration, it is more advisable to adopt the quadripartite division. The spring, from the beginning of September to the end of November, is the pleasantest season; the summer, from December to March, is the hottest; the autumn, from thence to June, is variable weather, though generally very agreeable; and the winter, from June to September, is stormy, rainy, and cold. The two most violent winds are the north-west and the south-east; the first being prevalent from the end of May till the end of August, and sometimes through the whole of September; the other predominates for the rest of the year; when the cloud shows itself on the mountain it blows in squalls with great fury. During one of these storms at night the heavenly bodies have a strange appearance, the stars being magnified, and the moon seeming to have a vibratory motion. The approach of winter is observed by the south-east winds becoming less frequent and violent, and the weather being more clear; dews also begin to fall more heavily, and fogs hang in the morning about the hills. When the tempests cease, the distant mountains and the Table itself appear covered with snow. At these times the thermometer, about sunrise, is  $40^{\circ}$ , rising in the course of the day to  $70^{\circ}$ , but the general standard may be reckoned from  $50$  to  $60^{\circ}$  during the season. In the middle of the summer it varies from  $70$  to  $90^{\circ}$ ; but the average is  $83^{\circ}$ , though it has been known to exceed  $100^{\circ}$  at Cape Town. The heat of summer, however, is seldom oppressive; the mornings are sometimes sultry, but the evenings are always cool. The south-east breeze usually begins about noon, and dies away towards night. From November to April there is seldom any rain; and it has been remarked, that notwithstanding the violence of the tempests which occasionally arise, there is less thunder and lightning in the Cape than in any other part, except St. Helena.

Such, indeed, is the happiness of this climate, that scarcely any

fatal disease occurs here except what proceeds from the irregular habits of the people, who by their indolence and intemperance, bring on consumptions, dropsies, gout, and liver complaints. Timber of all kinds, for building and fuel, is very scarce and expensive at the Cape, owing to the negligence of the Dutch residents, as the country beyond this district is well-wooded; and even here, the oak, the white poplar, and the stone pine, are found sufficiently to encourage cultivation. Veins of coal, however, have been discovered in the isthmus, and no doubt can be entertained but that iron also may be found, to answer the expense of digging for both these valuable articles.

The district of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein includes the country from Cape L. Agullas, the southernmost point of Africa, to the river Koussie, the northernmost boundary of the colony, being a line of 380 miles in length, and the breadth 150 miles, comprehending an area of 55,000 square miles; in all which space 1,200 families only were under the old government. Part of this territory, indeed, consists of naked mountains and arid plains; but the remainder is a fruitful soil, and stretching along the great chain of mountains, from False Bay to the mouth of the Oliphant's River.

The drosdy of Stellenbosch, the residence of the landrost or superintendent of this district, is a very handsome village, consisting of about 70 houses, with offices and gardens, laid out into several streets or open spaces, planted with oaks, many of which are of considerable size. In the village is a small and neat church, to which is annexed a parsonage-house, garden, and vineyard. The clergyman has a salary from government of one hundred and twenty pounds a year, so that his situation is extremely desirable in a place free from taxes, and in a country abundant with every necessary of life. The establishment of the landrost is still more sumptuous, his salary and emoluments being equal to fifteen hundred a-year. There are eight estates round this village, which produce wine, brandy, fruit, butter, poultry, and a variety of articles for the Cape Market, and the supply of shipping in Simon's Bay. They yield also a quantity of corn; but this is an article little cultivated near the Cape, for the African peasants or boors are wretched agriculturists, and so obstinate, that though an experienced English farmer, who settled among them, proved by the exuberance of his crops what could be done by labour, his neighbours only laughed at his experiments and advice.

In this district, at a place called Baran's Kloof, is a small settlement of Moravians, or *Unitas Fratrum*, the good effects of whose pious labours afford as striking a contrast to the Dutch system of colonization, as the mildness of Christianity itself does to the ferocity of Paganism. Since the transfer of the Cape to the English, the progress of these enlightened missionaries has been such, that a new settlement has been formed by them under the auspices of our

government. Not far from Bavian's Kloof is a chalybeate spring, chiefly recommended in rheumatic complaints and debilitated constitutions. The adjacent district of Drakenstein is very fertile, well watered, and contains many substantial farms. The *Fransche Hoeeh*, or French Corner, situated in the valley, takes its name from the refugees who sought an asylum in this distant part of the earth, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. To these people the Cape is indebted for the introduction of the vine, which has already proved highly advantageous, and promises to be still more when properly managed. On an acre of ground may be planted five thousand stocks, every thousand of which will yield a leaguer, or pipe of one hundred and fifty-four gallons. Of the rich sweet wines the colony produces a great variety; and it is remarkable that the muscadel grape gives a different flavoured liquor in every estate where it is planted. Some good brandy is also made here; and the raisins are so excellent and reasonable as to leave no doubt of their becoming a considerable article of commerce, together with the olive and the almond, both of which are of a prime quality. The sugarcane grows here vigorously, but it has hitherto been entirely neglected.

The district of Zwellendam runs along the coast, between the Breede river on the west, and Camtoos river on the east, running northerly to the Black Mountains. Its length is about three hundred and eighty, and the breadth sixty miles, giving an area of nineteen thousand two hundred square miles, occupied by no more than four hundred and eighty families. The principal village consists of about thirty houses, irregularly dispersed over a fertile valley, through which flows a fine stream of water.

In this district, Mossel Bay opens to the south-east, the western point, called Cape St. Blaize, being in latitude  $34^{\circ} 10' S.$ , longitude  $22^{\circ} 18' E.$ , and the distance from the Cape about two hundred and forty miles. When the winds blow from S.S.W., W. and round E.N.E., this bay affords safe anchorage for ships; here is a magazine for the reception of grain, the price of which article, at this place, is about twenty-two rix-dollars, the load of thirty-one Winchester bushels. The Bay abounds with fish of various kinds, oysters of an excellent quality, and muscles of a large size, but strong flavour. Great quantities of the common aloe grow upon the plains that surround the bay, the inspissated juice of which, was once an article of considerable trade, but it is neglected. The next division to Mossel Bay is the Autiniequas Land, extending as far as the Kayman or Crocodile's River; the mountains here, are covered with forests, and the land affords sustenance to immense herds of cattle, besides yielding a great quantity of corn. Plettenberg's Bay begins at the Kaymans River, and continues to the inaccessible forests of Sitsiskamma. This tract is exceedingly beautiful; and within seven miles of the Bay are large timber trees, well calculated for building, and exceedingly cheap. In the forests a creeping

plant grows in great plenty, the interior bark of which is a good substitute for hemp. The iron ores, near the base of the mountains, might be worked by clearing the wood, of which there is an inexhaustible supply; and should a settlement be fixed here, a considerable trade may be carried on along the coast, all the way to the Cape.

Olifants, or Elephants River, runs at the foot of the second chain of Black Mountains to the westward, and falls into the Gauritz. The soil near it is strongly ferruginous, and the vegetation luxuriant. The inhabitants cultivate the vine for home consumption, and distil ardent spirits from peaches and grapes; but the articles carried by them to the Cape market, are chiefly butter and soap. A great quantity of gum arabic may be obtained here from the mimosa karroo, the bark of which tree is superior to that of the oak for tanning leather. The wild animals here, are the antelopes, hares, leopards, and tiger cats; while, in the forests beyond, are found the elephant, buffalo, and rhinoceros.

The district of Graaf Reynet extends to the eastern limits of the colony, five hundred miles from Cape Town. The Great Fish River, the Tarka, the Bambosberg, and the Zuureberg, divide it from the Kaffers on the east; the Camtoos River, the Gamka or Lions River, and Nieuvelde Mountains from Zwellendam and Suttentobasch districts on the west; Plettenberg Landmark, the Great Table Mountain, and the Karreberg from the Bosjesman Hottentots on the north; and it is terminated on the south by the sea-coast. The mean length and breadth of the district may be about two hundred and fifty by one hundred and sixty miles, forming an area of forty thousand square miles, which is peopled by about seven hundred families. The inhabitants are entirely graziers, and almost, if not altogether, as great savages as the Bosjesman Hottentots, with whom they are perpetually at war, as they also are with the Kaffers. Here the springbok abounds to such a degree, that fifteen thousand are sometimes found assembled in one herd. Here also are zebras, lions, and buffaloes. Between the two last, sometimes fierce combats take place, in which the lion never fails to be the victor. The buffalo and the zebra might both be tamed, and rendered serviceable in an eminent degree; but the Dutch, in this as in every thing else, have strangely slighted all the advantages which they possess in this rich and diversified region.

Algoa Bay, in this district, is open to every point of the compass, from north-east to south-east, with good anchorage in five fathom water, not far from the shore. This bay, which is about twenty miles in compass, abounds with every sort of fish; and is also the resort of the black whale in great numbers. As there is plenty of salt here, much advantage might be derived from salting beef and fish for the Cape, as well as for the supply of shipping. Hides and skins present another advantageous branch of trade, while the amazing quantity of forest timber furnishes the means of conveying

the productions of labour to other parts of the Colony. The soil is excellent for grain ; but unless a coasting trade be established, the settlers can have no inducement to extend the cultivation of it. The appearances of a rich lead mine have been indicated in this district, the working of which might be carried on, not only without much expense, but with every prospect of further and more valuable discoveries.

Here the English built a fort, when they first got possession of the Cape ; and on the restoration of the Colony to the Dutch, this establishment was considerably extended, under Governor Janssens. What renders this settlement of particular importance, is its situation near the borders of the Kaffer country, and the facility with which, in consequence, any disagreements between the natives and colonists may be stifled in their birth. It therefore became an object of attention to the Dutch, though not till after we had set them the example, and then much money was expended upon the buildings which were left unfinished. It was in this neighbourhood that Dr. Vanderkemp fixed his residence, with another missionary, sent out by the London Society of Methodists ; but the description of Bethelsdorp, the settlement of these men, affords a melancholy picture of wild and misdirected enthusiasm. From this general and rapid survey it will appear evident to the reader, that while Providence has done every thing for Southern Africa, neither the natives nor the former settlers have done any thing. It might have been expected that a people, so proverbially industrious as the Dutch, would have turned this country to the best advantage, by improving its natural productions, and introducing such others as appeared adapted to the fertility of the soil. But, however diligent Hollanders may be at home, they are the worst of all colonianists. The Cape of Good Hope exhibits, in every part, proofs of their negligence, and how much nature may do for a country in spite of man's idleness. Had a different line of conduct been pursued for the space of one hundred and fifty years, during which the Dutch quietly possessed this rich and extensive region, what an aspect would have presented itself on the eastern and western shores of Africa, from the apex of triangle to the tropic of Capricorn ! Looking to what was accomplished in America within the same period there can be no doubt but that, in the same hands, and under a similar government, this vast continent would have, at the present time, displayed the proudest triumph of humanity, in the cultivation of the earth, and civilization of manners. Instead of all this, the great work of improvement is but in its infant state ; and what renders it more difficult and vexatious, is the circumstance that, of all the beings in this vast settlement, the nominal Christians are the most untractable, surly, cruel, and avaricious. While the Hottentots are both able and willing to become humanized, the African boors, of Dutch descent, seem to take a pride in self-

degradation. They hate every thing that has a tendency to ameliorate the state of the aboriginal inhabitants, over whom they exercise a tyrannical sway infinitely more despotic than that of the slave-holders in the West Indies. The Dutch colonist has succeeded so far in brutalizing his disposition, that he considers the shedding of blood as nothing, and will talk of having shot half a dozen Bosjesman Hottentots with as much exultation as if he had gained by his prowess the hides of so many buffaloes. Thus degenerate men are more ferocious than the children of nature, and are brought with greater difficulty to a state of honourable feeling. Of this melancholy truth the whole settlement at the Cape affords abundant evidences; but one instance, among many, is sufficient to show the depravity of the peasantry in this colony. Provoked at the success of the Moravian Missionaries, in civilising the Hottentots, a party of boors, consisting of about thirty, entered into a confederacy to murder the three teachers, and to make slaves of their converts. Providentially for the missionaries, their horrid design was timely discovered by a Hottentot in the service of one of the assassins, and by him communicated to the devoted settlers. This was during the first English administration of the Cape; and the Governor, Sir James Craig, immediately sent off a letter denouncing the heaviest judgment upon those who should disturb the missionaries. The consequence of this was, that the poltroons sneaked away, and from that time the settlement of the Moravians remained in a state of quiet, though not without being objects of hatred to the boors, on account of the improvement which they have effected in the poor Hottentots.

The colonists may be divided into four classes, of which the following sketch will convey a general idea:—1. People of Cape Town. 2. Vine-growers. 3. Grain farmers. 4. Graziers.

The people of the town are an idle, dissolute race, who subsist chiefly by the labour of their slaves, each of whom is required to earn a specific sum every week, by various kinds of employment, as well as to attend upon the family to which he belongs. Why slavery should ever have been introduced into this settlement, it would be difficult for the most zealous advocates of that system to shew, since there is no calling carried on here but what might fully as well have been executed by the hired labour of the peaceful Hottentots. Such, however, has been the policy of the Dutch, that rather than give the least attention to the improvement of the natives, they incurred a heavy expense in the importation of negroes and the purchase of Malays. Since the change that has taken place, slavery has been on the decline; and it is to be hoped the gradual cessation of it will produce a more elevated character, and more industrious habits, among a people who have too long disgraced themselves by a practice which, morally considered, is more injurious to the master than the poor creature under his control. This is exemplified at

the Cape, the inhabitants of which confine their pleasures solely to the sensual indulgence of eating, drinking, and smoking, without having the least inclination to mental improvement, social converse, or manly exercises. When the English gained possession of the place, a theatre was erected, but the Dutch never frequented it; and whether the entertainments were tragic, comic, or pantomimic, all proved equally inoperative upon the phlegmatic minds of these people. But this is not to be wondered at when scarcely a book is to be found, even in the houses of the wealthier inhabitants; and no persuasions could even induce them to establish a public school throughout the whole colony.

The second class, or the wine-growers, are of a superior description, being, as was before observed, most of them descendants of French refugees. Their farms are chiefly freeholds, in extent about 120 English acres, laid out in vineyards and gardens. They have not only the best houses and estates, but in general their domestic economy is better than will be found in most country residences in this part of Africa. They raise little corn, because that is an article easily obtained in exchange for wine; their sheep, also, they procure in a similar way: but they keep as many cows as will furnish milk for their families. The season for bringing their wines to market is from September, to their new vintage in March; but usually, they do so in the four concluding months of the year, after which, their draught oxen are sent to their own farms, or those of others, till they are again wanted. The sandy roads at the Cape, require fourteen or sixteen oxen to draw two pipes of wine. A small tax is laid upon the wine and brandy brought to the Cape market; but all that is consumed, or sold in the country, is free from duty. This is a very profitable concern; and the people engaged in it, never fail to realize considerable property.

3. The corn boors live in or near the Cape district, mostly on freehold estates; and are in general a very wealthy people. They bring a considerable quantity of grain to the market, besides supplying the wine-growers and graziers. More, however, might be raised, were these farmers better agriculturists, but in reality they are indebted for their crops, rather to the goodness of the soil and the favourableness of the climate, than to their own industry. Their plough, a monstrous machine, drawn by fourteen or sixteen oxen, merely goes over the surface, so that where the ground is in the least heavy, it is not penetrated at all. Yet with all their bad management, they rely upon a return of fifteen fold, and even double where the land is well irrigated. The grain is not threshed, but trodden out by the cattle in circular floors. Part of the chaff and straw is reserved for their horses, but the rest is abandoned as of no use, though it would be of material service in the folds where their cattle are pent up at night. Notwithstanding



all this slovenliness, and want of care, these farmers thrive well and realize fortunes.

4. The graziers live in the distant parts of the colony, and are scarcely a shade removed from the Hottentots in civilization. Many of them are Nomades, roving from place to place, without any fixed habitation, but erecting straw huts for their occasional accommodation. The hovels built by such as may be said to be stationary, are of the filthiest description possible, being seldom more than one room, in which the whole family, parents, children, and thirteen or fourteen Hottentots all ~~live~~ together, as well by night as by day. The furniture, of course, is answerable to the mansion, and the dress of the inhabitants, both male and female, is equally appropriate. The stock of the grazier is as easily disposed of, as it is quickly reared and increased; the butchers at the Cape, sending their own servants regularly round the country, to make the necessary purchases, for which they give bills upon their masters, which are paid on the arrival of the cattle. As, therefore, the wants of these people are so few, and those supplied at a trifling expense, if they are not affluent, it must be their own fault. Till, however, they are brought to a proper respect for social habits, and the civil duties of life, they cannot be considered better than a plague to the country, the blessings of which are so grievously abused. It has in consequence, been judiciously recommended, that instead of suffering the butchers to collect their cattle in the manner just stated, certain fixed fairs should be established at Algoa, Plattenberg, Mossel and Saldanha Bays, which would have the effect of bringing on a reciprocal connection between the inhabitants of the several districts, and thus prove a stimulus to industry and good manners.

As these periodical meetings for trade, have been so long in request among most nations, and are of incalculable benefit, it is surprising that the Dutch should never have adopted any thing like them in this region, where they must have proved highly lucrative. Under our government, which has begun to ameliorate this portion of Africa, in earnest, the institution of fairs in different parts of the colony, will no doubt be made an essential point, for the purpose of converging the several local interests, and of stimulating the people on all sides, to exert themselves with energy, in the improvement of their respective districts, by which means they will greatly enrich themselves. Hereby, also, the Kaffers and the Hottentots may be brought to feel a relish for social intercourse and industrious habits; which would have the happiest effects in extending the light of knowledge, and mutual confidence between man and man, over this vast continent to the Straits of Mosambique on the one shore, and as far as Cape Negro on the other. This is no romantic idea, when the progress of the Romans in colonization is considered, and the still greater wonders that have been wrought within a century, on the vast western continent. Here the

obstacles to a rapid improvement, bear no proportion to the prospects of success, and experience shews that settlers have more to dread from indulgence than labour, in a country which yields spontaneously all that contributes to the wants and the luxuries of man. By the united efforts of an increased population, however fertile, this region may be rendered a mart for the supply of other parts of the globe with corn, wines of all sorts, brandy, dried fruits, honey, gums, olives, salted beef and fish; hides, ivory, cotton and raw silk, with many other valuable articles of commerce. This trade on the coast, will of course open new channels of traffic in the interior, and extend to an indefinite extent through Africa.

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### YOUTH RENEWED.

BY JAMES MONTGOMERY, ESQ.

*From the 'Literary Souvenir' of 1826.*

SPRING-FLOWERS, spring-birds, spring-breezes

Are felt, and heard, and seen;

Light trembling transport seizes

My heart,—with sighs between;

These old enchantments fill the mind

With scenes and seasons left behind;—

Childhood, its smiles and tears,—

Youth, with its flush of years,

Its morning clouds, and dewy prime,

More exquisitely tinged by time!

Fancies again are springing,

Like May-flowers in the vales;

While hopes long lost are singing,

From thorns, like nightingales;

And kindly spirits stir my blood,

Like vernal airs that curl the flood:

There falls to manhood's lot

A joy which youth has not,

A dream more beautiful than truth,

Returning spring,—renewing youth!

Thus sweetly to surrender

The present for the past,

In sprightly mood yet tender,

Life's burthen down to cast,—

This is to taste from stage to stage,

Youth, or the lees refined of age;

Like wine well kept and long,

Heady, nor harsh, nor strong;

A richer, purer, mellower draught

With every annual cup is fraught.

## SACRED CRITICISM..

## No. III.

INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE—SOURCES OF INTERPRETATION—  
THE LANGUAGES, TRANSLATIONS, CHRONOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY,  
POETRY, HISTORY, AND RELIGIOUS RITES OF SCRIPTURE—QUO-  
TATIONS EXEMPLIFIED AND RECONCILED.

THE interpretation of Sacred Scripture is the most important subject that can engage the mind of man. The Scriptures contain the words of eternal life: and if there is a subject in the whole universe that deserves our individual attention, without all doubt it is this. That the study of the Scriptures is not free from difficulties, is frankly acknowledged, but what subject, in the whole circle of human knowledge, is *free* from difficulties? or what object of human desire can be attained without labour and exertion? It has long since been remarked that there is no royal road to learning. The man who wishes to acquire useful knowledge, must labour for its acquisition; and in proportion to the value and importance of the object, should be the exertion which he employs, and the energies which he puts forth.

There is a prejudice to be encountered at the very threshold of our inquiries, which it is desirable to remove at the outset. It is supposed that the Bible is a book peculiarly difficult, and that the biblical student must proceed in a manner totally different from what would be allowable and proper in the study of any other ancient book. This prejudice is altogether unfavourable, for although it is true that the Bible is the Word of God, given by the justification of his spirit, and delivered by Him who spoke as never man spoke, it does not by any means follow that it is either obscure or unintelligible. It is also not less true that its contents are more important than those of any other communication that ever was made to the human race.

Yet it will be granted *a priori* that, if God intended to convey his mind and will to mankind, it must of necessity be in a language that is intelligible to them. Were he to address us in a language that could not be learned, the inference would naturally be that he did not intend we should understand it; that we were not bound to understand it; and consequently that the revelation was of no use, or rather that it was not a revelation at all. But the absurdity of such a supposition is evident from the whole history of revelation. Before the confusion of tongues, God made known his will in the only language then existing. Afterwards he continued to make it known in that language, which the people for whose use it was intended were acquainted with; and when that peculiar people were

captives in Babylon, and had become better acquainted with the Chaldee dialect than with their own, in that new dialect a portion of divine revelation was communicated. It is worthy of remark, in further illustration of this truth, that the message which 'God commissions the captives to deliver to their heathen masters, is given in the Chaldee dialect, for the very purpose that it might be intelligible.—Jer. x. v. 11. But what is still a stronger proof of this intention is, that, after the Greek language came to be more generally known than any other, it was in the Greek language that the last and best revelation of the will of God was recorded.

Much has been said, and much still needs to be said, with regard to the necessity of divine teaching. But let it be remarked that this necessity does not arise from natural causes, but from the moral state of our minds. 'Men love the darkness rather than the light, because their deeds are evil.' A similar cause produces similar effects with regard to every branch of study. The mathematics are peculiarly a demonstrative science; and about the conclusions of mathematics there is seldom any dispute, for this plain reason, that it is no man's interest to controvert them. Never can it be the interest of any man to maintain in theory, that the three angles of a triangle are more or less than two right angles; or that the square of the hypotenuse of a right angled triangle is not equal to the square of the base and perpendicular. But let these indubitable and demonstrated truths be applied to the mensuration of a field, or to any other practicable purpose, where there is room for the play of human passions, and where the interests of dishonest men come to operate, and you shall find that principles universally acknowledged in theory, give rise to endless disputes in practice.

The rules of arithmetic too are abundantly plain, but their results are often disputed. Attend to the conduct of a dishonest man in settling a long account, the balance of which is against him. I shall venture to predict you will find him as difficult to be convinced of his error, as the most obstinate theological polemic that ever you encountered; and for the very same reason—because his interest, whether real or supposed, steels him against conviction. I have borrowed this illustration from Hobbes, the Atheist, which, I may remark, affords an illustration of another important truth, that even the greatest enemies of religion are sometimes compelled to make concessions in its favour.

Another obstacle to the study of the Scriptures, is an undue respect for human authority; and implicit subjection to the opinions of others. No man can be expected to recommend a study which he has neglected himself; and with which, if worth the trouble of acquiring, he ought to have been acquainted. The critical study of the Scriptures has been too long and shamefully neglected; and therefore it is not to be wondered that deference to the dicta of others should so frequently occupy the room of enlightened conviction.

tion. This may be illustrated by a short anecdote. Asking once of a venerable clergyman the meaning of a text which I did not understand, and for the explanation of which I had consulted every book from which I had hoped to derive information; he replied by inquiring what I thought myself, and what books I had read on the subject, all which I candidly stated, and still professed that I had not been satisfied. All the information I obtained from him was in the following laconic answer, 'Consult Dr. Guise; it is probable he is of my opinion.'

From that moment I determined to study the Scriptures with more attention than ever I had formerly done, to trust less to the authority of great names, and to yield assent to the opinions of great men, only when convinced by their arguments. I should ever regret if any thing I now advance should encourage in any one who does me the honour to attend these lectures, that pride of understanding which despises assistance. But I must not withhold my conviction, that indolence in the neglect of the means, ignorance of the means themselves, and that culpable timidity which makes a man afraid to embrace the truth wherever he finds it, are the greatest obstacles to progress in knowledge generally, and in the knowledge of religion in particular, as much as in that of any other subject.

I require only these two essential requisites in the study of the Scriptures; in the first place, that you bring to it a candid and teachable disposition, what our great Master calls 'an honest heart;' and secondly, that you study to 'know' the will of God in order that you may 'do it.' And bringing with you these essential pre-requisites, and looking up to God for the teaching of his spirit, I exhort you to study the Bible as you would study any other ancient book to which your attention may be directed.

Suppose, for example, that some ancient classic, of which you had never before heard, were newly discovered; and that you had sufficient inducements, to inspire you with the desire to understand its meaning; what course, I ask, would you pursue, in order to become acquainted with its contents? Would you not, in the first place, endeavour to acquire a knowledge of the language, in which it is written? Next, would you not compare together all the copies of the classic you could collect, in order to obtain one as perfect and correct as possible? If there were translations into languages with which you were better acquainted, you would think it important to procure them. If there were difficulties which could not be removed by these means, you would naturally direct your attention to other collateral sources of illustration; the geography and history of the country in which the author lived, or which he described; the laws, manners, customs, &c., of the people, for whose use the work was written. If difficulties still remained, you would proceed to a more close examination, and critical analysis of the classic composition itself; comparing one part with another, and

beginning with what was more plain, you would endeavour gradually to arrive at satisfactory results, respecting those passages which were more abstruse. And if after all your painful investigation, you still felt apprehensive of the danger of mistake, you would naturally look up to the Father of lights, to bless your endeavours for the discovery of truth.

Now this is the very course I should recommend to you in the study of the Holy Scriptures. First, it must be evident that an accurate knowledge of the original languages of the Holy Scriptures, is of primary importance; especially the knowledge of the Hebrew, in which greater part of the Old Testament was originally written, and which gives a tincture and colouring to the language of the New Testament Scriptures. Besides, a variety of words, such as *Raca*, *Corban*, *Golgotha*, *Abaddon*, and a number of others, which frequently occur in the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, are of Hebrew origin. The idiom and structure of the language of the New Testament writers may in many cases be best explained, by a reference to this source. Blackwall and others, have endeavoured to prove, that the language of the New Testament is classical Greek, by producing expressions from the early writers in that language, similar to the peculiarities which occur in the Gospels and Epistles. In laying down these premises, the advocates of this hypothesis do not seem to consider that, in place of adding to the probability of their theory, they are rather affording a decisive proof, that the Hebrew is the most ancient of all languages, seeing that it early gave a tincture to all other languages, and that it is the primitive simplicity of the Hebrew which diffuses that inimitable charm throughout the language of the ancient writers, which constitutes at once their chief excellence and the most infallible criterion for detecting forgeries.

The primitive simplicity of the Hebrew, the original language of the Old Testament Scriptures, is also a circumstance which facilitates the translation of them into other languages, and renders them better adapted than any other style of composition, to the instruction of the 'poor, to whom the gospel is preached.' The existence of a Greek translation of the Old Testament, for several centuries prior to the dispersion of the Jewish nation, produced what has been called, the Hellenistic dialect, that is, the Greek which was spoken by native Hebrews—having a strong tincture of their native tongue.

The attempt to explain the Scriptures critically, without the knowledge of the original languages, is an anomaly in science; and it is only the frequency of it that prevents it from being obviously observed. Allowing that the Scriptures are well translated, (and the excellence of our established version is generally submitted) yet as the words and phrases of different languages do not and cannot exactly correspond with each other, some degree of obscu-

rity, and sometimes ambiguity, are unavoidable in a translation. In many cases words cannot be found to express the precise meaning of the original. Complex terms in different languages, embrace sometimes more and sometimes fewer ideas. The translation is therefore in danger of expressing too much or too little; and among different terms which may be adopted for the translation, it is sometimes difficult to determine which comes nearest to the truth. It is possible indeed, to translate such words by a paraphrase; but paraphrases, in proportion as they gain in perspicuity, lose in precision, force, and beauty. And after all, the man who is ignorant of the original, whatever other assistance he may have, must, in most cases, take his information upon trust; and, in many instances, adopt opinions which he would not have done had he possessed the means of judging for himself. These observations are intended for those especially whose destination in life contemplates the instruction of others.

Nothing is more common than to hear preachers of this description, remark an emphasis in the expressions of the translations, where there is none in the original; such phrases as 'trees of God,' 'mountains of God,' which have been supposed to contain some mystical meaning, are intended simply to express large trees, exceedingly high mountains—such as human art is incapable of producing or imitating. On the other hand, a real emphasis is often overlooked. Of this we have a fine example in the translation of II. Peter, i. v. 7, 'Add to your faith virtue.' In this passage, the word translated 'add,' is very inadequately rendered. The original word expresses a beautiful allusion to the chorus in the ancient tragedy, where the principal personage leads the way, taking by the hand the next in succession, who again leads by the hand the third, the whole choir in order, thus advancing, in a long compacted line, every part of which co-operates to the regularity, harmony, and perfect symmetry of the action. An emphasis has often been remarked in the passage, 'I *will* be to them a God, and they *shall* be to me a people.' But the distinction betwixt *will* and *shall*, on which the emphasis is founded, has no place in the original; both verbs are merely expressed in the future tense, as promises usually are.

II. The peculiar structure and idiom of the original languages is important to be known and attended to. Every language has modes of expression peculiar to itself, which demand particular attention, in order to be understood. This is one of the chief difficulties in acquiring a foreign language; and it is a difficulty which we feel more sensibly when we attempt to speak, write, or translate a foreign language. This difference in the idiom and structure of languages, arises from numerous sources, and more especially from the diversified modes of thinking which prevail in different countries. All the nations of Europe have produced

writers in the Latin language, the greater part of whom, whilst they wrote in a foreign language, have thought in their own vernacular idiom. The result of this has been that, instead of a classical composition, they have respectively produced a semibarbarous jargon of their own. It would be endless to enumerate ridiculous instances of mistakes, arising from misconception or mistranslation of the peculiar idioms of different languages. This is a fertile and familiar source of entertainment in comedy, where foreigners are introduced as speakers. A familiar example of such a mistake, may serve to impress the truth of the remark on the memory. Gall and Spurzheim, the craniologists, had a parcel of stucco casts of the human skull, which were exhibited for sale, in the window of the well-known Corri. It seems, that in the German, the same word which signifies a human soul, signifies also the skull. The appalling impression, therefore, may more easily be imagined than described, which was produced by the sage label that invited the passengers' attention—"Human souls sold here."

III. A knowledge of the translations into other languages, especially into the ancient languages, is not only useful for emendation of the sacred text, but likewise for understanding its meaning. Many corrections of the sacred text have been proposed, upon the authority of ancient versions, which, when rightly understood, show nothing more than the profound ignorance of both.

IV. Much light may be derived in the interpretation of the Scriptures, from a knowledge of the geography and scenery of the country in which the writers lived, and to which in their writings, frequent allusion is made. In the song of Deborah and Barak, for example, we read Judges v. 21, 'The river of Kishon swept them away, that ancient river, the river Kishon.' Here a question, one would think, must naturally occur, (which in fact does *not* seem to have occurred to any of the translators.) Why is the river Kishon, which was, and is, in ordinary cases, a small stream (though at that time it appears to have been swollen by the rain) why is it styled *ancient*? If we examine the original, we shall find that the word thus translated is *Kedem*, and that the primary meaning of that word is *eastern*, because the east was the cradle of the human race. Hena *Cadmus*, literally the eastern, is the name of the man who first brought letters into Greece. Turning again to a description of the rivers of Palestine, we learn that there were two rivers called Kishon, both rising in the mountains of Tabor,—the one flowing west into the Mediterranean Sea, the other east into the Lake Tiberias. It was the latter of these—the *eastern* Kishon, which swept away such numbers of Sisera's army; and now we discover the beauty and propriety of this graphic description, 'the river Kishon, the *eastern* river, the river Kishon swept them away.'

V. A knowledge of chronology is in many cases important, and



peculiarly useful to correct mistakes, and reconcile apparent differences; especially in the account of the lives of the ancient patriarchs, and of the Kings of Judah and Israel. To give you a single example. It is generally taken for granted, that Cain and Abel were the first born children of our first parents; though this is no where said in Scripture. But infidels, taking this for granted, have ridiculed Cain's apprehension lest some one should find him, and kill him, seeing on their assumption, there was none in the world, himself excepted, but his father and mother. Another class of them have presumed to account for the circumstance of Cain's apprehension, by supposing that there were several races of men created coincident with, or prior to, the creation of Adam. But the ridicule of the one, and the gratuitous supposition of the other, are both set aside, by simply noticing the chronology. Adam was one hundred and thirty years old at the birth of Cain and Abel, who cannot well be supposed to have been less than twenty years of age at the death of the latter. The command, therefore, to increase and multiply, having taken effect at this period, that is, in the one hundred and fiftieth year of the world, according to the calculation of Lightfoot, (which any one, moderately skilled in the common operations of arithmetic, may verify for himself) there may have been, and there is reason to believe there actually were, thousands of descendants from the original pair by that time.

VI. History is another source of interpretation. To sacred history in particular, there are frequent allusions; especially in the poetical parts of Scripture. History and chronology reciprocally throw light upon each other. Thus, the age of the book of Job, is determined to be posterior to the flood, and to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, because it contains allusions to both. It is likewise determined to be anterior to Exodus, because in it there is no allusion to that event. Bishop Stock, in his late translation, has rendered himself ridiculous, by an absurd and unsuccessful attempt to find out some allusion to the Exodus.

In Psalm lxxvii. v. 19, the general meaning is obvious, and the expression beautiful. But the beauty and propriety of the terms, are rendered more apparent, when we consider the historical fact to which the passage alludes,—God's 'way was in the sea,' when through the Red Sea, he opened up a passage for his people, and conducted them safely over its channels as on dry land—and the traces of his footsteps, which he plants in the sea, were no longer to be discerned, when the impatient billow returned to its strength and overwhelmed his enemies.

Sacred history is a fruitful source of Scriptural illustration. The Scriptures abound with an exhaustless variety of the most interesting allusions, drawn from this source; many of which are passed over unobserved by careless readers and superficial thinkers. The apostle's description of ministers as earthen vessels, has an allusion

to Gideon's earthen pitchers; by the breaking of which alarm was carried into the camp of Midian, and the victory shewn to be of God. In the same manner he alludes to the falling of the walls of Jericho, when he says, 'the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong-holds.'

Besides the sacred history, the history of all nations is subservient to the illustration of Scripture. From the tenth and eleventh chapters of Genesis, we learn more respecting the origin of ancient nations, of the names, genealogies, destinations, and settlements of the various families and tribes of mankind, than could have been gathered from *any other* source,—nay, than from *all other* sources united. And to the names mentioned in these two chapters, there are such frequent allusions throughout the Scriptures, that many passages would be unintelligible without an acquaintance with them.

There is such a close connection between promises and their performances, predictions and their accomplishment, that without the knowledge of history, it is impossible to perceive the force and exactness of both. The history of Cyrus, by Xenophon, is a full and faithful development of the truth of the predictions regarding Cyrus; and Josephus's History of the Jewish Wars, is the best comment upon the prediction of our Lord, respecting the destruction of Jerusalem.

VII. The manners and customs of the Jews in ancient times, and of the Oriental nations who still retain their ancient customs, is of the greatest utility. Many Christian expositors confiding in the dogmatical authority of German or Spanish Jews, (who knew as little of Oriental customs and manners as themselves, and far less than the bulk of the literary public now know from the writings of modern travellers) have thus rendered themselves ridiculous, and their writings fanciful and erroneous. Dr. Hammond among the Armenians, and Dr. Gill among the Calvinists, are writers of this description. In the natural history of the Holy Land, most others, until within little more than half a century, and many of them much later, relying on the authority of Aristotle and Pliny, (or, perhaps, on imperfect translations of them,) for their accounts of the botany and zoology of the Scriptures, have exposed themselves to be laughed at by those who, from a reference to more authentic sources of knowledge have come to be better informed. The account of Sampson's foxes, which has been ridiculed by infidels admits no room, when properly understood, for their prophane railery; when it is considered that the same word which signifies *fox*, signifies also a *jackall*—that the jackall resembles the fox in various respects, and even in the sound it utters,—that it is a *gregarious* animal—of which an *equal number*, to that which Sampson provided, could easily be collected at this day and employed for any similar purpose of annoyance.

VIII. The consideration of the scope and connection of a particular book or passage, and the comparison of the words and phrases that occur in one passage with similar words and phrases in other passages, or other books, which afford more ample illustration, is of immense advantage. Many men, of good plain sense, by the assistance of marginal references in their Bibles, have attained a knowledge of Scripture, which seems almost incredible to the indolent and inattentive.

Many of you may have heard prudence inculcated under the name of *holy guile*, an absurd phrase which has been universally exploded by all who have formed more correct ideas of the passage from which it is pretended it was originally borrowed.—2 Corin. xii. 16. 'being crafty, I caught you with guile.' Let any man of common sense read the whole chapter, and observe the scope of the passage; he will find that the object of the Apostle is to defend himself from the accusations of his enemies, that he was not sincere in the regard which he professed for the church to whom he wrote, that though he took no maintenance from them for himself, it was only an expedient to draw from them more liberally in future. He anticipates the objections of his enemies in these words, which must be rendered interrogatively. 'Be it so, I did not burden you; but being crafty I caught you with guile!' And so far from appearing guilty, of what modern refiners would have justified, under the sanctimonious appellation of a pious fraud, he repels the objection by appealing to fact, 'Did Titus make a gain of you by any of those I sent unto you?'

IX. The comparison of the Old Testament with the New, especially in those passages of the former which are quoted or alluded to in the latter, is an important source of interpretation. This department opens up a wide field of investigation; the parallel passages and other subjects of comparison are numerous, and many of them confessedly difficult. This is a subject too which, notwithstanding its importance, has been less assiduously cultivated than most of the others I have already mentioned; most writers having treated it briefly and superficially, the only book expressly written upon the subject which has come to my knowledge, is 'Surenhusius de formalis allegundi Scripturas.' This work is quite adequate to the purpose which the writer intended, namely, to answer the objections of the Jews, by an appeal to their own principles and practice in quoting Scripture in their own writings, some of which principles are solid, but many of them are such as cannot satisfy any rational mind, and are only calculated to bring religion into contempt.

Having cursorily pointed out several of the principal sources of Scripture interpretation, I shall, in my future lectures, enter into a more minute examination, in doing which it shall be my endeavour to comprise and condense into as narrow a compass

as possible, the statements and reasonings which I shall bring forward. Instead of confining myself to the order above laid down, I shall commence with the principles of interpretation last mentioned, viz. Scripture quotations.

It may not be improper here to observe, that we are much indebted to the numerous scholiasts and commentators who have laboured in this field of biblical literature; both to those who have written upon the whole of the sacred books, and to those who have confined their attention to detached passages of Scripture. Even from the most defective commentators something may be learned; and in consulting the best of them caution is to be used. Catholic commentators consider themselves bound to support the peculiar opinions of their church, as expressed in the voluminous writings of the fathers, and too many Protestants have proceeded upon the same principle.

To this latter class of commentators belong Lightfoot, Schoetgenius, and Dr. Gill, who, from attachment to particular nostrums, seem hardly to think it safe to attempt to explain an obvious clause in the New Testament, unless they can find out something like it, however far fetched, in the writings of the fathers. This timidity on the one hand, and hair-splitting nicety on the other, are alike reprehensible and ridiculous. A minister, in expounding the sermon on the Mount, thinking it necessary to say something with regard to every clause, sagely observed, (and, I think, quoted his authority to prove in reference to the exordium of that discourse,) that when the orientals spoke they opened their mouths. Grotius, Elsner, Rapheilius, and others, seem to think it equally necessary to find some parallel passage in the Greek or Roman classics. A knowledge of the peculiar tenets and opinions of a writer is the best key to his commentaries, and enables us to profit by the perusal of his works. The anti-heretical zeal of Hammond, for example, serves to account for his having discovered, in almost every chapter of the New Testament, the heresy of the Gnostics.

It is much to be regretted, (yet impartiality demands the remark) that some of the most esteemed commentators, seem not so anxious to discover the mind of God, or to ascertain the precise meaning of an expression, or a discourse, as to fix upon them a meaning which will consist with and favour their peculiar creed. Others there are whose vague and ambiguous expositions serve rather to involve and perplex, than to elucidate and determine the meaning of Scripture. This is the great fault of Dr. Gill and of Dr. Guise. On all disputed passages, it is their usual practice, first of all, to warn you of two or three things which a passage does not mean; then to suggest three or four more, any of which it may mean; but, after all, to leave you to find out for yourself, what it really does mean.

Another observation, of no small importance, is, that the doctrinal

disputes which have subsisted among the various sects of Protestants, have confined their attention so exclusively to that peculiar province of texts and passages on which they rest their respective doctrines, church order, and modes of worship, that they have had little leisure, and still less inclination, to examine, with the same attention, other parts of Scripture, equally important, and equally deserving of their investigation. Yet, even from the most partial and polemic theologians benefit may be derived; for whilst many of them are by no means safe guides upon doctrinal passages, yet on subjects of common interest, information, both solid and interesting, is frequently communicated.

Such writers as Estius, Locke, Pierce, Benson, M'Night, may be profitably consulted upon many points of history, chronology, and general literature; although it would be unsafe to trust them upon some others, Dr. Taylor's *key*, and M'Night's preliminary remarks and dissertations, (which are in a great measure borrowed from it,) do not exactly fit the Apostles' *wards*; but were contrived to suit the system which the writers had previously espoused. In his 'Harmony of the Gospels,' M'Night has seldom led his followers astray; as he had less temptation to go astray himself.

Calvin, Piscator, and Bengellius, are perhaps as honest and candid interpreters of Scripture, as any who have come down to our times. To the honour of the last of these, it may be said, that he often conveys more important information *in a line or two*, than some voluminous writers do in a whole *page*. And of Calvin, it has been said, "*Quod novit, clarissime explicabat; quod non novit, calledissime conjiciebat.*" I believe there is not one conjectural reading of the New Testament, suggested by him, which has not since been confirmed by original MSS.

I trust this digression, (if it be really such,) will be pardoned; as I consider it one of the most important services that can be rendered to the biblical student, to direct him in the choice of books, and to point out the cautions necessary to be observed in consulting them.

Before entering on the subject of Scripture quotations, as a source of interpretation, I would only further remark of interpretation in general, that the felicitous rendering of a word or of a phrase often reflects light upon a whole passage; and that idioms which are hardly transmitted into one language, may be advantageously translated into another. In many modern translations, some passages are improved, brought nearer the original, while in others they are deteriorated and rendered less faithful. A judicious selection of what is most excellent in each, would form no contemptible exposition of Scripture.

I now proceed to direct your attention to scriptural quotations, a subject important in itself, but of especial importance to the critical inquirer.

Quotation from the Old Testament, and allusion to incidents therein recorded by the writers of the New, form a department of biblical criticism of great importance, and at the same time of no small difficulty. Those who have not been at the pains to examine Scripture quotations and allusions, are not capable of appreciating either the one or the other. If you take a common English Bible, with the usual references; and turn from the quoted passages in the New, to the places in the Old Testament, from which they are taken, you will soon collect a number of variations and discrepancies that will perhaps puzzle and astonish you. But there are some considerations which will tend to lessen, if not to remove, the difficulty.

I. The established translation of the Bible was not the work of an *individual*, but of a company of learned men appointed for the purpose, who distributed the books of Scripture among themselves, and each of whom executed that portion of the task of translation, assigned him, separately. And although the whole, or greatest part of the translation thus executed, was afterwards read over in the hearing of the translators in company, yet it cannot be expected to be so uniform as it doubtless would have been, had the whole of the translation been the work of one man. This circumstance, therefore, produces an appearance of discrepancy in the translation, which does not exist in the original.

II. The copies from which this translation was made were neither so numerous, nor so correct as those which we now have; only a comparatively small number of MSS., and those not the most ancient, having been collated for this purpose. And hence every defect in the copies and MSS. from which they translated, was calculated to give rise to corresponding defects in their translation.

III. The authority of the Masorites in the translation of the Old Testament, and that of the Latin Vulgate, in the translation of the New, were regarded with a degree of reverence which they did not deserve, and which they would not now obtain.

IV. A set of military rules were prescribed to the translators, in consequence of which they were in some cases prevented from following their own better judgment. One of these rules was, 'you shall not change the old ecclesiastical words, such as congregation for church, overseer for bishop.' Had this rule not been considered as imperious, we can hardly imagine that they would have translated *Pascha*, *Easter*; a name which had no existence in any language when the New Testament was written; and which, though it serves to point out the season of the year accurately enough, yet conveys to ignorant people the false idea that the observation of Easter was of apostolical institution. It would have been truly ridiculous had the same word in the original been rendered by the same term elsewhere; as, for example, had they said that 'Christ, our *Easter* (passover) is sacrificed for us.'

V. An acquaintance with the Cognate languages has since opened up the the more correct meaning of many words, the knowledge of which the Jews had lost ; and with regard to which they were only able to form conjectures. Of these conjectures, it is only necessary to say that, in some instances they were rather calculated to mislead than to assist those who placed confidence in them; of which we shall have occasion to notice many instances in the course of this inquiry.

VI. Another source of apparent discrepancy in the translation of the English Bible, was the defective knowledge which the translators possessed, of some of the sources of Scripture illustration which I formerly mentioned, namely, of the geography and natural history of Palestine ; of the manners, customs, antiquities, &c., of the Jews, and other oriental nations. On these subjects our information has, since their times, been greatly extended and amplified, by the laborious researches of modern travellers, who have visited Palestine and other eastern countries ; and this information, together with a more correct knowledge of ancient nations, have furnished a large and valuable harvest to the biblical critic, have thrown much light upon the sacred page, and enabled us to form clear and comprehensive ideas, upon many subjects, of which modern laws can say nothing, or at least little to the purpose. We have a recent and striking example of this in the case of Mr. Frey, a converted Jew, but still so much of a Jew and a German, that he directs us in the very beginning of his grammar, to pronounce the letter which in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin alphabets, holds the same place as B in the English, not as B, but V ; and would have us to say Vavel instead of Babel, and Vethavara instead of Bethabara.

VI. Another source of mistranslation has been, inattention to the several forms in which quotations are prefaced and introduced. Such forms as the following—'As it is written'—'He saith'—'One in a certain place testifieth'—'That it might be fulfilled'—and a variety of other similar expressions, have frequently been interpreted in the same sense, as if their import were synonymous; although it must be evident, even *à priori*, that, when a *variety of expression* is used by the *same* writer, in correct and significant language, a shade of *difference* in the *meaning* is undoubtedly intended. Examples of such difference we shall have occasion to adduce in the sequel.

The Sacred writers are so far from quoting Scripture at all times in the same way, that they exhibit all the variety that is to be found among correct writers, not sacred, either of ancient or of modern times. Sometimes they quote the *express words* of Moses and of the Prophets, in the precise sense in which they were used by the original writers ; and sometimes they give the *obvious* sense, but not the precise words. The force of a quotation often depends upon a *single word*, the import of which may be learned from

almost *any* translation ; and which may not be materially, or at all, affected by the variation that occurs in the *other* words of the sentence. As for example, Galatians iii. 16, in giving a quotation of the promise made to Abraham, it was quite sufficient for the Apostle's purpose to prove, that this promise primarily applied to Christ, 'He saith not—and to *seeds* as of *many*, but as of *one*,—and to thy *seed* which is Christ.'

The writers of the New Testament sometimes, though not so frequently as some have supposed, quote the words of the Old Testament without any regard to their original and immediate intention ; but merely as language suited to express the ideas which they had in their own minds at the time they composed. We have two examples of this in the tenth chapter of Romans. In the sixth verse the Apostle uses the words of Moses, Deut. xviii. 15, in which he describes the inexcusableness of the Jews, who pleaded ignorance as an apology for the violation of the law ; and adds such additional words of explanation, as were fitted to express the guilt and folly of professing Christians, who rejected the gospel which was preached unto them. We have another instance still more decisive in the eighteenth verse, where the Apostle employs the language of the nineteenth Psalm, describing the universality of the information that may be derived from the heavenly bodies, 'which spread the truth from pole to pole,' to point out the general extension of the gospel, by the preaching of the Apostles and other Christian ministers at that period. 'But I say, have they not heard? Yes, verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world.'

In addition to all these modes of quotation, I shall have occasion to observe a number of instances, in which the sacred writers employed references and allusions still more distant. It shall also be my endeavour to shew, that this mode of composition, so far from being a fault in the sacred writers, on the contrary, adds to their excellence and beauty ; and that a similar practice constitutes a principal charm in the writings of all men of general information, and of correct taste.

What scholar does not know that Virgil was a stoic ? and that many of his expressions allude to the absurd idea of that school, that God is the soul of the world ? And yet, who is not charmed with Mr. Wilberforce's application of several expressions in that poet, to illustrate the necessity of the Holy Spirit's operation upon the hearts of men ?

'Mens agitat molem, spiritus intus alit.'

'Mind agitates the sluggish mass, there is a spirit which operates within,' &c.

What man of taste and of correct sentiment, will not relish an



apt allusion to the language of a fine poet, when Paul, at Athens, addressing the Grecians, quotes their own poet, Aratus ?

‘ τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμεν ’

‘ For we are also his offspring.’

The poet meant to say that men are the offspring of Jupiter ; but the Apostle gleans a powerful weapon from the concession, and applies the quotation as an argument, that men who admit the principle of our derivation from, and relation to, the Creator, ought not to think that the Parent of a rational and intelligent offspring, is himself destitute of these qualities—‘ that he is like unto gold or silver, or stone, graven by arts and man’s device,’—or, that he, to whom we are indebted for existence, is in any manner dependent upon us.

Having stated, and briefly explained these general principles, I shall proceed to illustrate the quotations from the Old Testament in the order in which they occur in the New : and no sooner do we open the sacred volume than we meet with several examples. The very opening of Matthew’s Gospel is a quotation—‘ The book (or the register) of the generation of Jesus Christ.’ It is universally acknowledged that this Gospel was written for the use of converted Jews, to whom it was of great importance to prove, at the very outset of the history, that Jesus is the lineal descendant—the ‘ seed of Abraham,’ and the rightful heir of David’s throne.

This genealogy is divided into three periods, of fourteen generations each, in round numbers. With regard to the first of these periods there is no dispute. In the second period, three generations mentioned in the books of Kings and Chronicles, namely, those which occur between Joram and Ozias are here omitted. In order to the satisfactory solution of this difficulty, it is sufficient to remark, that the three individuals omitted were wicked persons ; that their reigns were of short duration, and that they were omitted in the Jewish catalogues as persons who were not thought worthy to be interred in the sepulchres of the kings. It was enough for Matthew’s purpose, that he found the Jewish catalogues thus constructed. If Joram was therein inserted as the grandfather of Ozias, the genealogy is as regular, and the line of descent as certain, as if he had been his immediate father. In the second period, verse 11, the name Jehoiakim, or Eliakim, is interposed before Jechonias. This is according to 2 Chronicles, as in the reading of several MSS., and completes the second period of fourteen generations.

In the third period, Zorobabel is the last whose name is mentioned in the Old Testament. The names which succeed must have been taken from the Jewish registers ; and their being correct according to these, was all that was necessary to satisfy the Jews upon this head, which was the chief use of the catalogue.

The catalogue of names, in the third chapter of Luke, was designed to prove to the Gentiles, for whose use it was written, that Jesus was not only the heir of David's throne, but also the fruit of his body, and the seed of the woman, who was predicted as he who should bruise the serpent's head. How it comes to pass that, with Matthew's Register, neither the names nor numbers of Luke's Catalogue agree, is easily accounted for, upon this principle, that, when a man died childless, the first born of the marriage betwixt his widow and his brother, was accounted to the deceased, and all the rest to the survivors. And it is upon this recognised principle that the Catalogue of the one is constructed.

The next quotation, in the same chapter, is one of great importance, and therefore requires to be considered with peculiar attention. Matthew i. v. 23, is a quotation from Isaiah vii. v. 14. It is to be remarked, that, both in the Prophet and in the Evangelist, the English translation is faulty. The emphatic article is used both in the Hebrew and in the Greek; and the rendering, consequently, should be, 'The Virgin shall conceive, and bear a son.' The Jews object to the application of this passage, that the Hebrew word, so translated, does not signify a virgin; but they do so without grounds. For the original word *olmeh* properly signifies one that is *hid*, which appropriately denoted a virgin, from the well-known practice in these, and most other eastern countries, of keeping their females, especially the youthful of that sex, secluded from the world, and not permitting them to mingle in society until they were married. There are two Hebrew words which signify a virgin—*Bethulah*, one who preserves her chastity, though living in society; or, in other words, a young woman;—and *Olmeh*, one who is above suspicion, as being excluded from society, and, therefore, out of the reach of temptation.

The latter of these words occurs seven times in the Scripture. In one of the passages it is explained by a synonymous expression—a virgin which had not known a man. In five of these seven passages, the Jews acknowledge that the word signifies a pure virgin. This and one other passage are the only instances to which the Jews object to its being so rendered. The Targuin, however, and Septuagint translation, which were made, and commonly used, by all the Jews, uniformly translate these two passages in the same manner as is done in the English translation. Proverbs xxx. v. 19, is the only passage in which there is any difficulty, and yet it is capable of a very clear and satisfactory explication; the words are, 'the way of a man with a maid.' The passage is an allusion to the arts of seduction that are practised to corrupt virgin innocence, and to snare unwary youth, and which are yet shrouded under the decencies of a fair profession, and plausible external deportment—the schemes of deception are no more to be discovered, than the flight of the 'eagle in the air,'—the artful guile, no more to be de-

tected than the sinuous windings of a 'serpent upon a rock,'—and the deciduous path of licentiousness no more to be traced than the rapid course of the 'ship upon the sea.' It is, therefore, evident, that in this passage also the word *olmeh* must mean a virgin, in the strict sense of that word.

With regard to the other disputed passage in Isaiah vii., the emphatic article evidently refers its application, not to the Prophet's wife, who was already the mother of children, but to a virgin who had been formerly mentioned; and who can this be but the mother of this promised seed, who was to bruise the serpent's head. You will also remark, that this was not a sign which Ahaz required, but one which God gave without his asking; and that it was a sign given, not to Ahaz alone, but to the house of David. If it be asked, how could the declaration contained in this passage answer for a sign, seeing the period to which it referred was so distant? I answer, that the design of God, in reference to that event, was not now revealed for the first time: it had already been declared that, of the fruit of David's body, God should raise up one to sit upon his throne; and this promise was granted as a security for the preservation of the family of David, and his lineal descendants, until this promise should be fulfilled.

The name given to the child, evidently can apply to no other but the Messiah—'Immanuel,'—'God with us,'—in our nature,—and upon our side; and that this name is to be taken in all the emphasis of its meaning, is evident from what is said with regard to Immanuel, in the following chapter—that he should be 'for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem,' who should be offended at his cross; but 'for a sanctuary' to those who trusted in him. The chief difficulty seems to have arisen from the fifteenth verse,—'butter and honey shall he eat.' These expressions, however, plainly intimate times of peace and plenty.

But the sixteenth verse evidently refers to another child, which was already born; but who can this be but Shearjashub? And for what purpose was the Prophet commanded to take the child in his hand, if not that a reference was to be made both to his person and to his name? 'Before this child shall know to choose the good, and refuse the evil, the land which thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings.' Pekah and Remaliah's sons were to be conquered by the King of Assyria, and Judah delivered from all further alarm on their account. In fact, the whole prophecy, from the beginning of the seventh to the end of the twelfth chapter, throughout, pursues this double subject,—of a present deliverance, as an earnest and a pledge of one infinitely greater, to be accomplished by the Messiah; as you will perceive by examining the whole at your leisure. I shall only add two other remarks, for vindicating Matthew's, or rather the Angel's, application of this prophecy.

I. That Shearjashub, that is,—*the remnant shall return*—was not the only one of the Prophet's sons who had a prophetic name imposed on him. From the beginning of the eighth chapter, it appears that the name of the Prophet's second son was also significant. The Prophet is commanded to take a great roll, and to write concerning *Mahershalulhasbay*—that is, *he hasteth to the spoil, he shall speedily take the prey*. The prophet's wife, it was recorded before two witnesses, should bring forth a son, to be called by this name; with an assurance, that before he should be able to name his parents, the kingdoms of Israel and Syria should be destroyed by the King of Assyria.

II. The words in the eighth verse describing the progress of Sennacherib over the whole land, evidently proves the dignity of the person who is called Immanuel—'The stretching of his wings shall cover the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel.' It is this consideration that gives the ground of confidence, because the land is Immanuel's. 'Associate yourselves together, O ye people, and ye shall be broken, for God is with us,' or taking it as a proper name, 'for Immanuel shall frustrate your counsels.'

I have thought it useful to say so much upon this quotation, because it is extremely important in itself, because it has been violently opposed in its proper application by the Jews; and, because by most Christian expositors, (not excepting even Bishop Lowth) its force has been weakened, and its meaning obscured, by their doctrine of a double sense of Scripture; supposing that in its primary signification, the prophesy refers to a virgin then present, who was to have the son here described; and that it is only in a *secondary* sense, that it applies to the Messiah. This mode of interpreting the passage, is the more remarkable in Lowth, seeing that, in the conclusion of his note, he refers to what is said of Immanuel in the eighth chapter; and very ingeniously observes, that Micah, a contemporary prophet, refers to this very prophesy, Micah v. 2, 3, 'He shall give them up, until she that travaileth bring forth,'—and that he that should be born 'should be the ruler of Israel.' It is still farther worthy of observation, that the name of Jesus, by which our Lord is called, may be interpreted to signify, *Jehovah shall save*. The prophesy was, therefore, legitimately quoted, and accurately fulfilled.

Matthew ii. v. 6, is another quotation which has been supposed difficult to reconcile with Micah v. 2. In comparing the passages two questions occur; first, how are we to reconcile the prophet and the evangelist as to the relative importance of Bethlehem? And, secondly, why does the evangelist leave out an important clause of the original? 'whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.' To these questions I might answer, and answer truly, that the *Apostle* is not responsible for the correctness of the quotation; for it is not he, but the chief priests and scribes who made

it; and therefore, it is a full vindication of the Apostle's character to say, that he has accurately recorded what they may have more or less correctly said. But I add, that the quotation as made by the chief priests and scribes in reply to Herod's interrogatory, is very capable of being vindicated on its own merits. And in the first place, in reference to its real, or relative importance, it is literally true, that Bethlehem was a very small town considered in itself; but it was ennobled by being the birth-place of David; and still more, by being the birth-place of the Messiah. If we translate the prophet interrogatively, the meaning is clear, and the quotation harmonizes with the original—'Thou Bethlehem Ephratah, art thou little to be among the thousands of Judah?' the answer in the negative is supposed, and the reason is given in the sequel of the sentence, 'out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel.' This reading accords perfectly with the interpretation of the priest's 'thou art not the least.' In reference to the second question, why a part of the text is left out, the nature and extent of Herod's interrogatory affords a satisfactory explanation. Herod's enquiry related exclusively to the locality of Christ's birth-place; it had no reference to the person or character of Christ; he simply asked, 'where Christ should be born.' To this question they afforded a direct and specific answer; but declined annexing to it information, which was not solicited, and which would not have been acceptable. Had they quoted the sequel of the passage, and pointed out the obvious allusion to the prophesy of Isaiah, they would have still further irritated that haughty tyrant, who already laboured under the most alarming agitation.

Matthew ii. v. 15, is a quotation that appears still more difficult than either of the former:—'out of Egypt have I called my son.' The words are found in Hosea xi. v. 1. 'When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt.' The Targuins, and the Septuagint, 'both read, I called his sons out of Egypt;' but the reason is evident, they knew not what sense to make of the words, except by referring them to the emancipation of the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage. The Hebrew, however, Aquila, Symachus, and Theodotian, all agree in reading 'my son,' in the singular. It is to be remarked first, that *Israel*, in the literal sense is never called a *child*, although the Prophet, in this passage, uses a word of the same origin, which we translate, 'his youth.' And the deliverance of Israel is uniformly expressed, not by their being called, but brought. Secondly, that Israel is one of the names given to Messiah by the Prophets,—that patriarch, like David, being a type of him. Thirdly, that the love of God to his son, is the channel through which his mercy and love flow to his people in every age; and that the mention of his kindness to them for their fathers' sake, ultimately resolves itself into the gracious promises made to them respecting the Messiah, who should spring from their nation. The father loveth his son, because he giveth his life for the sheep;

and he showed kindness to the descendants of Jacob, because of them, 'as pertaining to the flesh, Christ came.' In this view of the passage, then, the words of Hosea predicted that, the son of God should go down into Egypt, as an evidence of his Father's love, in order that he might be preserved from the cruel designs of Herod; and that he should be called out of Egypt, as soon as they were dead who sought his life.

Matthew ii. v. 18, is a reference to Jeremiah xxxi. v. 15. With regard to the words of this passage, there is no dispute; but whether the prophecy had a reference to the slaughter of the Benjamites, at the time of the captivity; or whether it was a direct prediction of the slaughter of the young children by Herod, is not so generally agreed. It is to be remarked, the Evangelist does not say that *this was done that it might be fulfilled*, but that in the doing of it, *was fulfilled* the language of the prophet; and this mode of expression (as I have already shewn when pointing out the several varieties in the form of quotation and allusion) is fully justified, if the words of the prophet are adapted to convey the idea which the evangelist meant to communicate, whether they were originally intended as a prophecy of that event or not.

Ramah was a town of Benjamin, near Bethlehem, where Rachael was buried. By a strong poetical figure, Rachel is represented as having come forth from her grave, looking for her beloved children, and inconsolable, weeping because none of them were to be found, they having been all dead or carried into captivity; in the bitterness of her grief for their loss she refuses 'to be comforted because they are not.' That to this event the reference is made seems evident, from the consolation that is administered to the mourner in the sixteenth verse, 'Refrain thy voice from weeping and thine eyes from tears, for thy work shall be rewarded, and they shall come again from the land of the enemy.' I, therefore, doubt not that this is the plain meaning and proper application of this prophesy; the words whereof struck the ear, and occurred to the mind of the Evangelist, as language well suited to express the inconsolable grief of the daughters of Rachel, who had lost their children at Bethlehem.

Matthew ii. v. 23, is a reference not to one prophecy, but to many, and therefore the plural term 'prophets' is used. There are two lights in which this quotation may be viewed, either as referring to the place of Christ's birth, or to his name. Viewed in the first of these lights, you have in Isaiah ix. v. 1—6, an express prophecy to this purpose, whose application is confirmed by its being afterwards adduced, Matthew iv. v. 14. Or if the passage is viewed as referring to the *name* of Christ, the same original word which is rendered *Nazarene*, is translated, Isaiah xi. v. 1, a *rod* out of the stem of Jesse; and Zech. vi. v. 12, the man whose name is the *branch*; and this gives the origin of the name *Nazdrene*,

*Netor* signifies *separated*, as a branch or rod is separated from the trunk; and Nazareth was so called, because it was built on an isolated site, separated from the rest of the country.' In calling him a Nazarite, the prophets pointed out Christ as a holy person, as the Nazarites under the law were accounted holy persons; and although this term was, when applied to him by his enemies, meant as an epithet of contempt, yet it significantly expressed his true character who was 'holy, harmless, undefiled, and *separate* from sinners.'

Matthew iii. v. 3, from Isaiah xl. v. 3, 'the voice of one crying in the wilderness.' In the beginning of the chapter, the prophet is commanded to comfort the people of God, and to announce the glad tidings of victory over their enemies, under the guidance of king Messiah. No sooner has the prophet received this commission, than he hears the voice of Messiah's harbinger proclaiming his approach, and exhorting the people to make preparation for his reception.

The words are an evident allusion to the triumphal march of potentates in ancient times into the distant provinces of their dominions. Their practice on such occasions was to send heralds before them, to proclaim, and pioneers to prepare the way. The Romans were accustomed to call these precursors *stratones*. Diodorus Siculus, describing the march of Semiramis, says, when she came to the Zaracean mountains, which for several miles abounded in craggy precipices and deep ravines, she ordered the precipices to be cut down, and the valleys to be filled up; and wherever she went, she left a memorial of her presence behind her, which was called by her name. Such were the Roman causeways in more recent times, and such are military roads at the present day; this splendid figurative description points, at once, to the guilty and miserable state of the Jews and of mankind in general, and to the amazing change which should be produced by the Gospel in humbling the proud, and in exalting the poor and lowly, to whom it was preached. Compare this passage in Matthew with Mark i. v. 3, and Luke iii. v. 4.

Matthew iv. v. 4, 'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God,' is a quotation from Deut. viii. v. 3. The meaning of the latter clause of the verse is, that we ought to live by whatsoever God shall be pleased to appoint; and that, therefore, instead of looking for miracles being wrought for us, without there being a necessity for them in our situation, we ought to depend upon Divine Providence in the use of appointed means.

Matthew iv. v. 6, is a quotation from the ninety-first Psalm. The devil quotes only a part of the verse, and therefore, only a portion of the sentiment; but he was so far correct, in applying the passage to Christ. Christ answers, and refutes him by quoting Deut. vi. 16. The devil finding his perversions of Scripture fail, endeavoured to

carry his point by addressing his temptations to the principle of ambition—he spread out before his view, and offered as a reward for the homage which he demanded, ‘the kingdoms of the world,’ or, the various provincial divisions of the land of Israel,—Canaan, Judea, Samaria, Galilee, and Perea. The Saviour answered him from Deut. vi. v. 13, and x. v. 20; he adds a word to the text, but there is no addition to the sense, ‘him *only* shalt thou serve.’ In our language, to worship and to serve, may seem to be a tautology, without conveying any accession of meaning; but in the Hebrew the double form of expression (which is of common occurrence, and of which this passage affords an example) has an additional emphasis.

Matthew iv. v. 14—16. I have already had occasion to allude to this quotation, which is from Isaiah ix. v. 2, 3. I may here remark, however, that the Saviour was not only born in Galilee, and resided there during the years of nonage and of private retirement, but in that favoured province spent the greater period of his public ministry upon earth. By referring to the prophet, it will be seen that the Evangelist does not quote the whole of the passage, but such parts of it only as were necessary for his present purpose,—which was to describe the wretched situation of that country, which had been so often harassed and afflicted with war. By the invasion of the Assyrians, who had carried away great part of the inhabitants captive, and afterwards by the intermixture and compulsory settlement of foreigners amongst them, on which account the more northern district was called ‘Galilee of the Gentiles;’ the fertile plains of that province had been devastated, its political condition had been degraded, and its population had degenerated and sunk into the grossest ignorance,—so as to have become the objects of contempt to the rest of the Jews.

That country, then, which was so sunk in ignorance and misery that its inhabitants were represented as sitting ‘in darkness, and in the region and shadow of death,’ disconsolate, forlorn, despised,—that country was favoured and honoured above every other, by the presence of Christ, who is the light of the world; it enjoyed the most liberal share of his ministry, and what was of still greater importance, profited most by it. It was in Galilee that many of his most splendid miracles were performed; and it was chiefly from the shores of the Lake of Galilee that he selected his little band of Apostles and earliest disciples. Such a change as is produced by the rising of the sun in a morning without clouds, after a dark and rayless night; or by the return of summer, after a long and dreary winter.—Such was the change produced upon the land, and upon the inhabitants of Galilee, by the appearance of the Messiah; and such too is the change that is effected, in the moral world, *wherever* the gospel is preached, and wherever men are brought to know, and persuaded to receive, the grace of God in truth.



The quotations in the sermon on the Mount are not necessary to be illustrated. Whether we ought to render the phrase by which these quotations are prefaced, 'it was said *by* them of old times,' or 'it was said *to* them of old times,' is a matter of indifference; the latter, however, is the more obvious translation. This phrase does not import that *God* said what is mentioned in the quotation, (although his words are sometimes employed,) but that these sayings had been used by the Jewish Rabbis and others, of old time, who had stated religious truth in such a form, and in such connection, as tended to neutralize, and to prevent its influence on the minds of men. With three brief remarks, I shall conclude at present.

I. Christ and his Apostles did not *always* quote the Septuagint version, as some seem to imagine; but without exclusive deference to that version more than to any other, translated in such a way as at once accorded with truth, and appeared to them best adapted to express the sense which they intended to convey to the minds of their hearers, thereby teaching us that the words of Scripture are only *then* truly valuable, when they are the means of conveying to our minds the will of God. The mere words of any book are of no more value than the words in a dictionary, if their meaning is not properly understood.

II. Christ and his Apostles did not always quote the plainest and most obvious texts of the Old Testament; but frequently such texts as we should have been in danger of undervaluing or overlooking altogether, if their appropriateness and importance had not thus been pointed out to us. And from hence we may legitimately conclude *a fortiori* that, if those texts which they *do* quote can prove the doctrines and facts, in attestation of which they are adduced, how much more may we not rely on those that are plain *without an interpreter*.

III. Betwixt the Old and New Testament, there subsists the closest connection; the language and sentiments contained in both reciprocally relate to and illustrate each other. Like the cherubim whose expanded wings overshadowed the mercy-seat, their eyes are directed from different points of vision, but they are both turned towards and fixed on the same object, and that object is Christ; the one looks forward to the future Messiah, the other looks back to Messiah already come. Let us then 'search the Scriptures,' seeing in them, 'we think,' (and think truly,) 'we have eternal life,' for these Scriptures are 'they that testify of Christ.'

## VOYAGE FROM BOMBAY TO MADRAS AND CALCUTTA.\*

## No. VI.

*Masulipatam—Coringa—Vizagapatam—Bimlipatam—Chiracole—  
Juggernaut—Diamond Harbour.*

Madras, May 20.

THE business of the ship being completed, we prepared to sail for Calcutta, intending to touch at Vizagapatam and Bimlipatam in the way. Three gentlemen of the Madras Civil Service, had taken a passage with us for the former place, and at the latter we were to call for some manufactured goods, to be sent by us to Bengal. The gentlemen embarked at sun-set, taking with them about thirty servants, seven horses, with tent equipage, baggage, &c., for their land journey back. The object they were sent to accomplish at Vizagapatam was a temporary one, and their journey of return to Madras would, it was thought, occupy a period of six weeks, though our passage up by sea would probably not take more than three days. From the dilatory habits of all the men in office at Madras, and the useless and vexatious formalities with which every department is burthened, there was more difficulty in obtaining the necessary papers here, than in any part that I remember to have visited before. It was dark when I reached the ship, and though a strong southerly gale was blowing, accompanied with a tremendous swell, we attempted to weigh our anchor for sea. The ship pitched so heavily, as to take in water over the top-gallant forecastle, and to plunge her spritsail-yard completely under, and the surges were so violent, that we parted the messenger twice, and were unable to purchase the anchor in two attempts, the last of which was not abandoned until midnight.

21st. At four A. M. the sea having in some degree subsided, we weighed and made sail. The breeze was now faint from the south-west, with a heavy swell still setting from the same direction, which occasioned us to roll and labour considerably. None of our ports could now be kept open, though the horses suffered much from heat below, and the straining of the ship was so great as to open the seams fore and aft, and occasion her to make a great deal of water. At one time, indeed, both pumps were hardly sufficient to keep her free, while a party of a dozen hands were constantly employed between decks to bale out the water shipped there in buckets, and all this was occasioned by the excessive rolling and labouring in this heavy sea.

At noon we observed in lat. 13° 30' N. and were in long. 80° 45'

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\* This article is inserted in continuation of No. V., in order that the Series of the Voyage extending to Six different Papers, may be closed with the present Series of the Work itself.

E. with no soundings at fifty fathoms, and no land in sight, though abreast of the Pulicat Hills.

We now shaped a course of N. E. by N. for Vizagapatam, leaving the great bay in which Mootapilly, Masulipatam, and Coringa, are situated, on our larboard hand, or to the westward of us. Towards evening the wind freshened, and drew round from S. E. to S. W. where it continued steady through the night, carrying us at the rate of six and seven knots, and still accompanied with a heavy swell setting from the southward.

22d. The sun rose through a thick bed of clouds, and the weather had altogether a threatening aspect. At eight A. M. it had drawn round to the W.N.W. and obliged us to take in studding-sails and topgallant-sails, and reduced the ship to her topsails. The wind blowing now from the N.W. and the swell still setting from the southward, a cross sea was occasioned, in which the ship laboured more heavily than before, and kept both pumps going to keep her free, besides a party baling from between decks.

At noon we observed in lat.  $15^{\circ} 39' N.$ , and were in long.  $81^{\circ} 51' E.$  with Masulipatam bearing from us N.W., distant about fifteen leagues. The bay in which this town is situated, being nearly of a semicircular form, is open to the S.E., but affords tolerable shelter from all other winds. The depths of water decrease regularly from twenty-five to five fathoms, but even this last depth is three or four miles off the shore, and ships anchor here with the flag-staff of the fort, which is distinct from the town, bearing W. The town itself was once the principal fortress of the northern Circars, and the chief port on the coast of Coromandel. The first English settlement was made here in the early part of the seventeenth century, but the oppression of the Native governors was so great, as to occasion their removal to Armagon, a port farther to the southward. The factory was re-established, however, in 1630; and the King of Golconda, for an annual payment of five hundred pagodas per annum in duties, allowed them the liberty of trading in this, and all his other ports, while the English engaged to import Persian horses and other articles in request by the king, for his accommodation. On the establishment of Madras as the seat of government for the southern coast of India, the settlement at Masulipatam was abandoned, and the French obtained possession of it in 1750. It remained in their possession for nine years, when it was invested by the English on the 7th of March, and the approaches carried on till the 6th of April, when the town was bombarded, and many houses destroyed. Above four hundred barrels of powder were expended, with shot and shells in proportion, when it was resolved to storm it, which took place on the 7th. The English gained bastion after bastion until they approached the gateway, and cut off the communication of the French from their detached ravelin. No quarter was given, and a terrible carnage ensued, until the French quitted

their arms, and repaired to the arsenal. The whole garrison were made prisoners, consisting of four hundred Europeans, and about two thousand Native troops. In consequence of this success, the Soubah of the Deckan, on the 14th of May in the same year, made the English a free gift of the circle of Masulipatam, with certain districts belonging thereto, of which they have ever since retained possession.

The trade of Masulipatam is confined chiefly to the export of its own manufactures, and the import of dyeing drugs, metals, some few naval stores, spices, and other luxuries of life, for their own consumption. Their own manufactures are chiefly from cotton produced in their own districts, and the punjums, or plain white cloths, chintzes, and palampones, which are dyed, or painted ones, with coloured cotton handkerchiefs, are in great esteem all over the East Indies, and sometimes even find their way to the West. The finest tobacco known in India is produced in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam; and it is both exported as tobacco for smoking, and manufactured into snuff, used equally by Europeans and Asiatics. The country of the northern Circars, of which Masulipatam is the chief city, is so well watered, as to produce abundance of grain, and becomes the granary of the Carnatic in the N.E. monsoon, as the district of Tanjore, to the southward of Madras, is during the S.W. monsoon, the lands of each being watered at different seasons. The imports received in return are, raw silk from Bengal and China, which are manufactured into shawls and articles of dress; drugs of various descriptions used in dyeing; dried fruits for domestic use; naval stores of various kinds, for the equipment of their coasting vessels; and a large portion of their payments in coin.

At present, the Fort of Masulipatam is garrisoned by a respectable force from the Madras army, and during our stay at the Presidency, we were in treaty with the government to convey from Madras to Masulipatam, fifty pieces of fortress cannon, besides bombs and mortars, with all their carriages and other requisites complete, as well as about 10,000 shot, 2,000 barrels of gunpowder, and a large quantity of musket ammunition. Our terms were not accepted, which deprived us of the opportunity of seeing this place; but the fact is mentioned to show that, in a military point of view, it is considered as a place of some importance. It is situated on the river Kistna, and is one of the nearest sea-ports of consequence to the great inland capital of Hyderabad, from which it is distant about two hundred miles; and during the reigns of Hyder and Tippe Saib, at the head of the Mogul government, the population of Masulipatam was chiefly Mahomedan. The absolute number of its inhabitants is scarcely less now, than it was at that period, but the Mussulmans are said to be dispersed, and the Hindoos to form, at present, by far the largest portion of the people.

The wind varied during the afternoon from W.N.W. to E.S.E.,

in which quarter it remained at sun-set ; but amid all the changes of it, the high southerly swell still continued, and occasioned us to roll and labour excessively, keeping one pump constantly going, and a party baling between decks.

23d. At day-light it was a perfect calm, and the swell continuing, while the ship was totally unmanageable either by the sails or the helm, we rolled our gunnels under, and were literally expecting every moment to see the masts rolled over the side. The passengers, the horses, and even the crew, suffered by this excessive motion, in a greater degree than they would have done by the heaviest gale of wind ; and to exhaust our patience, the evil was so completely and so palpably without a remedy, that we were not able even to deceive ourselves with hope, by the trial of any.

At noon we observed in lat.  $16^{\circ} 50' N.$ , and were in long.  $82^{\circ} 55' E.$ , with the town of Coringa, and the outlet of the Gadavery river bearing W.S.W., distant about ten leagues. Coringa is a populous town, standing on the coast of a large manufacturing district, and having a Factory and a Commercial Resident of the East India Company, for the management of their trade there. The articles manufactured are mostly white cotton cloths, of different degrees of fineness, all known by the name of Punjums. and mostly sent to Madras and Bengal, for exportation to Europe in the Company's ships. The bay of this place, which is formed between Point Gadavery to the S.E., and the town of Jaggernautporan to the N.W., affords excellent shelter, and is said to be the only port on the whole of the eastern coast of India, from Cape Comorin to the Hoogley, where a vessel of any burthen can be refitted with safety. During the N.E. monsoon, the whole of the eastern coast of the Peninsula is innavigable, but at some distance from it, as it then becomes a complete lee shore, in the same way as all the western coast of India is, during the S.W. monsoon. During this last, however, which is the fair season here, the bay of Coringa is said to be so smooth, as to admit of vessels being hove down ; and as there is a large ship-building establishment here, with a sufficient number of caulkers and carpenters, a ship might receive any repair of which she was in want. The bar of the Gadavery, on which river Coringa is seated, has fourteen feet water on it at high water spring tides, and would consequently admit the safe passage of vessels under that draught. An abundance of excellent teak timber is produced in the surrounding country, and vessels are built here both for the coasting trade, and the trade to the eastward. Water, and other refreshments, are easily procured for ships needing them, so that it is one of the most eligible places at which vessels, needing either repairs or supplies, can touch ; and one which affords better shelter, than any other on the coast.

Soon after noon, we had a light breeze commencing from the northward, and afterwards veering to the N.E., where it continues

stationary for several hours, and at length drew round to the eastward at sun-set. This unexpected, and altogether unseasonable wind, obliged us to make several tacks on and off shore, and left us close hauled, and barely able to lie on our course, even when it had veered round eight points from noon to night. In our passage from Bombay round Ceylon, we had experienced the N.W. and westerly winds, which precede the setting in of the S.W. monsoon. From Point de Galle, up to Madras, we had the strong southerly, or long-shore winds, which also belong to that season; and while the ship lay at this place, and at Covelong, it blew with the force of a gale from that quarter. As we approached the head of the Bay of Bengal, and advanced to the northward, we had reason to expect, according to all the Nautical Directions, and the experience of the best informed Indian navigators, a still stronger wind from the S.W., as the monsoon seldom fails to have set in with all its violence before the middle, or at latest, the latter end of May. Yet we were now here on the 23d of the month, with calm and baffling airs from the northward and eastward, rolling about in a swell from the southward, which equalled in violence any thing we had ever experienced, but with only occasional breezes from that quarter, and those always light ones.

At two P.M. we made the land about Pigeon Island, or nearly four leagues to the N.W. of Vizagapatam. This island is small in circumference, but of moderate height. It seems to stand so close to the shore, that it is difficult to ascertain at first sight, whether it be an island or an isolated hill rising from the plain near the sea. It may easily be distinguished at the distance of three or four leagues in fine weather, and may be known by its being of a darker colour than the land behind it, which rises higher than itself, is of a yellow hue, from being covered with sand, particularly near the sea.

From hence we could perceive the high bluff promontory, called the Dolphin's Nose, bearing N.N.E., distant about four leagues. We shaped our course for this, hoping to anchor in the road of Vizagapatam, of which this forms the southern boundary, before dark. As the day declined, however, the wind gradually sunk with it, and at sun-set we were still six or eight miles from the port, without a breath of wind from any quarter to steer by. At 10 P.M. a light land air came off from the hills, and being assisted in a slight degree by a northerly current, we hauled close in for the bluff point; which is quite steep, rounded it within half a mile of the surf, in seventy-eight fathoms, and anchored farther in towards the town of Vizagapatam, in five and a half fathoms, with the outer extreme of the Dolphin's Nose bearing S.W.,  $\frac{3}{4}$  S., and the small fort which commands the passage of the bar of the river, bearing W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N.

24th. Having fired a gun at the moment of our anchoring, and displayed three lights at the peak throughout the night, we had

boats alongside with the earliest dawn. A captain of the East India Company's Engineers came off to congratulate his friend on his arrival; and as no landing could be effected in our own ship's boat, on account of the surf, and there were no awnings in the country boats, we thought it advisable to go on shore together before the heat became intense. The boats are of the same description as the surf boats at Madras, and, though sufficiently well calculated to pass through the surf, and effect a landing, where English boats could not, yet they are clumsily built, and destitute of every convenience for passengers, which might be furnished in them without at all interfering with their fitness for the particular service they perform.

The entrance to the river of Vizagapatam, as it is called, is picturesque and beautiful. On the left, or to the S.W., is the lofty and steep promontory of the Dolphin's Nose, rising to an elevation of nearly a thousand feet above the level of the sea, which washes its very base, and from which its sides rise so abruptly, as to be ascended only by winding paths and steps. The mixed tints of its surface, in projections of dark rock, patches of brown earth, and occasional tufts of the finest green, give a great richness of colouring, and the whitened mansion on the summit of the hill, with the flag staff, and a few large trees, all appearing as most diminutive objects from below, seem to increase its scale to that of a mountain in the estimation of one who surveys it from below. On the right, or to the N.E., is the town of Vizagapatam, stretching itself along, nearly East and West, on a flat tongue of sand, which has the ocean on one side, and an arm of the same, or a back-water as it is called, on the other. There are, however, a number of trees and gardens within the town, and rising from amidst them are seen some large and well-built edifices, which give to the whole an interesting appearance, and present at one view the striking contrast, of highly fertile lands, and barren sandy deserts. The bar of the river, or more properly creek, since it is merely an inlet of the sea, has ten or twelve feet water in it at high water, and spring tides in the N.E. monsoon; but at the present season it is nearly dry at low water, and has not more than four or five feet at high. The surf breaks in over it with such violence, that it would be unsafe to cross it in a ship's boat; and even in the surf boats, which are particularly constructed for the service, there is enough to alarm persons unaccustomed to the passage. After passing the bar, the scenery is still further improved. On the right, upon the side of a steep hill, is a whitened building, crowned with a dome, and most probably the sepulchre of some distinguished Mohammedan, as just over it, on the brow of the same steep acclivity, is an edifice with pointed arches and pillars, indicating a Mussulman chapel. On the left is a deserted battery, at the foot of the hill, which commands the passage of the bar, the walls and embrasures of which have fallen into ruins. Immediately in front, the narrow opening of the creek presents the most romantic combinations, of lofty hills, or gentle slopes, of fertile vallies and verdant plains, lining the bank

of two distinct arms of the sea, extending in different directions, while the hulks of large vessels laid ashore for shelter from the monsoon,—the number of smaller ones dismantled and refitting, and others again of the smallest size ready for crossing the bar and getting to sea, gave to the whole picture an animation, and a variety that was quite charming.

We landed at the beach, where we found conveyances ready to take us all to the house prepared for the reception of the gentlemen who came passengers with us, and found there the best accommodation that we could desire. In the course of the day, I had occasion to ride out to a place called Waltair, to confer with the Collector of the district, on the subject of landing the copper coins, which we had brought to this place, from Madras. In the course of our interview, I learnt, that not long since a quantity of copper coin, from the manufactory of Bolton and Watts, having been had from England for the use of the Madras Government, it remained at the Presidency so long, without their being able to force it into circulation, that the Governor in Council ordered its sale by public auction, and it was sold, accordingly, to the highest bidder, at a loss of about thirty per cent., and afterwards melted up by the natives, into copper vessels and domestic utensils. The present investment of similar coins that the Company had sent out, was now to be distributed, if possible, at the out-stations—but the opinion of the best-informed here was, that the sum of 12,000 pagodas, which was the amount we had brought up in it, would not be distributed in circulation for half a century at least. The spot, called Waltair, is about three or four miles distant from the town of Vizagapatam, in a northerly direction. A number of petty dwellings are here collected about the summit of a promontory, which is steep and rocky, and projects so far out into the sea, as to admit of an extensive view of the coast, both to the northward and southward of it. As the road leading to it from Vizagapatam is excellent, and the scenery of the way interesting, most of the English gentlemen have their residences at Waltair, though their offices are in the town, and the difference in the climate is at least seven or eight degrees of the thermometer at any given time, besides that the air of Waltair has a freshness and purity which is scarcely ever felt on the low level of Vizagapatam.

This town is nearly of an oblong form, and little more than a mile in its whole circumference. About the centre of it is a military square, with guard-houses on one side, an European shop, and officers' dwellings on the other—an arsenal of military stores, and an isolated bomb-proof magazine on a third side, while the fourth is open to the sea, and defended by a battery of eight or ten guns. The houses appropriated to the residences and offices of the English here, are mostly buildings of two stories, with a verandah and balustrades in front below, but none above; and as they are solidly built,



and constructed more after the Native than European fashion, from being wholly the property of the Natives themselves, they are rather closer and warmer than the houses of the Presidencies. The dwellings of the lower orders, though humble as elsewhere, have cleanliness and neatness about them not usually seen, and the general appearance of the town, bespeaks competence and comfort among its inhabitants. There are two rich Bramins residing here at present, who rival each other in the display of their wealth, and are each considered to be worth twenty lacks of pagodas, or nearly a million sterling. Their religious feasts and shows are frequent, and most expensive, and serve to distribute their superfluous riches among the poor. I had, myself, an opportunity of seeing one of them take his evening ride, which was in an English barouche, drawn by two English blood horses, that had been brought out to this country, either for the field or the turf, and which he had bought of a military officer, at a most extravagant rate, more than double their original price and charges for bringing them to this country, merely to possess what his rival, however widely he opened his purse, would, for some time at least, be unable to obtain.

The population of Vizagapatam, which, in the reigns of Hyder and Tippe, was mostly Mohammedans, is now composed chiefly of Hindoos, though some Mussulmans still remain, and are generally employed in occupations about the sea. The present number of the inhabitants does not exceed five thousand, and those are all subject to the British Government. In stature and person they are a superior race of people to those about Madras, and they are less black in colour—effects most probably of a more hilly country, and a more northern climate. The military force here consists of two battalions, an European and a Native one, under the command of a Lieutenant-Colonel, as Governor of the Garrison, or Military Commander-in-Chief. There are, besides, a large body of European Invalids, from the East India Company's regiments, who remain here on their full pay, and having nothing to do, and very little authority exercised over them, are to be seen staggering drunk about the streets at all hours of the day. The civil officers are a Collector of the Land Revenues, and one of the Sea Customs, a Commercial Resident, and half a dozen others in the rank of Deputies and Assistants, with a Master-Attendant for the management of all port business. The Native inhabitants of the town are mostly engaged as writers and inferior servants in the public offices; as merchants and shopkeepers, and as porters, boatmen, &c. for the shipping off the manufactures of the district. There are a few ingenious mechanics, who execute chess-boards and men, ladies' work-boxes, toilet tables, dressing-cases, &c., in ivory, ebony, and variegated woods; but these meet with too few purchasers to support a large body of workmen. In the interior of the district, the people are nearly all cotton growers and weavers, and there is not a village throughout its whole extent, that has not many looms.

The manufactures are wholly white cotton cloths, known here by the name of punjums, or, as we more commonly call them, calicoes, of every degree of fineness, from muslin down to sail-cloth. The quality most in demand, and of which by far the greatest quantity is made, is that which would be sold in England for a shilling a yard, but which costs nearly eighteen pence here. It is a fact established beyond all doubt, that the English manufacturers can import their cotton from India, at a great expense of time, risk, and actual cost, work it into cloths in England, return it to this country again with renewed expences of conveyance, and sell it profitably after all, at a less rate than the same kind of goods can be made for in India—where the cotton, the looms, the labourers, and the buyers, are all upon the same spot. This is owing, no doubt, to the wonderful facilities granted to manufacturers by the use of machinery. The consequences of it promise to be most important, and at Bombay and Madras, where this fact has been completely verified by importations from England, and profitable sales of such goods, among the natives themselves, I have heard several most intelligent men express their belief, that the whole of India would, bye and bye, be clothed in the manufactures of Britain. The East India Company have already lessened the amount of their supplies of these articles for the European market, since the value which the name of *India* gave to every thing of the kind imported into England has worn off, and since the nations of the Mediterranean, who consumed so much of them, have found a substitute in the cheaper and finer manufactures of Glasgow. It was night before the business of the ship was closed, when I prepared to embark. In parting from the very excellent and amiable men whom I had the good fortune to convey from Madras to this place, I confess that I felt as if I were separating myself from friends of a much longer standing. It was gratifying to me to believe that the feeling was reciprocal, for though politeness and good breeding will urge some men great lengths in their expressions, yet it was impossible not to perceive that there was much more than empty sounds in the interchange of our adieu.

25th. Though it was past midnight when I reached the ship, and there was not a breath of air stirring, we weighed immediately under the hopes of getting a land breeze to take us to Bimlipatam by day-light. In this, however, we were disappointed, as the calm continued, and we rolled about without making any progress for several hours. With the first gleam of the dawn, a light air came over the hills which enabled us to steer, but it was nine o'clock before we had the sea-breezes. We stood in with this to the road of Bimlipatam, and anchored there at eleven A. M. in seven fathoms water, with the flag-staff bearing N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. distant off shore nearly two miles.

By sights for our chronometer taken this morning at nine A. M. while Vizagapatam was in sight, as well as by others taken yes-

terday, while the ship was at anchor in the roads, we had an opportunity of correcting the longitude of that place, which is in  $83^{\circ} 18' 45''$  E. instead of  $83^{\circ} 26'$  E. as given by Horsburgh, in his Directory; or,  $83^{\circ} 30'$  E. as laid down in his chart; and Ramlipatam in long.  $83^{\circ} 22'$  E., the latitudes being both correct.

A shore boat having been sent off by Messrs. Suter and Connell, merchants here, to convey me on shore, I left the ship in it, and landed in about half an hour afterwards. The appearance of Ramlipatam from the sea is interesting. A high range of land sloping downwards to the north, forms the southern boundary of the inlet here, and at the foot of this slope, or on the left hand on entering the inlet, the town itself is seated. Some good looking houses and an abundance of trees are seen, and including the surrounding country, the view on the whole may be said to be picturesque. On approaching the bar of the inlet, or arm of the sea, which runs up here, the same dangerous surf is met with as we had yet found in all the ports of the Coromandel and Golconda coasts, and this cannot be passed with safety in ship's boats, but is always crossed in the inconvenient and uncomfortable boats of the country. The most prominent objects seen on landing, are three obelisks near the flag-staff, which are probably monumental, and a little rotunda, built with open niches, quite in the Roman style, overhanging the sea, and apparently forming either an evening pleasure-seat, or a day-station for revenue officers superintending the landing or shipment of goods, for it would answer for either.

After some little detention at the warehouse in dispatching off to the ship some bales of punjum, which we were to take to Bengal. I found a conveyance ready to take me to Mr. Suter's house, which was nearly four miles in the country. In passing along the skirts of the town, the ravages of war were most apparent—and among a number of buildings seemingly battered down by cannon, was a large edifice with a highly ornamented façade, which had been probably the residence of the former Dutch governors. Several still larger buildings, probably barracks and military store-houses, were also seen in ruins, and the place looked as if it had been once abandoned, and but now recently peopled again. The road to Mr. Suter's country residence, was over a plain of considerable size, but uncultivated, as far as I could perceive, throughout its whole extent. There were several detached houses seen in the way, each having a garden attached to it: but there were no fields either of cotton or of grain. The interior of the country to the N.W. appeared to be hilly, and resembled in general features the scenery about Vizagapatam.

I found at Mr. Suter's an agreeable party of military officers, who had come down from their stations in the interior, to breathe, during the hot months, the less oppressive atmosphere of the sea-coast. The Dutch Resident, Mr. Van Braam, was also of the com-

pany. This settlement having formerly belonged to the Dutch, had come into our possession during the late war, and had been restored again to the Dutch, by the English East India Company. The Resident took charge of his post here about a month ago only, and the Dutch flag had been displayed here ever since, but the customs and revenue departments were still filled by gentlemen of the Madras establishment.

The whole of the district around Bimlipatam is a manufacturing one; and the people of it, who are almost all weavers, make the same kind of punjums, or white cotton cloths, as those manufactured all along the coast of Golconda. At Chicacole, about thirty miles to the northward of this, the finest muslins are made, and all these, as well as the coarser calicoes, are sent to Bengal, and from thence transmitted to Europe, or elsewhere. The people of the country are mostly Hindoos, and are altogether a much finer looking race than those about Madras.

26th. We had weighed immediately on my coming on board, and made some little offing to the eastward, but the wind falling light, and a heavy swell rolling directly on the shore, we anchored again at two A. M. in six fathoms. At sun-rise we weighed with a light air from off the land, and stood out East, to clear the Santapilly Rocks. This is a dangerous reef, standing at the distance of eight or nine miles from the shore, and occupying a length of more than a mile. Its latitude is about  $17^{\circ} 58' N.$  and long.  $83^{\circ} 32' E.$ , or eleven miles from Bimlipatam, on a course of  $N. 63^{\circ} E.$  There is a channel between these rocks and the main, with nine or ten fathoms water, and perfectly safe, and on the outside there are sixteen and seventeen fathoms close to their edge.

At noon we observed in lat.  $17^{\circ} 55' N.$ , and were in long.  $83^{\circ} 30' E.$  with the breakers on the Santapilly Rocks, bearing  $N.N.E.$  distant about three miles, and our soundings in sixteen fathoms water. We now steered a course of  $N.E. by E.$  with a light southerly wind, keeping in the stream of fifteen to eighteen fathoms throughout. At sun-set it fell calm, and continued so all the night.

27th. We had a light air at sun-rise from the eastward, which veered round gradually to the  $S.W.$  and gained a little strength before noon, though it at no time carried us more than four knots, while the heavy sea continued, and occasioned us to roll and labour excessively.

At noon we observed in lat.  $18^{\circ} 25' N.$ , and were in long.  $84^{\circ} 20' E.$  with soundings in twenty-three fathoms. The whole of the coast of Orixá, which we had passed since leaving Vizagapatam, is high near the sea, and safe to approach to ten or twelve fathoms, which is within a mile or two of the shore. The longitudes of the places on it are too far easterly in the charts and directories, and the coast from Vizagapatam thus far extends more easterly than it is there delineated.

The dews had fallen heavily ever since we had left Madras, but they had now become like nightly showers of rain, and wetted every thing as effectually as a smart squall could have done. As on the preceding night, our wind declined at sun-set, and left us before midnight in a perfect calm.

28th. The day opened with light S.E. winds, and the weather was so hazy, that no object could be distinctly seen at a greater distance than a mile. Our course was now N.E., and as we had a light or concavity in the line of the coast abreast of us, we deepened our water gradually from 25 to 45 fathoms, and as gradually shoaled again as we approached the land.

At noon we observed in lat.  $19^{\circ} 6' N.$ , and were in long.  $85^{\circ} 5' E.$  with 38 fathoms water, the town of Ganjam, bearing N.N.W., distant about twelve or fifteen miles. This place has, till very recently, been one of considerable trade, being seated in a populous manufacturing district, and having the advantage of a navigable river for coasting vessels. It has been lately, however, completely depopulated by the ravages of the cholera morbus, and the Ganjam fever. The first it is said to have received from Bengal, where that disease has raged with unprecedented violence. The last is a disease to which the place is constantly subject, from some local causes affecting the healthiness of the spot. During our stay at Vizagapatam, we saw there a Captain Colley, who commanded a small brig of his own called the Fairy. He was the Master Attendant of Ganjam, and was now absent on leave, and we learnt from him, that from deaths and removals, there were not now a hundred individuals left in the place, and that these were of that class of society who cannot afford to change their place of abode.

We had a fresher breeze toward the close of the day than we had before experienced, and as it blew from the southern quarter, it deceived us into a hope of its continuance. It died away, however, about ten o'clock, and left us becalmed, at midnight, in fifteen fathoms water, and in sight of the illuminated pagodas of Jaggernaut. It was, probably, some festival here, which occasioned the illumination of these temples, as all the feasts of the Indians, whether sacred, or merely social, are held at night, and accompanied with a profuse display of lamps. The celebrity of these pagodas, and the astonishing scenes of infatuation witnessed there, in the self-destruction of devotees at every annual festival, furnished a subject of reflection, of wonder, and of regret.

29th. We had scarcely any wind throughout the night, and at sun-rise the pagodas of Jaggernaut were still in sight, bearing about north, and distant from seven to eight miles, our soundings still in fifteen fathoms water.

The high land of the coast which commences on the borders of Golconda, between Coringa and Vizagapatam, ends here on the

coast of Orixá, between Manikpatam and Ganjam. The pagodas of Jaggernaut, which are to the N.E. of this last place, are seated on a low sandy shore, and the first appearance of them, when seen from the sea, is like that of a large ship under sail, since the buildings themselves are distinguished before the ground on which they stand can be seen. There are three of these, which, as they appear in one in a bearing of W. by N., are distinctly open in a bearing of N.W. to N. They are, however, so close together as to appear to be connected at the base, when seen from a distance, which is partly occasioned by their being all surrounded within one inclosure. This is said to be a square wall of 660 feet on each front, constructed of enormous masses of black stone, and having a gate in each face, fronting the respective cardinal points. They are of a conical form, lessening in diameter from their bases upward, and are all crowned with white balls, and painted spikes rising above them. The westernmost is the largest, the central one next in size, and the easternmost the smallest of the three. Around them are seated many small buildings, probably for the residence of the officiating Bramins, or for the accommodation of the Hindoo pilgrims, who are said to exceed in number those of the whole Mohammedan world assembled yearly at Mecca, though there are many other places of pilgrimages in India, of almost equal celebrity with Jaggernaut.

At noon, we observed in lat.  $19^{\circ}40'$  N., and were in long.  $86^{\circ}$  E., with the Jaggernaut pagodas bearing W.N.W. distant about five leagues, and the Black Pagoda, due North, distant about three leagues, in fifteen fathoms water. The appearance of the Black Pagoda, so called from its actual colour, when seen from this point of view, is that of a huge pyramidal building, with a tall and slender minaret, or column, rising just from its western base. In some points of view, it appears exactly like a vessel under sail, and in others, again, like a rude mass of rock. It is seated, like those of Jaggernaut, on a low and sandy coast, with shoal water, and is, therefore, seldom approached nearer than five or six miles, from which very little of its peculiarities, or details, can be seen.

Our surprise had been excited at the kind of weather which we had experienced since our leaving Madras, and which was quite unreasonable. We had expected strong southerly winds, with all the fury of the S.W. monsoon here, at the head of the Bay of Bengal, whereas we had hitherto experienced only light baffling airs and calms. At four p.m., the sky began to assume a threatening appearance in the N.W., from whence arose most rapidly a dark thick cloud, having its base in the horizon, and extending an arched, or semicircular edge, projecting towards the ship. It rose, and with so much rapidity, that we had scarcely time to reduce our canvas, before it burst upon us in all its fury. As it came immediately off the land, it contained no rain, but its force was sufficient to make

our masts bend, when every sail was taken in, and to split several of those sails after they were clewed up and hauled down. It lasted about an hour, and then fell a dead calm, which left us again unmanageable by the helm, and tossing about in a cross sea.

At eight P.M., a second squall, but of less violence, came off the land from the N.W., bringing a strong smell of earth, and of shrubs burnt up by the sun, with a dryness that almost crackled the skin. This reduced us to the topsails while it lasted, and then left us again becalmed.

30th. At day-light, we had light airs from the eastward, the ship going only two knots. We steered a course of N.E. by E. throughout the morning, shoaling our water gradually, from twenty-five fathoms at midnight to twenty at sun-rise, and fifteen at noon, when we observed, in lat.  $20^{\circ}6'$  N., and were in long.  $86^{\circ}45'$  E., with a projecting piece of low land, bearing N.N.W., distant about six or seven miles, and green and shoal water between it and the ship.

We continued standing on the same course, of N.E. by E., having fifteen or sixteen fathoms throughout, until at ten A.M., having run our whole distance of forty-six miles, to the point of Palmyras reef by the log, and deepening suddenly from sixteen to twenty fathoms water, while steering N.E. by E., we conceived these to be sufficient proofs of our being to the northward of it, and accordingly hauled in W. for an anchorage under its lee. We stood on this course, occasionally edging off to W. by N., for about twelve miles, shoaling our water gradually from twenty-one to sixteen fathoms, when, conceiving ourselves to be near the anchorage of the pilot vessels, we brought up for the night.

31st. At sun-rise, we had hands at each mast head, but no land or vessel were to be seen. We therefore weighed, and stood in still to the westward, under easy sail, shoaling to fourteen fathoms, very gradually. At ten A.M. we saw a vessel in the S.W. quarter, standing towards us, under a press of sail, and taking her for a pilot brig, we made the signal with a gun, tacked off shore, and hove to. At twenty minutes past eleven, she passed within hail, and proved to be the *Ocean*, from Bencoolen, standing on in search of a pilot, as well as ourselves, the commander having unaccountably taken us, as we presented a whole broadside to him from the moment of his first seeing us, for one of the pilot schooners, which are vessels of 200 tons, and brig rigged.

At noon, we observed in lat.  $20^{\circ}34'$  N., and were in long.  $87^{\circ}20'$  E., when finding ourselves still to the southward of Point Palmyras, by the effect of some strong southerly current, or tide, we bore up and made sail to the N.E. accordingly.

At two P.M., having ran our distance by the log, hauled in north N.W., and W.N.W. successively, and at three passed over the tail of Palmyras Reef, at its north-eastern extremity, in ten fathoms.

The water here was of a dull muddy yellow, and its edge accurately defined, where it joined the purer green water of the sea. The soundings in the yellow water was ten fathoms at its very edge, and that of the green twelve fathoms, within a ship's length of it. In the day-time, the colour of the water alone, would be a sufficient guide to keep ships clear of the shoal, for the whole of the sea to windward of us, as we steered in west with a southerly wind, was like a lake of yellow mud, while, to leeward, it was the green water of a sandy bottom.

Steering along upon the edge of the shoal, we could just distinguish the trees of Point Palmiras, and the breakers off it, when in twelve fathoms, and standing in for about twelve or fifteen miles, we shoaled to seven fathoms, in which depth we anchored for the night, with Point Palmiras bearing S.S.W., and the entrance to Kannaka River W.S.W., each of them distant six or seven miles. As this is called in all the late Charts and Directories the New Pilot's Station, we expected to have found a light-house here, on the Point, and pilot vessels at anchor under the reefs, but in both these hopes we were disappointed. We considered ourselves fortunate, however, in attaining a good anchorage, as the night was exceedingly tempestuous, with alternate squalls from the N.W. and S.W., accompanied with thunder, lightning, and heavy rain. We rode in smooth water, with fifty fathoms of cable, and all our yards down, and were much more snug than we could have been, if we had continued under sail for the night.

June-1st. Finding no pilot here in the morning, we weighed, and made all sail to traverse the bay in search of them. Having a fine breeze from the southward, we shaped a course of N.E., for the fall of the Western Brace, deepening to twelve, and shoaling to ten fathoms on its edge, at noon, when we observed in lat.  $21^{\circ}19' N.$ , and had yellow muddy coloured water all along to the northward of us.

Having seen no pilot-vessel in the way, we now wore ship, and stood over west, towards the Old Pilot's Station, in Balasore Roads. We had scarcely trimmed our sails on the larboard tack, before the sky gathered up black in the S.W., and within ten minutes after the first threatening appearance, we had every sail taken in, from the violence of the squall. It was accompanied with much thunder, lightning, and heavy rain, and kept us for about three hours with every sail in, and so thick, as to prevent our seeing more than the ship's length a-head. As the wind was from the N.N.W., and we were in ten fathoms, we still stood along W.S.W., with the wind a-beam, taking the whole range of the Balasore Roads, in search of a pilot, but without finding one.

We had shoaled into seven fathoms at four P. M., when the wind chopped round suddenly to the W.S.W., and threw us a-back. As the change of wind had moderated the weather, we wore round, and



stood away E.S.E., with an intention to cross the tail of the reefs, and make the floating light, so that if no pilot was found by that time we might stand up the Saugor Channel, as far as was practicable, in search of one.

At five p. m., having stood about an hour on this course, and being in twelve fathoms water, we discovered a pilot-brig at anchor right ahead. We accordingly shook out all reefs, and crowded every sail, to come up with her. We had neared her at six p. m. to within about four miles, when she bore due east of us, and were certain, in our own minds, of being alongside her before dark, when in an instant the wind shifted round to the eastward, and precluded all hopes of our reaching her. We fired several guns, however, and kept both the signal for a pilot, and our national colours displayed during a full hour, without any answer being made to us. We stood on, close hauled, to the N.E. until dark, when we brought up in thirteen fathoms and a half, with the pilot-brig S.E. about four miles. Still giving no answer to a gun, and two lights at the peak, which we fired and hoisted on anchoring.

At ten 30' p. m., the wind shifting to the S.W., and admitting of our fetching the pilot-brig at anchor to the S.E. of us, we weighed, and made sail, firing guns, and wearing a light at each cat-head, to give the most ample warning of our approach. The last gun, which was a twenty-four pounder, was fired within half a cable's length of the brig, and just as we hauled our courers up, to pass under her stern. Notwithstanding all this, it will scarcely be believed that we hailed with a trumpet seven distinct times, before we received any answer, by which time we shot so far past her, as not to be able to distinguish any other reply than that she was a pilot-vessel. Shame on them was cried out by every voice on board, for such gross and unaccountable inattention, as our movements and intentions must have been known to them early in the day, and our guns and lights must have been heard and seen by them, though both remained unanswered.

While in the act of passing under this vessel's stern at midnight, the weather had the most threatening appearance, and we had scarcely got clear of her, intending to anchor within a short distance of her until morning, when a squall burst upon us with such violence, as to oblige us to take in every stitch of canvas, and let her drive at the mercy of it; the thunder, lightning, heavy rain, and pitchy darkness increasing the evil, and absolutely terrifying the crew. When its force abated sufficiently, we let go the anchor in fifteen fathoms, and veered to eighty fathoms cable at once, to ride out the night.

June 2d.—Finding the brig to be about a mile to the N.W. of us, still at anchor, we sent a boat on board her at day-light, with an officer, to receive a pilot from her, and to obtain an explanation of the extraordinary conduct which we had witnessed on the pre-

ceding evening, and during the night. This officer, on his return, brought us information of its being the pilot-brig *Flora*, bound to Kannaka, with four or five Commissioners of the Bengal Civil Service, who were going there to enquire into some grievances of the Natives. She had neither pilots or officers to supply us with, but advised our standing to the eastward, in the parallel of  $21^{\circ}$  of latitude, and the line of seventeen fathoms water, in which we should be most likely to fall in with other pilot-vessels, since they seldom or never went into Balasore Roads, except for shelter, and the anchorage under the reef of Point Palmiras had not at all been frequented by them at any time or season. The Commander reproved his officers for the neglect of which we complained; and as he so easily got rid of his responsibility, by casting it on the shoulders of his mates, they took a still more effectual method of exculpating themselves, by positively and flatly denying the fact of our having either fired guns, or shown lights, or hailed more than once in passing!

At eight A. M., we weighed, and stood to the eastward, with a light air from S.S.E., and at ten discovered a sail right a-head, just visible from the royal yard. At noon we observed in  $20^{\circ} 59' N.$ , and were in longitude  $87^{\circ} 35' E.$ , with seventeen fathoms water. At four P. M., we closed in with the sail a-head, which proved to be the *Henry Meriton* pilot-brig. As she had no pilot, or officers, as they are called, on board, the Master, a branch pilot, came on board to take charge of us, and sent his own brig away to the Reef Buoy, to get an officer out of some other brig to relieve him.

We now made all sail, and as the tide was setting to the southward, steered E.N.E., to pass over the tails of the Sea Reefs, and within, or to the northward of, the floating light. The situation of this light vessel was formerly in the Eastern Channel, or between the Eastern Sea Reef and Saugor Reef, or Sand; but she had been recently removed into the Western Channel, or between the Eastern and Western Sea Reefs, as a better guide for ships approaching from the westward. In standing off towards the Reefs, we shoaled our water gradually from twenty to ten fathoms, and then more rapidly to nine and eight, in which depth we first began to see the Floating Light, at nine P. M., bearing E. by S., and thus knew ourselves to be on the Western Sea Reef. We stood across this Reef, on the same course, in seven and six fathoms and a half, in the shoalest part, and then deepened, in the Western Channel, to ten and eleven fathoms. After running about an hour, we shoaled again, rather suddenly, to nine, eight, seven, and six fathoms, by which we knew ourselves to be on the tail of the Eastern Sea Reef. We crossed this on the same course in quarterless six fathoms, on the shoalest part, and deepened gradually to six and seven fathoms, which brought us out into the Eastern Channel, or Fair Way. Here we anchored about midnight, in the last named depth, with the Floating Light bearing S.W. by W.

3d. At day-light, it was our intention to have weighed, and stood up the Eastern Channel with the flood tide, but we were prevented from doing this by a heavy squall from the N.W., accompanied with thunder, lightning, and torrents of rain. Sent down the royal and topgallant-yards, the ship lying over with her guns in the water; but as we were riding athwart, with a weather tide, we veered out no more cable.

The wind soon veered round to W. and S.W., accompanied with thick rain, but moderating gradually in its force. At eight A.M., we weighed, and made sail, steering from N.N.W. to N.W. up the Eastern Channel. At 11, 30' falling calm, with the ebb making; anchored in six fathoms and a half, and kept the sails aloft. Several vessels being in sight, dropping down towards us with the ebb, and among them the *Sea Horse* and the *Guide*, pilot-brigs, we procured from the former a Master in the service, who relieved the branch pilot on board, and took charge of us.

We weighed at three P.M., with the first of the flood, and having a light southerly breeze, stood N.N.W. up the Eastern Channel, in six and six fathoms and a half, until sun-set, when we anchored in the last depth, between the Spit and Reef Buoys, and veered to thirty-five fathoms cable.

4th. We had a night of fine weather, and a light southern air at day-break, with which we weighed and made sail. We had scarcely got our anchor stowed, however, before the wind shifted suddenly round to the westward, and obliged us to brace sharp up. On first getting sight of the southern buoy of the Gaspar Sand, which has a red spiral top, and an open basket-work cage at the top, it bore N.W., and had we been able to have steered this course, it was the pilot's intention to have gone close by it into Thornhill's Channel, on the western side of the Gaspar Sand, but the wind heading us off, we were obliged to steer N.N.W. for the Old Channel, or that on the eastern side of the Gaspar. When we brought this southern red buoy to bear about west, distant a quarter of a mile in five fathoms and a half water, we steered due north through the Old Channel, shoaling to five and a quarter, and deepening to six and a half when we passed the Black Spiral Buoy of the Middle Ground on our starboard side, and soon after, as the wind was light and the ebb making, we anchored in six fathoms and a half with these bearings.

Western Extreme of Saugor Island	N.N.W. 4 W.
Eastern Extreme of ditto	E. 4 S.
Upper Buoy in Thornhill's Channel	S.S.W. 3 W.
Do. do. of the Gaspar Sand	S. by N. 4 E.
Do. 50. off the nearest part of Saugor	a mile.

At 3<sup>o</sup> 30' the ebb tide falling slack, we weighed and made sail to the N.N.W. up the Saugor Channel, carrying five and six fathoms

with the first of the flood, and deepening to eight and nine and a half at sun-set. The day-light having closed upon us too soon to go through the narrow channel, between the New Anchorage and Kedgerree, we brought up for the night with the light-house of Kedgerree, bearing N. by W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W., and the buoy of a flat running off the western edge of Saugor Island E. by S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S., distant half a mile, in nine and a quarter fathoms, and the nearest part of Saugor about a mile and a half to the eastward of us.

5th. At eight A. M. the flood having made strong, we weighed and made all sail up the river—but at ten, attempting to cross over from the eastern to the western channel, just abreast of Kedgerree, the wind failed us, and we were obliged to anchor in the strength of the tide in ten fathoms. Kedgerree light-house bearing W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N. and the town about a mile off on the western bank of the river. There were lying here an American, a French, and an English ship, all fine vessels, laden and bound to sea. We were visited here, too, by the government post-boat, which brought parcels of letters, addressed to ships on their arrival here, for us to examine, and took our own letters to send by the post to Calcutta, which is a run of one night only. The town itself had a very humble and mean appearance, and derives its support chiefly from the stay of shipping near it, on coming up or going down the river.

At 11 30' A. M., a breeze freshening up from the S.E., we weighed again, and making all sail, fetched across into the Western Channel, and steering a course of N.E. northerly, made good progress against the young ebb. At 2 30' P. M. it gathered up squally and black in the S.E., and shortly after it burst upon us with such violence, that we were reduced to our topsails on the cap flying before it, and so thick from heavy rain, that we could not discern either bank of the river. This continued for about an hour, during the whole of which time we held a steady course of N.E., and shoaled from eight to six fathoms gradually. It then fell a dead calm, and shortly after we were taken a-back with a squall from the N.E., which obliged us to clew all up and anchor. We brought up, therefore, a little above a large Banian, called the silver tree, having it to bear S. by W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W. about a mile—and the White Pagoda, of Kulpee, N.N.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. five or six miles, in five fathoms and a half water, and half a mile off the eastern shore.

6th. At day-light, the ship driving from her anchor in a hard squall from the northward, and a strong ebb-tide, we were obliged to let go a second bower to bring her up. At 7 30' A. M., the ebb having slackened, we hove up, and made sail towards Diamond Harbour, haying no ground at seven fathoms the greater part of the way. The appearance of the banks of the Hoogley had been dull and uninteresting from our entrance of the river thus far, but the eastern one particularly began now to assume a more fertile and

pleasing aspect from the woods, the villages and the herds seen along it.

On approaching the anchorage at Diamond Harbour, we made the signal of the Union Jack at the fore, with a gun, to signify that we intended taking in the East India Company's chain moorings there, our cables not being sufficiently good to be trusted to. It was about noon when we anchored, and the harbour-master coming on board, we warped to the buoy, and took the chain in, mooring with our two bower cables as bridles—and lying right a-breast of the creek of the harbour-master's house, bearing N.N.E., distant about a quarter of a mile.

### THE BENIGHTED TRAVELLER.

'Tis when the "witching time of night"  
O'er nature draws her sable hood,  
Pale Superstition's phantom sprite  
Reigns in the glen or haunted wood.

Forsaken by the moon's mild light,  
O'er lonely path, or desert fell,  
No dwelling cheers the traveller's sight,  
"Nor soul the lonely way to tell."

'The time—the hour—and dreary place,  
All press upon his soul with dread;  
Echoes his faltering footsteps trace,  
And doubt and terror check his speed.

List'ning, he hears (in fancy) stealing  
The robber from the forest glade:  
Foe to man, remorse, and feeling,  
Woe to him who meets his blade!

Hark! the mighty torrent's roaring  
'Midst night's silence fearfully;  
And the bird of night is wailing  
From ruin grey or lonely tree.

Or when the moon-beams through the trees  
A ghastly lustre sheds around;  
And whistles the autumnal breeze  
A thrilling, deep, and mournful sound.

It sounds like voices from the dead,  
Who love to haunt some well-known spot;  
Again life's former scenes to tread,  
Though now they sleep—unarm'd—forgot.

Thus—imagination wanders  
O'er gloomy scenes of night display'd;  
Whilst the mind in terror ponders,  
Superstition lends her aid.

'Tis when the "witching time of night"  
O'er nature draws her sable hood,  
Pale Superstition's phantom sprite  
Reigns in the glen or haunted wood.

SUBSTANCE OF THE SPEECH OF J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq.

*Delivered at the Eleventh Anniversary of the Whitby Auxiliary Bible Society, on Friday, the 18th Sept., 1829.*

IN rising to second the motion which has been so ably and eloquently introduced to your notice by the accomplished speaker who has just concluded his address, I may venture to say that I participate as largely as any individual member of this crowded assembly in the general satisfaction which the object and conduct of this meeting are so well calculated to afford. I might, perhaps, under ordinary circumstances, have contented myself with merely expressing this satisfaction, and permitting the motion to pass at once to the vote; but, having been so pointedly alluded to by the several speakers who have preceded me, and invited by name to give some details respecting the countries I have traversed in the East, I should be wanting in respect to those who have so honoured me, and in justice to the cause itself, were I to remain entirely silent on this occasion. I fear, however, that what I have to offer will be infinitely less agreeable than what has been already presented to you; for, hitherto you have been chiefly flattered with the pleasing representations of the great good which your united efforts have actually achieved: while it must be my less grateful province to point out to you how much yet remains to be accomplished, and thereby, if possible, to stimulate you to new sacrifices and to renewed exertions. The greater number of those whom I have now the pleasure to address must, of course, be aware that the immediate object of my visit to Whitby is of a specific and peculiar nature; it being my wish to call the attention of its inhabitants, as ship-owners and merchants more particularly, to the importance of improving our political and commercial relations with the East: but, though this is the main purpose of my visit here, yet so important do I hold the object which has brought you together in the same place, that I pledge myself to forget, for a moment, the predominant feeling of my own mind, and to confine myself, in what I shall now say, to the strict limits of our present purpose, by shewing you the condition of the Eastern World generally, with reference to its religious wants and the best means of supplying them, and the state of India more especially, with reference to its degrading superstitions, and the wide field which that country offers for the exercise of your benevolence and zeal.

Before I enter upon this topic, however, allow me, in support of the views maintained by those who have already addressed you, to supply a very striking example, which seems to have escaped them, from our own history, of the wonderful and beneficial change produced by the circulation of the Scriptures in countries where they before existed, but only as a sealed book: because, from what has been, may very fairly be inferred what may again be the result of such a step. The period to which I allude is that of our great, and as it is often most appropriately called, glorious Reformation. The principal feature of that great work was to break down the spiritual dominion then exercised by the Pope, and to place the Scriptures in the hands of all classes, in a language intelligible to all, with perfect freedom, not merely of perusal, but of interpretation or acceptance of its contents. And what was the issue? Why, that men becoming possessed of what was hitherto sealed up from their inspection, exercised their diligence in examining, and their judgment in interpreting it for themselves; so that the dominion of the priesthood was destroyed, and religion became what it ought every where to be, a free and unfettered communion between the soul and its Creator. Take, then, the picture of England, Holland, Germany, and other northern countries, then under papal sway, and lay it beside a picture of the same countries since they have been emancipated from the priestly yoke, and see the amazing difference: in the one case, bigotry and ignorance were the greatest characteristics of the age; in the other, liberality and intelligence have happily succeeded: and to this no single event has perhaps more powerfully contributed than that which placed the Scriptures in every man's hands, with full liberty to judge for himself of all that they contained. In short, in com-

paring, even at the present moment, the several countries of the earth that are nominally under what are called Christian Governments, you will find that where the Bible is still withheld from the inspection of the people at large, and where even the few who are permitted to read it are obliged to shape their faith according to the dictates of their spiritual teachers, as is especially the case in Spain and Portugal, bigotry and ignorance still prevail; while in those countries in which the Scriptures are most freely circulated, and where religious liberty is most extensively enjoyed, as is the case in England and America, there the very opposite picture is presented, and there freedom, intelligence, morality, and happiness, are the fruits which it produces. But let me pass to the condition of that portion of the globe which I have been more especially called upon to describe.

The first of the eastern countries which it was my lot to visit, as a traveller, was Egypt; and it was, of course, impossible for me to tread the banks of the Nile, from among the bulrushes of which Moses was taken up by the daughter of Pharaoh,—to traverse the land of Goshen, or cross the Red Sea to the Desert of Wandering,—to behold the stupendous monuments, in the erection of which, it is at least probable, that the enslaved and captive Israelites were employed—and not to feel an additional interest in every thing connected with its Scriptural history, or to be indifferent to the state and condition of the people among whom those Scriptures were still held in esteem. The government of that country, as you are aware, is in the hands of Mohammedans, by whom Christianity is rejected, and its professors subjected to disabilities and oppressions. Accordingly, the circulation of the Scriptures is extremely limited in Egypt. Nevertheless, inasmuch as there are still a number of professing Christians, of the several sects denominated as Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Nestorians, Maronites, &c. having religious establishments and places of worship in Egypt, the introduction of the Scriptures among them might not be a work of difficulty, and from them it might the more readily pass into the hands of those who would be otherwise inaccessible; while in consequence of the degraded and corrupt state of the Christians themselves, it may be said that the Scriptures, if presented in a language in which they could be familiarly read, would be likely to effect as great a change among them as among those who profess not their faith; for scarcely any thing can be conceived more remote from the simple purity of Christianity, than the rites, ceremonies, and dogmas designated by that name in the East.

The countries that I next visited, and which may well be associated together on this occasion as one, namely, Palestine and Mesopotamia, possessed a still stronger Scriptural interest than even Egypt; for, while gazing on the walls and towers of Jerusalem,—crossing the brook Kedron by the Pool of Siloam,—treading the Mount of Olives, and entering Bethany and Bethpage, Bethlehem and Nazareth,—who could be indifferent to the Sacred Volume that recorded all the events of which these spots were the scenes and witnesses?—If I bathed myself in the waters of the Jordan, or lingered on the shores of the Dead Sea,—if I hung with delight on the glorious prospects from Lebanon, or reposed among the bowers of Damascus,—in short, whatever path my footsteps traced, whether it led me through the ruins of Tyre and Sidon, or the fields and vallies of remoter solitudes, every rock and every eminence, every brook and every rivulet, had its own especial history, and roused up a thousand Scriptural associations. Yet here, too, as in Egypt, the government is in the hands of Mohammedans; and though there are not wanting professing Christians in considerable number and variety, both as residents and as pilgrims, yet the Scriptures are so little known and understood among them, and so little vigilance is exercised by those whose duty it is to be always active in the cause, that they correspond exactly with the description given by the prophet, when he speaks of the “shepherds that sleep” while the fold is in danger, and the “watchmen who slumber” while the citadel is invaded.

In Mesopotamia, the darkness is even greater still. At Ur of the Chaldees, the birth-place of Abraham, and over all the country beyond the great river Euphrates, Christianity is less and less to be found, even in name, and still more remote from its original purity in character; so much so, that there is one sect who con-

sider themselves to be in some degree Christians, as they profess to follow a gospel of St. John; but their claim to that appellation may be judged from the fact of their actually paying divine honours to Satan, and quoting a passage of this gospel in their defence. The awful ruins of Nineveh and Babylon stand upon the banks of their respective streams, the Tigris and Euphrates, in all the silent gloom of utter desolation; and traversing their vast remains with the Scriptural descriptions of their grandeur fresh in my recollection, it was impossible not to feel all the sadness which characterized the captive Israelites of old, when, instead of singing the songs of Zion as in happier days—they hung their harps upon the willows, and sat themselves down by the waters of Babylon and wept.

In passing from thence into Persia, there was not much improvement, although there a ray of hope had begun to illumine the general darkness. In every part of that country, the European character is so highly respected, that almost any measure coming from Europeans, and Englishmen especially, would be sure to meet with less resistance than in any other part of the Mohammedan world. While Persia is, therefore, quite as destitute as all the other countries of Asia, in a moral and religious sense, it appears to me that it offers a less obstructed channel for the introduction of a great change in this particular respect, than any other of the surrounding states. I may add to this general assertion a fact which came under my own personal observation, and which tends to shew what might be done in Persia by judicious men and judicious measures. The Rev. Henry Martyn, whose name must be familiar to most of you, and whose character stands high wherever his name is known, was in Persia, just previous to the period of my passing through that country; and at Shiraz, I met with several Mollahs, or teachers of the Mohammedan faith, from whom I learnt that Mr. Martyn's life and conversation had produced the most surprising effect in softening the usual hostility between Mohammedans and Christians; that the most learned Muffis had conversed freely with him, on points of faith and doctrine, and that they had come to the conclusion, that there were not such insuperable barriers between them as they had at first conceived. Such a step as this is most important, because from the moment those who are in error can be brought to listen patiently to the truth, hopes may be entertained of its final triumph; for, as Milton has beautifully observed, "though all the winds of doctrine were let loose upon the earth, so truth be among them, we need not fear. Let her and falsehood grapple: who ever knew her put to the worst, in a free and open encounter?"

From Persia I proceeded to India, and there I remained as a resident for several years. It might be expected, that in a country so long under our dominion as that has been, the same backwardness with respect to the spread of truth and sound religion would not have been observed; but I regret to say, that while in India, the reign of superstition is more widely spread, and more terrible in its degrading effects, than in any of the countries I have yet mentioned; the obstacles thrown in the way of those who are impatient to substitute a better order of things, are quite as great as in either of them. Let me mention only one or two of the revolting practices which their superstition engendered, and still upholds, and you will then see what a vast field a hundred millions of beings, so immersed in darkness, must afford for British benevolence and Christian reformation.

The most popularly known of these Indian rites, is that of the burning of Hindoo widows on the funeral piles of their husbands. To such a frightful extent is this carried, that, in the course of ten years, according to a parliamentary report made on this subject, nearly seven thousand Indian widows were burnt alive! Even if the practice were undoubtedly enjoined by their sacred books, and were always performed voluntarily, there is something in it so revolting to humanity, that it ought not to be permitted; but it rests upon very doubtful authority, even in their own writings, one of the most learned of their Brahmins having written several works to shew, that the practice is at least but optional, and of comparatively recent date; and in by far the greater number of cases, it is not voluntary, the parties being drugged with opiates, deluded by priests, and terrified by threats, into compliance. In addition to this, they are frequently bound down



with cords and ligatures to the funeral pile, so that their escape would be impossible, however much they might desire it; and in those few instances in which the parties have been left unbound, and have leaped off the pile as soon as the flames begun to envelop their slender frames, they have been most inhumanly seized by the fanatic by-standers, and flung back again into the flames, with their scorched and mangled limbs dropping off from their bodies, thus expiring amidst the most horrid and protracted tortures that the human imagination can conceive! And all this under the sanction, by the authority, and with the countenance and protection, of a Government calling itself Christian.—that of the East India Company.

What appears to me to add greatly to the horror of this diabolical sacrifice, is the consideration that it puts out of existence those who are the most worthy to live; as, whatever there may be of voluntary submission to this rite on the part of those who are its victims, must spring from one of these motives: either, first, the devotional motive, or a willingness to offer up life, and all that can endure it, rather than forfeit the hope of future happiness, or incur the displeasure of the Supreme Being—which, though their faith be grounded in error, they may most sincerely believe; and act upon in the way they think most conducive to that end; or, secondly, the domestic motive, an extreme attachment to the object of their affections, and an unwillingness to survive him who was not merely their husband and protector, but their best and only friend; or, thirdly, the social motive, or an abhorrence of living in a society without a full participation in its honours and enjoyments, and an unwillingness to have their lives prolonged, if they could only live as outcasts, repudiated by their relatives and families, and despised even by strangers as well as friends. These appear to me to be the only conceivable motives of such a submission to suffering on the part of the unfortunate, but still amiable and interesting, widow of the East. And yet, surely, these are motives which do them honour, and which prove what excellent materials must exist in a society capable of producing such instances of self-devotion, for the construction of a better and happier community. For who is there among us that does not honour, with the highest distinction, the female penitent and devotee, who, rather than do that which should forfeit her the hope of heaven, would sacrifice her life, and all that she held at her disposal? Who is there among us that does not equally honour with our sympathy and our admiration, the young and affectionate widow, whose sorrow at the death of her husband and lord so surpasses all ordinary bounds, as to evince itself in paroxysms of grief that drive the unhappy victim sometimes on the verge of insanity, and leave her in such a state as will permit her to see nothing but perpetual gloom in the prospect of the future, so that if the sublime faith of Christianity had not taught her that self-destruction was a crime against the awful majesty of the Creator, she would be as much disposed as the Indian widow to sink at once into the grave that seems about to close upon the remains of all that the earth held dear in her estimation? Who, I may also ask, can there be among us, who does not equally honour the female, be she virgin, wife, or widow, whose strongest feeling, next to devotion, is her love of an unsullied reputation, who could not bear the thought of sustaining existence otherwise than honourably, and who would rather die a thousand deaths, than live to have the finger of scorn pointed at her as one who had outlived her untainted name? And shall all these be deemed virtues in Britain, and vices in Hindostan? It is impossible. The motive is in both cases equally honourable; and the misdirection of that motive in the case of the Indian widow, appears to me only to strengthen their claims on our sympathy and commiseration, as, where so good a soil exists, the seed cannot be sown in vain.

The other abominable rite of which I shall now speak (for I confine myself to the two prominent ones, although there are a hundred that might be detailed), is the pilgrimage to Juggernaut. This is the name of an idol which is worshipped at a place called Pooree, on the sea-coast of Orissa, between Madras and Bengal, and to whose shrine pilgrimages are made from different parts of India. The lives annually sacrificed to this monstrous idol surpass all credibility; but it may be sufficient to say, that the approach to the temple is indicated, for fifty miles on all sides round, by the mangled and decaying carcases of those who have perished as

his victims. Will it be believed that the East India Company, not content with remaining merely indifferent spectators of all these atrocities, which, of itself, would, I think, be sufficient to warrant their condemnation—absolutely make these horrid and revolting rites a source of pecuniary profit to themselves? Nay, more; not only do they receive all the revenues arising from fees and tribute paid to the idol, themselves defraying the costs of his maintenance, providing him with meat and drink and clothing; and keeping up a brothel, or establishment of courtesans and prostitutes, for the service of the priests! paying, therefore, the wages of sin and death, and placing the surplus among the unholy and polluted gains which swell their common treasury; but they go farther still, and, in order to augment these gains, they have organized a body of pilgrim-hunters, under the name of *Pundas* and *Purharees*, whose especial business it is to go abroad, all over the country, and traverse it in every direction, in search of pilgrims, for the purpose of bringing them in companies to Juggernaut. Lest the ordinary motive of superstition should be insufficient to induce these wretched emissaries to perform their tasks with proper zeal, the East India Company have superadded the motive of what, in this instance, may be truly called “base lucre:” for these pilgrim-hunters are actually paid, at a fixed rate per head, for every fresh victim they can bring! They accordingly extend their excursions for hundreds of miles from the bloody and revolting scene; and wherever they find a man who has a sufficient sum of money in his possession, the hard earnings, perhaps, of years of industry and frugality, they seize on him as their victim, persuade him to leave his wife and family, and go on a pilgrimage to Juggernaut. He quits his home, with the promise, perhaps, of a speedy return; but, alas! the hour for his recrossing the threshold of his cottage never arrives. He is led, by these delusive guides, to the idol and his car. In the expense of his journey, in fees to the India Company, and in the premium, or head-money, paid to his decoyers, every farthing will be exhausted. He enters the temple, joins in the horrid din of its filthy and brutal uproar, comes out of it naked and penniless, and, before three days are passed over his head, perishes for want, in the very precincts of the temple, where thousands are annually expended in the grossest sensualities! and the whole plain, for fifty miles round in every direction, is literally whitened with the bones of the victims thus offered up as sacrifices to this most monstrous of all superstitions, or, should I not rather say, to its chief supporters and abettors—the bigotry and fanaticism of the Brahmins, and the heartlessness and avariciousness of the East India Company!

These things are so extraordinary, as well as so revolting, that I should have almost hesitated to put my own reputation for veracity in jeopardy, by even alluding to them at all, were I not speaking under the sanction of the highest and most unquestionable authorities. In a very copious and excellent Report of a Speech made at the East India House, only a year or two ago, by a Proprietor of East India Stock, Mr. Poynder; in a very valuable little volume, entitled “*India's Cries to British Humanity*,” written by Mr. Peggs, a resident of Coventry, who resided some time in India; in a still more recent work, entitled “*Reflections on the Present State of British India*,” published by Hurst, Chance, & Co. of London, in the present year, 1829; and in the various Parliamentary Papers that have been, from time to time, produced on this subject, all these facts are stated in detail, on the authority of men in the service of the East India Company itself, and in such a way as to render its accuracy and authenticity beyond all doubt.

And shall the Christians and philanthropists of Britain remain silent and inactive under such a state of things as this? It would be so deep a reproach to them to suppose it, that I will not, even for a moment, entertain the bare supposition. That the existing government of India, with all its repeated professions of a readiness to assist in the spread of Christianity in the East, have no such wish really at heart, I could adduce a thousand proofs; but their supporting and profiting by such a superstition as this that I have just described, will, no doubt, be deemed sufficient. Let me add to this the fact, that the largest establishment of *Missionaries* now in India, those at Serampore, were obliged to plant themselves in this foreign settlement, (for it belongs to the Danes,) rather than in Calcutta, or any other spot under the dominion of the English; because, in the foreign settlement they were

allowed perfect toleration, and the enjoyment of a free press; whereas, in the English settlement they could only be tolerated from day to day, with the liability to be transported at a moment's warning, without trial or hearing of any kind whatever, and for any reason or no reason, as the Government need not condescend to give any to those whom they banish; besides being subject to a rigid censorship or control over the press, which gives to the India Company's servants the same monopoly of religion as their masters enjoy of political power and trade; which, therefore, enables them to compel every writer to shape his opinions and expressions according to the Government standard of orthodoxy; (not allowing even Mohammed to be called a false prophet, though any Mohammedan in India may preach in any mosque of the country that Christ and his apostles were impostors); and which, if Christians should be sufficiently imbued with their Divine Master's spirit, to love truth better than falsehood, and to speak plainly and honestly, whether those in authority liked such qualities or not, gives to those invested with rule in that country, power to suppress any publication they dislike; first interrupting the public good it may be doing, and then inflicting ruin by the destruction of all the property of those who may be instrumental in doing it. The last law passed on that subject in India, the work of Mr. John Adam, during his brief and temporary rule of a few weeks only, but never yet repealed, gives the Government the power to prohibit, not merely the printing and publishing, but also the selling, distributing, or even lending for perusal, any book or paper whatever, whether printed in England or elsewhere, to which the Governor-General, in any fit of caprice or ill-humour, may happen to take a dislike!

This, Sirs, is the actual state of things in India at the present moment: and the monstrous and absurd pretence upon which it is attempted to be defended is, that if knowledge be spread among the natives of India, they will be alarmed at our intended interference with their superstitious, and this will lead them to rebel and expel us from the country. In such an assembly as this, I need hardly waste a moment in combating so monstrous and untenable a position. We all know that increased knowledge produces better and happier effects: and as to any danger to be apprehended from any reasonable, persuasive, and legislative measures, to interfere with the superstitions of the natives, I need only refer you to the publications I have already named, to show you that in every case in which this has yet been done (and they are numerous) the change has been effected without a murmur; and that, according to the testimony and opinions of the best informed among the civil and military servants of the East India Company, whose evidence has been given on the subject, the two revolting practices that I have already described to you, the burning of human beings alive, and the sacrifice of victims at the shrine of Juggernaut, might be as easily abolished by a mere decree embodying the wish of the Government, as was the destruction of female infants in Guzerat, and the throwing children into the Ganges at Saugur.

But I will not detain you longer than to express my hope that the earnest attention with which you have listened to these details, may be an indication of that zeal with which you will follow up such measures as seem best to you for amending the existing state of things. In the circulation of the Scriptures where the people most need them, you are actuated by a desire to increase the temporal, and secure the eternal happiness of those to whom it is presented. In my humble, but not altogether different sphere, I am anxious to attain the same great ends, by other though not opposite means. In seeking to arouse the dormant spirit of this great and wealthy nation to a due sense of the importance of destroying the present, and substituting a better system of commercial and political government for India, I have really no personal motives whatever. I am neither a merchant, a shipowner, nor a manufacturer; and as to pecuniary benefit, I know of none that I could derive from the adoption of my views respecting India to-morrow. But, as a philanthropist merely, without reference to any particular system of speculative belief, it is impossible not to feel an interest in the fate of a hundred millions of human beings, be they in what quarter of the globe they may. As a patriot, that interest becomes greatly increased by the consideration that these hundred millions are under British dominion. And, as a Christian, the interest rises still higher, by con-

trasting the advanced condition of those countries in which Christianity is most pure, with those in which it is still encumbered and disfigured with the grossest corruptions; and, therefore, I desire strongly to see the simple yet sublime precepts of the Gospel supplanting the degrading and demoralizing superstitions of idolatry, in every portion of the habitable globe. I believe good political institutions and free commercial intercourse to be among the best pioneers in the cause of morality and true religion. Where the former are established, justice will hold her seat, and tranquillity and contentment be found; where the latter is permitted, knowledge will flow in from a thousand different directions, and through a thousand different channels, until its united streams so overspread the land, that those things only which are just, and true, and holy, can retain their place in general estimation: and, believing that both your labours and mine will each, in their respective spheres, conduce, under the blessing of God, to this great end, I rejoice at the occasion which has now presented itself for our acting together in so holy a cause.

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### MEETING OF THE MERCHANT COMPANY OF EDINBURGH,

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#### TRADE TO INDIA.

On Monday, the 19th of October, a meeting of the Merchant Company was held.—Thomas Allan, Esq., Master of the Company, in the chair, and after the usual general business had been gone through, he called on Mr. Macfarlan to bring forward his motion on the subject of opening the trade to India.

Mr. J. F. Macfarlan then rose and spoke nearly as follows:—I had not originally intended to say any thing more on this subject than I formerly did, when I introduced the question to the Company's notice; but from what then took place, I understood it to be the general feeling that it ought to be more fully discussed, that the Company might be better able to come to a deliberate opinion respecting it. I do think it will hardly be disputed that restrictions on trade are injurious; or that where any such exist—or are proposed to be laid on—the burden of proof of the necessity must rest upon those who seek to impose or to continue restrictions—freedom of commerce being universally admitted to be absolutely necessary to its prosperity. The East India Company has long enjoyed one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, monopolies that ever existed, and one which, unless it be for the benefit of the country, ought not to be continued. This brings us to the point at issue between the Company and the country. No one seeks to deprive them of their incorporating charter; it is only with respect to the exclusive privileges that any question exists. These were granted for certain periods and purposes; and it would be for Parliament to say whether they are to be continued. And for this purpose it would be necessary for the Company to show that they are advantageous to the country: for the first charter granted by Queen Elizabeth, was under this condition—"that if it should appear that the grant, or continuance thereof, in whole, or in part, should not be profitable to the Sovereign or the realm, that, upon two years' notice it should cease, be void, and determine;—and though those exact words did not run through all subsequent charters, still the same spirit pervaded the whole—that the exclusive privileges were only to be permanent if beneficial; and were those privileges to be removed to-morrow, the Company would still remain a chartered incorporation. I will now advert, first, to the present state of the trade with India; and secondly, to the propriety of removing the restrictions still existing. In 1813 great concessions were made, but limited by several restraints. No vessel was permitted to trade under 350 tons burthen—on account—as it was alleged, amongst other reasons, of their more respectable appearance. This was, however, done away in 1822, and in consequence, several vessels, one of them as low as 120 tons, have since sailed from Leith, making, as I understand, very fair

returns; and from the harmony which is now likely to prevail between Edinburgh and Leith, I hope, through our united exertions, that this trade will be pursued with spirit and success, in ships of all sizes, whereby the produce of the East will be brought to our own doors, taking in return the manufactures of our country. The next restriction to which I should allude, is the system of licenses—of them I will say no more than merely quote the opinion of a committee of the House of Lords; which declares that ‘they were productive of no public benefit, and subjected individuals to some expenses.’ The next restriction which I shall notice, is that which prohibits intercourse with the interior. The order by Mr. Lushington, preventing individuals on commercial business from travelling more than ten miles from a presidency is already before the public. I could have understood the meaning of this order, if it had been to restrain persons going about for seditious purposes, but when the object was purely commercial, I can only look upon it as throwing an obstacle in the way of trade, which necessarily must give rise to gluts in the market, and therefore be highly injurious to the merchant. The want of right of settlement and colonization in India has also been productive of very great evil even to ourselves, as could be established by referring to the low state of value in which articles of Indian produce are held. For instance, in the article of cotton wool, the annual consumption in Great Britain is 197 millions of pounds, of which America furnishes 151, Brazil 17, Egypt 6, the West Indies 9 millions of lbs., and the East Indies only about 12 millions of lbs., while in fact it ought, and it would with proper care and cultivation, supply almost the whole. The preference did not arise from our merchants being fonder of American than Indian produce, but because it was cultivated in a superior manner. The arbitrary power of deportation was another part of the Indian system very injurious to the improvement of the country. No man would invest 10,000*l.* or 20,000*l.*, when he knew he might at one moment’s notice be obliged to leave his affairs, perhaps to go to ruin. I do not say that the Government should not have the power of sending improper persons out of the country, but I hold that it ought only to be used when a verdict of a jury said the individual was guilty. As to the advantages of free trade, I will refer to a pamphlet lately published by a gentleman in defence of the Indian monopoly, who has with the greatest simplicity added as an appendix to his work, certain returns which prove the great advantages that have resulted from free trade. By these documents it appeared that the Company in 1814 exported 1162 yards of plain cottons, and in 1828, 306,000; while the private trader had exported in 1814, 212,246 yards, and in 1828, this trade increased to 22,940,349 yards, and of printed cottons, 12,327,379 yards. But the more remarkable article was that of cotton twist, for in 1814; only 8 lbs. were exported; but in 1828, the quantity was 4,558,185 lbs. by the private trader, and 90,040 by the Company. The export of iron and steel had increased from 4000 tons, by the private merchants, in 1814, to 19,924, in 1828; while the Company’s exports had decreased from 7085 to 3984 tons. Besides, while the general official value of the exports of private traders had increased from 578,889*l.*, in 1814, to 4,085,000*l.* in 1828, that of the Company was stated in the same document, at 117,000*l.* in 1814, and in 1828 at 1,126,000*l.* In the article of imports, on the other hand, (to say nothing at present of tea) of sugar in 1814, 40,800 cwt. were imported by the Company, and 3500 by the private trader; while in 1828, 75,000 cwt. were imported by the Company, and 441,000 by the private trader. In indigo, also, the increase was great; the import had risen in 1828 to upwards of 2,000,000 lbs. by the Company, and 7,500,000 lbs. by the private traders. In 1828, the quantity of coffee imported by the Company was 13,136 lbs., while there were 7,361,571 lbs. by the private trader; and to mention no more than cotton wool, in 1828, the quantity imported by the Company was 1,098,000 lbs. while 31,241,000 lbs. were imported by the private trader. The sum total of the imports of 1828 was 5,576,905*l.* (including tea), while that by the private trader was 5,643,671*l.* Thus showing an enormous increase in the extent of trade; and were I to go into particulars, it would be easy to show that that increase was altogether occasioned by private trade, that of the Company, with the exception of tea, having declined. I may therefore fairly ask, to which of the two—the Company, or the private trader—the country is most indebted? And if these have been the results under restrictions, it is but reasonable to suppose, were those obstacles removed,

and British capital and British industry to operate fully on the fertile soils of India, that the increase would go on progressively, especially when it is considered that a very great taste everywhere prevails for English dress, manufactures, &c. As an instance of this, Bishop Heber mentions, that when he visited the King of Oude, he found the furniture of his palace at Lucknow, altogether English; and from the growing desire for English manufactures, I have little doubt, in a few years, were the trade opened, that India itself would consume the greater portion of those goods for which at present we cannot find a market. In this way, too, great advantages would accrue to the native population by the employment thus given them. It is true the question of colonization is a knotty point, but the propriety of allowing merchants to settle is generally admitted. Bishop Heber states, that in Calcutta, but one opinion exists on the subject. We have heard much of the wealth of India, and undoubtedly there is wealth there, but it is not circulated generally amongst the people as here, diffusing happiness and comfort along with it, but is confined to the highest classes—for the squalid wretchedness of the miserable ryots of which, we are told, would almost exceed belief. The question of colonization has, however, been settled by the Company itself, by liberty having been given to British subjects to hold lands in their own names for the cultivation of all kinds of produce. They have passed the Rubicon, and cannot recede: and I trust, through the introduction of British capital and intelligence, that the condition of the people will be improved. The benefits to be conferred are not merely upon seven millions, a number of which we have heard so much, but upon the seven times seven—nay, twice seven times seven millions—(Applause). On this branch of the subject a great deal more might be said, but I deem it unnecessary; and will now proceed to make a few remarks on the trade to China, which divides itself into two branches—the circuitous trade carried on between America, China, the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and Europe; the other the direct trade between China and this country. One of the circumstances which led, in the first instance, to the indirect intercourse was the fur trade, in which very large profits were made. To give one instance—an American captain, with a small vessel, left New York with a cargo which did not cost him more than 100*l.* which he exchanged for furs, and with these he proceeded to China, exchanging them for the produce of that country, and returning to America, procured a fresh supply, again visited Colombia river, and purchased furs, which he disposed of in the same manner. This traffic he carried on for three years and a half, when he returned to New York with a fortune of 30,000*l.*—(Hear). Our own countrymen were not insensible to the advantage of this traffic; and, accordingly, the North West Company entered into it with spirit. They obtained leave from the East India Company to carry furs to China, but were not permitted to take a return from that country. The consequence was, that the expense became so great, that they were compelled to abandon that mode of conducting their trade, which was, however, still carried on, but through the medium of the Americans. The manufactures which were destined to purchase the furs, were sent out from England, transhipped into American vessels, which proceeded to the Colombia River, and from thence to China, and in this way more beneficial returns were made than in the former. The new trade with South America was conducted in a similar way—manufactures being sent out to Buenos Ayres, and copper and silver obtained, with which vessels go to China, and the islands, and trade, bringing the produce of those distant parts to the European markets. The American trade itself is carried on in a similar way, and its progress is exceedingly instructive. In 1783, only two or three American vessels had made the voyage; but it has increased to such an extent, that upwards of two hundred ships have been absent at one time from the United States on this voyage; and from being allowed to go wherever they please, have become the chief carriers of Europe. Some idea may be formed of the extent of their trade, from a report made by Mr. Lowrie to the House of Representatives, from which it appeared, that, while the exports from America did not exceed twelve millions of dollars, as much was brought to Europe as repaid the whole, the supply for America being obtained from the mere profits of the trade. Nor has this trade diminished, for, by the official documents laid before Parliament in June last, there appears to be a gradual increase, so that, while on an average of years about 1804, it amounted to

1,600,000l.; on the average of the last six years it amounted to 3,145,000l. The East India Company's trade with China, however, had decreased. On the average of the last twelve years, the first half of that period was at 3,330,000l., while the last half was only 3,175,000l. Nor is it only the merchant, but the shipowner that suffers; and, as an example, I may mention the case of a Spanish house that wished to engage an English vessel on a voyage between Lisbon and China, the freight of which would have amounted to 18,500l.; but the English house could not, from our injudicious restrictions, accept the freight, which was, however, readily taken by an American, then lying idle in the river. I will now ask, what the friends as well as the enemies of free trade will say to this? Here is an extensive branch of commerce in which the East India Company does not engage, (for if it did, it would be some consolation, as it would so far be advantageous to Britain,) and from which at the same time they prevent all other British subjects from engaging in; thus at once injuring the merchant and ship-owner, without in the least degree benefiting themselves.—On this point the report presented to the House of Commons in 1821, speaks so strongly and beautifully, that I beg leave to quote its language.—‘If, then,’ says that document, ‘the American trade with China, no longer secondary and subordinate to that of the English Company, has indeed met it in successful rivalry, the wisdom as well as the equity of excluding British subjects from the competition becomes more and more questionable.’ In consequence of reports from both Houses of Parliament, a request was made by Government to allow British subjects to engage in this branch of trade, which reasonable request was refused. Now what are the objections that were made to it? The first was, the characters of our sailors, who were represented as so much worse behaved than the Americans, as to endanger the trade altogether. This, however, was not made out to the satisfaction of either House, and may safely be set aside. The next objection was, as to the mode adopted by the Chinese of carrying on trade, it being confined to a single port, limited to one set of merchants, called ‘The Hong,’ and subject to various regulations. This appears rather a strange objection on the part of the India Company; for, if the principle be so injurious in that country, it cannot be better in this—the India Company itself being a somewhat similar establishment. This, in fact, however, affords no objection. Its trade is conducted easily and well. Another objection was, the smallness of the trade—that it was not worth; though it is remarkable the Company itself made its greatest profits when its trade was confined to the islands. But the chief and real objection was, the fear that it would interfere with the direct China trade—a trade, the importance of which might be judged of both by the supply the East India Company itself took out in woollen manufactures, the great quantity of British goods taken thither by Americans, who find them better than dollars, and also by the fact of British manufactures finding their way to China through Russia, an overland journey of about five thousand miles, being disposed of at Kiatcha to great advantage. As to the returns from China, their value are well known. Tea, for example, which is brought home in such quantities, and the increased consumption of which may be safely calculated upon—for the quantity introduced is not equal to that which would be consumed, if the price was lower. It is about 180 years since the India Company ordered from China, a cwt. of the best tea that could be had, and now the quantity brought home amounts to above 30,000,000 of lbs. annually; and the Americans who began the trade much later, bring away 12,000,000 of lbs. per annum. The importance of this trade is therefore self evident, and the grand objection to it is the alleged necessity of the China trade to the Company, to enable them to carry on the Government of India. I have no wish whatever to interfere with the government of India. It is a matter of the most perfect indifference to trade in whose hands the Government is, provided it is a good Government, that there is security of property and freedom of commercial intercourse, which may be as well affected under the Government of the Company as under the Government of the Crown. But, with respect to the objection, we must bear in mind, that the very same language was held respecting the opening of the trade in 1813 as now, and the result has been quite the reverse of the prediction. The territories of the Company have been extended very greatly; and the Government itself even more secure. Besides, there is no

connection, in the abstract, between successful commerce and territorial power; this is distinctly made out by the annals of the Company, which were more successful in trade before it obtained the sovereignty of India, and which now carries on so profitable a commerce with China, without possessing any territorial dominion there. The connection between them is only created by the necessity of realizing the dividends upon the Company's stock, amounting to about 600,000*l.* per annum; and, by referring to the official documents, we find that an average of profit has been realised for the last two years of upwards of two millions sterling, the tea being purchased at an average cost of about 1*s.* 4*d.* per lb. and sold at an average of 2*s.* 11*d.*, declining, however, of late years to about 2*s.* 5*d.*, while the same teas are sold in Hamburg at an average price, not amounting to the prime cost to the Company in China. To the cost price in China is, however, added the expence of the establishments of the Company; but be that as it may, however, the effect is to impose a very heavy tax of more than two millions annually upon the public; and I shall take the liberty of applying to it the language of a noble lord (Melville,) to whom this country has been, in a particular manner, indebted, and to whom, I trust, it will yet be laid under deeper obligations. 'It,' says his Lordship, in a letter to the Directors of the India Company, respecting the trade to India, 'the Company carry on their trade more extensively, and with less activity and industry than private individuals, it is unjust to the country, as well as to the inhabitants of British India, that the exclusive monopoly should be continued; and in such a state of things the trade is more likely to be advantageous to the individuals in their hands than in those of the Company.' In addition to this, the Company has the privilege of paying their dividends out of their territorial revenues, when there is any deficiency from commerce, and the revenues of India are ample, being no less than from twenty-two to twenty-three millions sterling. Respecting this point, I beg to refer to the statements of the late Marquis Hastings, who, in a small volume, remarkable for its perspicuity, modesty, and elegance, says, that, 'After revolving every circumstance with the coolest caution, I cannot find any reason why, subsequently to the present year, an annual surplus of four millions sterling should not be confidently reckoned upon.' This shows what may be done by careful management; but should the Company be unable to accomplish this out of such means, and any change be necessary, what evil would result? The Company is already entirely under the direction of the Board of Control. They cannot appoint officers, or give directions, without their consent. I am far from saying the Company has done no good: they have done much good. Property is more secure, and justice better administered, than under the Mohammedan Government. They have abolished human sacrifices, the murder of female infants, and the burying alive of widows,—humanity thanks them for this; and had they proceeded a single step farther, and abolished suttees, they would have been well entitled to the approbation and gratitude of their country; and, as far as I can learn, this was perfectly in their power; for the practices prevail most in those districts of India that have been longest under our government. That the Company has power to put a stop to this inhuman practice, I need only refer to the report of the magistrates and chief of police of Bengal. The same might be said of the superstitions of Juggernaut, and if the effect of a change to the mild and beneficent sway of our gracious Monarch should be to elevate the nations of India from the demoralizing effects of their degrading idolatry, to that of the pure morality of the Christian religion—from a state of poverty and wretchedness to a state of wealth and happiness—the Indian would then be led to esteem us not merely in the light of mighty conquerors, but as their greatest benefactors and best friends. As to this question, however, it may be left with perfect safety in the hands of the present Government, which, with the will to do good, has the ability and power to perform it. It is for us merely to direct our efforts to remove restrictions and to petition Parliament; and I doubt not, if the country unite in so doing, we shall obtain a true commercial emancipation.—(*Great cheering.*) Mr. Macfarlan concluded with moving a series of resolutions.

Mr. SPITAL, in seconding the resolutions, expressed his surprise at not seeing any of his Leith friends present.

Mr. J. GARO—This is a fast-day in Leith.



Mr. SPITTAL.—I am glad there is so good an excuse for their absence. Although they have already petitioned in their corporate capacity, I should like to have had their countenance also. Mr. Macfarlan having gone so minutely into the subject, that I will not take up your time with a long speech, but, in a question of such vast importance, I trust it will not be considered out of place if I say a few words. It is well known that infant establishments often require the aid of monopolies and exclusive privileges, which are withdrawn in after years. This has been exemplified in the case of the Hamburgh Company, the Russian Company, the Hudson's Bay Company, the South Sea Company, and others, who, at their commencement, enjoyed exclusive privileges. The fisheries, too, were encouraged by bounties, but of late years had been allowed to find their own level; and I believe that in a year or two, even the bounty on the herring fisheries will also be withdrawn. The India Company could not now be called an infant establishment, it might rather be said to be in its dotage, for it had now existed 250 years, having been begun in 1579, and was confirmed in 1600. At the commencement of the Company the profits realised were so great, that Government found it necessary to repress them, ordaining that the surplus should be expended in making roads and bridges in India. The Company agreed to do this, but never fulfilled their engagements. For many years the Company has been retrograding; and to such a state was it reduced in 1783, that it was proposed by that great statesman, Mr. Fox, with a view of liquidating its debts—for it was then almost insolvent—to place it in the hands of commissioners. At that period the debts of the Company was eleven millions, and its assets only three millions. Ever since that period the Company has been endeavouring to convince Government of the necessity of carrying on the monopoly, with a view to pay off their debts; but in place of liquidating, they are gradually getting more deeply involved. In 1793, twenty years of exclusive privilege was asked to pay their debts, but in 1813 the deficiency was tripled. Upon a similar reason, twenty years more were then granted; and I have no doubt that in 1833 the debts will be found proportionally increased. Another argument made use of, and strongly urged for the continuance of exclusive privileges, was to give the Company an opportunity of remitting their surplus revenue to England in produce to pay those debts. In this they also failed; for since that argument was used they have had no surplus to remit, there being a deficiency in the revenue to meet the expence, to the amount of one, and sometimes to two or three millions. And how can it be otherwise, when they declare that in place of having a profit on the goods carried, they incur a loss upon every article brought from the East, except tea. The advocates for exclusive privileges always hold out the doctrine, and endeavour to convince, how much wealth is, by means of this Company, showered into the lap of the mother country; but the contrary is the fact. The mother country has had to support her child, being in 1808 impoverished to no less an extent than ten millions: as was asserted in a very able article on this subject in the *Edinburgh Review*. I have not the least hesitation in asserting, that such a ruinous trade would long ere this have been put a stop to, had it not been for two weighty considerations: first, the great capital at stake; and, secondly, the immense patronage it conferred upon the directors—the Lords of Leadenhall-street, as they are sometimes designated. I am well aware that such a trade, and such a system, cannot be broken in upon without overcoming many difficulties and great sacrifices being made; but if the nation at large is to be benefited, no doubt the Government will take care that the burden shall be spread, and justly spread, over the whole community. It will be but fair, if the nation is benefited, that it bear a portion of the loss; which, by the imposition of moderate duties, would easily be made good. Past experience has established, that the Company cannot carry on trade with a profit; but recent experience has also shewn, that trade may be carried on with advantage, in a national point of view, by throwing it open. In 1814, the last year of the old charter, the exports were two millions and a half to India and China, while in 1826 the exports to India alone amounted to five millions. In 1814 the imports were six millions; but in 1826 they amounted to eight millions, although British subjects remained excluded from participating in the commerce with China. Mr. Macfarlan had given a number of instances of the increase; I will only give one, that of cottons, to shew the advantages our manufacturers have derived from the partial opening of the trade. In 1814,

818,000 yards of cotton goods were exported, but in 1826 the exported amounted to twenty-six millions of yards,—an increase of nearly 3060 times the number of yards in twelve years!—(Hear.) Indeed, were the trade fully open, there would be a demand nearly equal to all we could manufacture, notwithstanding the aid of the powerful machinery of Arkwright, and the fruits of the genius of Watt. But for the India Company to go on as at present, would only be to plunge them still deeper in debt. This was well illustrated by what took place in 1797. In that year the Governor-General, with a view to recruit the finances of the East India Company, imposed a number of new taxes, whereby the revenue, at that period eight millions annually, was raised, in 1808, to fifteen millions. This looked like doing business; but it so happened that the expences of the Government kept pace, so that in 1805, the same year, they amounted to seventeen millions. Monopoly, indeed, has always been the parent of indolence and profusion. ‘By the establishment,’ says Dr. Smith, ‘of the commercial monopoly of the East India Company, the other subjects are taxed very absurdly in two different ways; first, by the high price of goods, which, in the case of a free trade, they could buy much cheaper; and, secondly, by their total exclusion from a branch of business, which it might both be convenient and profitable to carry on. It is for the most worthless of all purposes, too, that they are taxed in this manner; it is to enable the Company to support the negligence, profusion, and malversation of their servants, whose disorderly conduct seldom allows the dividend to exceed the ordinary rate of profit in trades which are altogether free, and frequently sinks it much lower.’ ‘A Company,’ says another writer, ‘who carries a sword in one hand, and a ledger in the other—who maintains armies, and retails tea, is a contradiction, that if it traded with success would be a prodigy.’ At the same time, let it be understood that, in our petition, and I trust the same feeling will prevail throughout the country, it is merely as to the trading interest which we are expressing a desire to have opened; not to interfere with the local government of the country. With such a person as the Noble Duke at the head of his Majesty’s Government, aided by that enlightened statesman, the Right Honourable Robert Peel, I have not the least doubt that they who eased the consciences of seven millions of his Majesty’s subjects, on a late occasion, without interfering with their political franchise, will be able to bring to a happy issue the grand question as to the East India Company. Trusting that this may be the case, and that it may increase the commercial interests of this great nation, I beg leave to second the resolution of Mr. Macfarlan.—(Cheers.)

The MASTER said, that after the very luminous details which had been laid before the company in the able speeches of Mr. Macfarlan and Mr. Spittal, little was left to be said; but he should still be happy to hear the sentiments of any other member who wished to speak on the subject. For himself, he had always considered the India monopoly as a very delicate and difficult subject to deal with; it had existed for upwards of two centuries, and had finally resulted in rendering the India Company lords of upwards of a hundred millions of people, who, whatever sufferings they exposed themselves to by submission to the most absurd superstitions, still, he believed, were infinitely more happy, take them all in all, than any other similar mass in the universe. It was, therefore, a very delicate matter to interfere with the internal management of such a mass of population; and if the Company found it necessary to have the power of removing individuals whose conduct was calculated to interfere with the comfort and happiness of the natives, he thought it a wise measure that that power should be reserved to it. When he knew that the Company had assented to the domestication of foreigners, as well as our own countrymen—when he knew that the Company consented to open their trade, so as to lead to the great results so ably detailed by Mr. Macfarlan—he thought there was little to be desired that might not be expected from negotiation. It was said that the China trade was absolutely necessary for the existence of the Company. Be it so; but without now entering on the policy of that monopoly, let them for the present be allowed to enjoy it, so far as regards England. It is unreasonable, however, in them to desire the prohibition of our trade between China and other parts of the world; and upon this point he thought that the exertions of the Company should principally bear. Here was a trade enjoyed by all the maritime

nations of Europe, and more particularly so by our Transatlantic friends; and surely no policy could be shorter sighted than to restrain our own people from competing on their own element with their American rivals. He could wish the resolutions of the Company to steer clear of all interference with internal management, whether political or religious. Mercantile matters were the legitimate object of the Merchant Company, and on these their voice had clearly a right to be heard.

Mr. GRIEVE said, in 1813 a public meeting was held in Glasgow on the same important subject, when Mr. Kirkman Finlay filled the chair. If he recollected well, that gentleman said, he should not be surprised to live to see Glasgow muslins exported to India. This statement was considered so romantic at the time, as to excite almost universal derision; but it had been fully realized. Mr. Macfarlan had said there was sufficient scope in India for all the goods this country could manufacture, and his prediction was not more unlikely to be realized than the prediction of Mr. Kirkman Finlay was at the time it was uttered.

Mr. G. YULE thought that the resolutions should be published in the newspapers; and expressed a wish, that a resolution should be added against the burning of widows.

Mr. A. CRAIG seconded Mr. Yule's proposition of publishing the resolutions, and thought the Company ought to give them all publicity.

The MASTER had no objection to the publication of the resolutions, but was opposed to any thing not mercantile being mixed up with them.

Mr. MACFARLAN said it would give him great pleasure to see petitions for the abolition of suttees sent from all parts of the kingdom; but in their character of merchants of Edinburgh, it would be perhaps as advisable to make a distinction between mercantile and religious affairs.

Mr. A. SCOTT said this was a very delicate subject; inasmuch as one of the most enlightened administrations that ever governed India, discountenanced Christian missionaries, on the principle that they would interfere with the established religion of the country.—(Laughter.)

Some other gentlemen delivered their opinions against the Company then adopting any resolution not purely commercial; upon which Mr. Macfarlan's resolutions were carried unanimously.

## STANZAS

WRITTEN AFTER ATTENDING MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LECTURES.

I ENVY not his step who strays  
Upon the Ganges' sultry shore,  
Where cooling zephyr never plays,  
The languid spirits to restore.

Nor his, who on the lofty spires  
Of Moslem temples casts his eye,  
While Evening's glittering sun-lit fires  
Seem flashing back from sky to sky.

And where proud Babylonia throws  
Her giant shadow o'er the plain,  
Where neither tree nor flower grows,  
Oh! who would visit it again?

And where the bounding waters leap  
With thundering sound from rock to rock,  
And their wild roar tumultuous keep,  
Though the earth trembles with the shock.

No, 'tis not there that I would rest,  
Nor 'neath the Banian's green alcove ;  
Nor could the islands of the west  
E'er tempt my wandering feet to rove.

But where the Kidron's silver stream  
Pursues its unobtrusive way,  
Beneath the placid moonlight beam,  
Would I with pensive pleasure stray.

There would my spirit lingering weep  
Sweet tears of grateful love and joy ;  
And holy thoughts their watch should keep,  
And glory in the blest employ.

For who has visited the spot  
Where Jesu's sacred footsteps trod,  
And ever in his heart forgot  
The sufferings of the Son of God !

Yes—let me weep ;—for there he wept,  
In yon lone garden's deepest shade ;  
And while his poor disciples slept,  
He groaned—he agonized—he prayed !

And say for whom those bitter tears  
Mysterious—merciful—were shed ?  
Fall they not yet, like heavenly dews,  
On the repentant sinner's head ?

Yet oh ! we need not wander *there*,  
Blest tokens of his love to find ;  
His mercy meets us everywhere,  
By clime, by country unconfin'd.

So yonder world of waters rolls,  
Sublimely on from land to land ;  
Now visiting the distant Poles,  
Now breaking on our native strand.

Rejoice ! we need not search the deeps,  
Nor seek our God from sphere to sphere ;  
His promise faithfully he keeps—  
We feel it, for " Lo God is *here* ! "

P. T. MILLER.

### PROGRESS OF MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LABOURS IN THE COUNTRY.

In addition to the information on this subject, contained in our last, we have the pleasure to state, that the large and populous towns of Newcastle, Shields, and Sunderland, have made arrangements for forming East India Associations, in consequence of the Lectures delivered at each—so that these towns will now be added to the others, in which such Associations have been formed, and the co-operation will be accordingly general and powerful in the day of need. In addition to the several articles that have appeared in the London Papers, during the last month on the subject—we may state that the Country Papers have continued to render the most valuable services to the cause, by their frequent publications on this topic. Three of these we may safely repeat as being remarkable for the clearness of view, as well as simplicity of statement, which characterizes them; and as shewing that in every part of the country, the question is now too well understood to permit of the former fallacies urged by the India Company, exciting any other feeling than pity or derision.

### FREE TRADE.

TO JAMES S. BUCKINGHAM, ESQ.

*Gloucestershire, Oct. 12th, 1829.*

SIR,—I am induced to address a few observations to you and to the public, in consequence of some opinions reported to have been expressed by you in the town of Whitby, when animadverting on Mr. Sadler's speech, as relating to the shipping interest.

The *Liverpool Times*, in commenting on those opinions, designates the argument contained as conclusive and unanswerable, and founds upon it conclusions which I am satisfied, were they to prevail, would prove injurious to the best interests of this great country, and especially its agriculture, by far the largest investment in the state. It is the opinion you expressed of the necessity of adopting the reciprocity system, as regards our shipping, and the idea that a country which has the greatest number of its wants supplied from without is the most favourable to the shipping interest, that I am about to comment on, and the results impugns.

You are engaged in a most important undertaking, and you have succeeded in creating an interest with regard to our Indian possessions—greater perhaps and more universal than has ever been previously experienced; but I trust, in the pursuit of that object, you will forbear from appealing to the exclusive personal interests and peculiar prepossessions of those classes whom this great question more immediately concerns, if you wish to promote an important and unmixed national good; and that in seeking most meritoriously to advance the prosperity of the great Asiatic continent, you will be careful that you do not attack and injure some of the most important pillars in the British state.

At the very point where the *Liverpool* paper leaves your argument, in complete satisfaction with its being unanswerable, I desire to take it up, and (admitting all the premises it claims, that foreign nations would exclude our ships, if we excluded theirs) deny the soundness of the conclusion that it is therefore desirable to admit them into our ports, upon terms as advantageous as our own. Great Britain has at least the control over her own ports; her prices are necessarily higher in nearly every point than those of the surrounding nations; her commerce, in proportion to the country, can employ more shipping than any rival state; her imports are all of a bulky kind; her exports, chiefly of more finished articles, require only a smaller space; her own colonies are most extensive and widely spread; her capital is great, and her internal industry and resources of the highest class: is it wise, then, burdened and encumbered as she is with taxation and with debt, to attempt a race of competition with nations comparatively free? Is it desirable to give admission upon equal terms to every foreign flag, to admit them to a participation in such a

market, for the poor return of a similar privilege in the country from whence they come? Why have we not had courage to curb regret at seeing the fair portion of traffic which has arisen since the peace in other countries, and to leave it undisturbed to them? and why have we sought possession of a portion of it at the enormous cost of equal admission here? If it be good for such a connexion to take place, it must be equally discreet for the beggar and the man of capital to divide their means together—for unincumbered youth to wrestle or to race with more advanced years.

The whole of our British trade would surely equal in employment for shipping the half we now retain, and the meagre portion we receive from abroad, while the profits on the trade would not be unnaturally destroyed by a rivalry ruinous to the more expensive vessels. This principle of reciprocity tends universally to introduce equality in prices: the advantages of the older country are shared with its neighbour, while all its burdens remain its own. These are a few of the reasons, which I have briefly traced, for considering that it was better to have retained the supply of all British wants for British ships, and to have allowed the smaller traffic of other states to be ministered to where they desired it by their own.

I will now add a few remarks on your second principle—that for the shipping interest of this country it would be better if *none* of its requirements were produced at home; or, in other words, if Great Britain were a barren rock, dependent on winds and waves for every want, for every source of wealth. I trust it will never be necessary to show that the shipping interest of this country, an interest which must be dear to every British heart, requires the sacrifice of still more substantial sources of our strength—it has no such claims—it bears a due proportion to other branches of the state, and requires an equal care; but beyond this relative importance it cannot be fairly advanced, nor should it sink below. Whatever, therefore, the benefits might be which commerce could derive by an act of direct aggression upon other interests of the state, it is what justice can never recommend, and what I trust the shipping interest of the country would neither require nor accept.

A greater connexion with our Indian possessions, it is considered by many, would be a great national good; but if arguments are advanced to promote that cause, as connected with a system of general trading, which is *free* to introduce the most extensive mischief from its extreme unfairness and inequality, even this more natural connexion with our own colonies will be looked upon by many as a similar evil, and will perhaps undeservedly meet with similar opposition.—I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WEBB HALL.

We insert in another column a letter which we have received from Mr. George Webb Hall, the Gloucestershire agriculturist, addressed to Mr. Buckingham, and contraverting the opinions expressed by that gentleman at Whithy in defence of Free Trade. In noticing Mr. Buckingham's lecture we designated his arguments as conclusive and unanswerable, and Mr. Hall's object is to show that the Lecturer and ourselves are alike mistaken. We cheerfully insert his letter, being friends to discussion, and we shall also insert any reply which Mr. Buckingham may think proper to send, if indeed the pressure of that gentleman's engagements should permit him to give an answer. Lest, however, he should be too much occupied for this purpose, we shall take the liberty to make a few comments of our own on Mr. Hall's letter.

Without meaning any disrespect to Mr. Hall, whose talents and manly candour we gladly acknowledge, we must say that his letter appears to us to be filled with false principles and untenable positions. He sets out with stating he means to impugn Mr. Buckingham's 'idea that a country which has the greatest number of its wants supplied from without is the most favourable to the shipping interest.' We are surprised that Mr. Hall should attempt to contravert this position; first, because it seems to us to be a self-evident truth; and, second, because that truth in itself has no bearing whatever on the agricultural question. Can it be for a

moment questioned that that country (especially if an island) will need the greatest number of ships, which receives the most of its supplies from foreign parts? or that that country will need the fewest ships, which raises every thing it consumes within itself? Mr. Buckingham did not assert that a country which required the greatest number of ships would be wealthiest or happiest; but, in pointing out the especial absurdity of Mr. Sadler's attempt to enlist the *ship-owners* against Free Trade, he shewed that *they*, of all classes, were most interested in extending our foreign commerce, and in opposing the narrow doctrines which would teach us to eschew all dependence on foreigners for the supply of any of our wants. Mr. Hall has evidently understood Mr. Buckingham as contending that the country which had most of its wants supplied from abroad was the wealthiest and happiest, for this is the notion which he sets himself to confute; but this was not Mr. Buckingham's meaning, and what he really said amounted to little more than a truism. We may here say, however, by the bye, that foreign commerce cannot be unfavourable to domestic industry, but just the reverse; for a country which would buy from others must produce something wherewith to pay them, and precisely in proportion to the amount of foreign commodities she imports must be the amount of domestic products which she exports.

If we understand Mr. Hall aright—though we confess that we feel a dullness of apprehension with regard to parts of his letter—he means to contend that it would be for the interest of this country to discourage (if not absolutely to exclude) the vessels of all foreign countries in our ports, even though the certain consequence would be the exclusion of our vessels from their ports. Alas! poor Liverpool! if Mr. Webb Hall's doctrine were acted upon, five-sixths of our trade would be destroyed, our ships dismantled, our docks and warehouses emptied, and the town itself well nigh depopulated. Mr. Hall is still more unlucky in the choice of his readers than Mr. Sadler in the choice of his audience. He may not perhaps be aware that the most important part of the trade of this town, both import and export, is carried on in foreign bottoms, and that if his principle had been acted upon, Liverpool could not have risen to half its present wealth and population. Yet we can assure Mr. Hall, notwithstanding the appalling number of foreign vessels in our ports, that we have risen and thriven on the commerce of these very vessels: we can assure him that our Liverpool merchants do not transact all the business of the Americans for nothing: it is really true that we do not take the cotton of America, and send there our manufactured goods, out of mere complaisance, or free bounty: if the Americans buy of us, we make them pay: if we buy of them, it is for our own convenience: if we sell for them, we charge a good commission; in short, we act sternly upon the principle of 'nothing for nothing,' and Mr. Hall may take our word for it that those English merchants who do all their business by means of American ships, have as good coats on their backs and as good houses over their heads, give as splendid dinners and shake as heavy purses, as the most old-fashioned ship-owner of the port.

When Mr. WEBB HALL writes so complacently about resigning our foreign trade, does he reflect that the amount of that trade is between forty and fifty millions sterling, per annum, taking merely the amount of our exports? Part of this, indeed, we might retain, even if we excluded all foreign vessels from our ports, and were ourselves excluded from all foreign ports: our own colonies—(and preciously costly some of them are to us!)—would still remain; but from North and South America, the Baltic, the Mediterranean, and all Europe, we must be content to be shut out. This may be a joke in the eyes of Mr. Hall, but our merchants, manufacturers, ay, and ship-owners too, would look upon it with different feelings. For example, we send seven millions sterling of goods every year to Germany: suppose we were to exclude German ships from English ports, and English ships were in turn to be excluded from German ports, the trade would of course be annihilated—Germany would be supplied with the woollens, cottons, and hardware of France and Belgium; and half our manufacturing districts would be ruined. Is this what Mr. Hall would approve?

He asks—"Is it desirable to give admission upon equal terms to every foreign flag, to admit them to a participation in such a market, for the poor return of a similar privilege in the country from whence they come?" We think the wisdom

of this inquiry may be illustrated by bringing the case home to Mr. Hall's "business and bosom." Suppose at Mr. Hall's annual sale of wool, a poor wool-stapler were to attend with the view of purchasing, and one of that gentleman's neighbours were to say to him—"Mr. Hall, is it desirable to give admission upon equal terms to every buyer, especially to that beggarly woolstapler,—to admit him to a participation in such a market as your wool sale, for the poor return of a similar privilege to you in his wool warehouse?" We apprehend Mr. Hall would quickly reply—"My worthy friend, he comes here to buy, and he shall not have a pound of my wool unless he pays for it; and if he pays, what care I whether he is rich or poor: as to going to his warehouse, if I want any of his goods I shall go there, but not otherwise. Rely upon it, I can lose nothing by such a customer, but the contrary, unless he pockets some of my silver spoons, which I will take care he does not." If Mr. Hall were to treat his own customers as he would treat the customers of the nation, that is, were he to turn away from his door every buyer who was not as wealthy as himself, his attendance would be soon so exceedingly select, that he might shut up shop. And—still further to apply the figure—could Mr. Hall imagine any thing more stupidly perverse and preposterous, than that he should insist on having the cartage of all his wool to the doors of the buyers, and refuse to let any of them take away a single bag in their own cart or waggon? If this would be a likely way to invite customers, and to secure a great run of business, then are Mr. Hall's principles with regard to British and foreign shipping most wise and politic.

Of the same cast as the doctrine last noted, is Mr. Hall's observation respecting the impolicy of allowing other countries to share the benefits of our trade. 'The advantages of the older country are shared with its neighbour, while all its burdens remain its own.' *Advantages!* we thought (according to Mr. Hall's principles) there was nothing but disadvantage in trading with such a country as England; for whilst we shall not give a penny more for Virginia tobacco, or Smyrna figs, than the merchant of Amsterdam or Marseilles, whatever we send back in return for the figs and tobacco, is laden with its full share of our taxation. Such are the advantages we confer on those who trade with us! As to their sharing our 'burdens,' if they get paid for what they sell us, or if they buy from us so much as a Brummagem tea-pot, we defy them to do it without helping us to bear our burdens.

Mr. Hall is to the last degree inconsistent: he falls into error on both sides. We have seen just now that he grudges allowing any other nation a share of the 'advantages' of our commerce; and anon he compares England to a decrepid and infirm old man; whilst other countries are likened to 'unincumbered youth.' Yet in the same paragraph he says of England, that her 'capital is great, and her internal industry and resources of the highest class!' We have only to get these contradictory views against each other, to show that he must be grossly in error. The fact is, however, that with all the weight of her taxation, England has more available wealth than any other country,—that she can manufacture not only better, but cheaper, than any of her competitors,—that it is, therefore, not only possible for her to trade on equal terms with other countries, but most eminently her interest to cultivate foreign commerce to the greatest possible extent,—that she thereby adds to her wealth, and makes every nation that deals with her contribute to bear her burdens,—and that of all the perverse and mad steps that ever government took, the worst would be to cut off our commerce with the nations with whom we now deal both profitably and fairly, and to confine us to the trade of our own troublesome, burdensome, and expensive colonies.

The London papers contain a correspondence between certain officers of the East India Company's army in Bengal and the governing powers at Calcutta, which illustrates very strikingly the precarious tenure by which the British possessions in India are held, and the danger which there is in continuing the present system. No one can read this correspondence without perceiving that the British authority hangs by a single thread, which may be cut at any time, and which is almost as likely to be cut by those who are hired and paid to protect the Com-



pany, as by the professed enemies of the British power. The strongest feelings of discontent evidently exist in the army in India, and it will require great prudence, united with great firmness, to prevent an explosion, which, if it should take place, must inevitably be fatal to the English authority, as the East India Company, having founded their empire on force alone, have not a single resource left if the army should declare against them. The discontent which at present exists has arisen out of an attempt which the government has made to reduce certain allowances of the Bengal army, or, as it is called in the correspondence, to place the army on half batta. These regulations principally affect the officers, and the remonstrances come from them. The officers of the artillery declare that they are 'wholly unable to bear quietly a permanent reduction from that which was before hardly adequate to a decent maintenance;' those of the cavalry, that they 'cannot submit *silently*' to the operation of the order; and the infantry announce to the government, that if it is persevered in, the cheerfulness and promptitude heretofore evinced by them in the discharge of their duty, will give place to feelings of 'dissatisfaction and despondency.' The medical officers also remonstrate with equal firmness. This language is, however, nothing in comparison to that which is used in private letters, and by officers of rank. A letter will be found in another column of our paper, addressed to the Editor of the *Globe*, in which the writer states plainly that the government cannot keep the people, especially the Mohammedans, in subjection without the army, and intimates, that 'unless redress is given, the country will be in open rebellion' very shortly.

We are not able to decide without a much greater amount of information than we at present possess, whether the reduction proposed by the East India Company is reasonable or not. We suspect, however, that it will be impossible to enforce it, against the sentiments of the army; for if it should refuse to submit to the regulation, who will possess either the courage or the power to enforce obedience?

This correspondence is highly important, inasmuch as it shows how hollow and dangerous the system is which has been established, and which is still maintained, by the East India Company. Every thing depends on the obedience of an army, nine-tenths of which is offily held in subjection by a body of European officers, who are themselves placed beyond the reach and influence of public opinion, and strongly bound together by an *esprit de corps*. If these officers are once disgusted, every thing is lost. The common soldiers, who have not forgot the massacre of Barrackpoor, would easily yield to temptation, and the people are too heavily taxed, and have been too recently subdued, to feel attachment to the government. There is no European population, influenced by early attachments, or by European ideas of honour, loyalty, or patriotism, to act as a check on the discontented. The government is essentially one of force, and not of opinion. It has no resource except in the bayonets and sabres of the army, and if those are once turned against it, it is at an end.

The tranquillity which has been enjoyed in countries in which large standing armies have existed, and the strict subordination which it has been found possible to preserve, have done much to remove the prejudice which at first existed against them, and they are now complained of more on the grounds of expense than of constitutional principle. But the army of the East India Company is very differently composed from the standing armies of Europe. The men by whom its ranks are filled, that is, the privates, are destitute of all those feelings of patriotism and loyalty by which the soldiers of Europe are more or less actuated; and their national and religious feelings are decidedly against us. As for public opinion, the East India Company have taken care that there should be no such thing in their dominions. Whatever may be the result of the present differences between the East India Company and their army, it must be evident to all, that there is no slight danger of our Oriental Empire being lost almost as suddenly as it was gained. This is a danger to which it is impossible to apply any immediate remedy; but the course which common sense obviously suggests, is, to permit the establishment of an European population in India, actuated by English feelings and opinions, and bound to this country by early associations, and by the ties of blood, friendship,

and of interest. The moral influence of such a population would do much to secure the permanence of the British Empire in the East, which, under the present system, is liable to be overthrown by the first ebullition of military discontent that may break forth. [From 'The Liverpool Times,' Oct. 27.]

### THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER, AND THE TRADE TO INDIA AND CHINA.

*From 'The Staffordshire Mercury,' Oct. 24.*

WHAT is the East India Company's Charter? What is the nature of its operation? Who does that Charter benefit, and who does it injure? Who are concerned with these questions? What is to be done in the matter?

The Company's Charter is a law, giving to a certain body of men the almost exclusive privilege of carrying on trade between Britain and India. The operation of this Charter is, that it excludes private traders, it prevents the natural increase of commerce, and it keeps the prices of all articles brought by the Company from the East far above what they would otherwise be. The persons benefited by the Charter, are those, and those only, who are immediately connected with the Company, and derive gain from such connection: all other persons, without exception, are more or less injured by the Charter. It follows, therefore, that every one who is not actually deriving a positive profit from the exclusive privileges of the Company, is concerned with the preceding questions, and must, if he consult his own interest, carefully examine the subjects they involve, and then he will see that he is injured by the Charter, and find out what he is able to do, and what he ought to do, towards preventing its renewal.

The history of the Charter is briefly this. In 1599, Queen Elizabeth granted a company of merchants a Charter to trade to India; and in order to do so, those persons subscribed the sum of 30,000*l.*, as a capital, in 101 shares, varying in amount from 100*l.* to 3000*l.* From this period to the death of Charles I., the trade and authority of the Company were marked by much vicissitude and uncertainty, and at the troubled time of that monarch's execution, the Company, and its trade to India, had become almost extinct, or perhaps existed only in name. Charles II. annoyed the Company, when a little revived, by selling licenses to private merchants to trade to India. And soon after this, a Charter was granted by Parliament to a new Company, on condition of its advancing to Government the sum of 2,000,000*l.* at eight per cent. The old and new Companies harassed and injured each other exceedingly for a time, but in 1702 they effected a union. This joint Company lent Government 1,200,000*l.* free of interest, in order to bring the former and latter loans, put together, to five per cent. interest. In consideration of this act of the Company, Parliament granted an extension of its Charter, and conferred on it the title of 'The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies.'

The Charter thus granted in 1708, was from time to time prolonged, till 1730, when it was renewed for thirty-three years, on condition that the Company should lend to the Government as much more money, without interest, as would reduce the interest of the whole debt to three per cent. From that time to the present, the Charter has been continued, by repeated renewals, with some alterations. The present Charter extends to 1834, when it will expire, and the trade to India be open to all, if the Government give the Company at least three years notice that the Charter will not be again renewed.

But as the Company is powerful and influential, is deeply interested in a renewal of its Charter, and has such connections with government, as enable it to put in motion an immense influence in its favour, it is next to certain, that the necessary notice will not be given, and, consequently, the Charter will be renewed, unless a counteracting power, sufficient to overcome that of the Company, be opposed. This shows at once what ought to be done by every man who is not gaining by the

monopoly of the East India Company. He ought to raise his voice against this monopoly. He should stand ready, willing, and even *anxious*, to petition Parliament, that it will give the Company notice, that the Charter will not be renewed. If every man would petition, the notice would be given, the Charter would expire, the trade to India would be thrown open, and every individual in the United Kingdom, besides the small number which has been already excepted, would be materially benefited by the change.

To the people of this country in general, to earthenware manufacturers, to iron masters, to silk throwsters and weavers, to workmen, to shop-keepers, to masons, carpenters, shoe-makers, tailors, and every other trade and calling, and also to every profession, is the East India question of vast importance. No person who has not given particular attention to the subject, can be at all aware of the extent and magnitude of the evils that arise to him out of the Company's monopoly. Indeed, the injury done by it to every one is scarcely credible; yet it is hardly possible to ascertain the whole amount of injury that each man really sustains. It may, however, awaken attention, call forth a spirit of inquiry, and superinduce a disposition to petition the legislature on the subject, if some of the injurious effects of the present mode of trading to India and China be brought into view. Nor is it too much to say, that a full development of the mischiefs resulting from the Company's monopoly, would prove this question to be far more important than was the Catholic question, than is the Corn question, or than can be any other public question which stands connected with the interests of this country.

Such a development would show that our empire is groaning under a complication of the greatest commercial difficulties with a market at command, were it but opened, in which all the goods we could make, not only by hand, but also by machinery, might find a ready sale. It would evince, that the opening of *India*, China, and the Eastern world, generally, to our numerous enterprising merchants and capitalists, would not only create vents for disposing readily of our cotton and woollen goods, our hardware, our earthenware and china, and various other articles of British manufacture; but give us back in return, tea, sugar, indigo, cotton-wool, raw silk, spices, and all the productions of the Indies, China, and other parts of the East, at about one half the present prices; and produce such an increase in the imports and exports, as would augment very considerably the revenues arising from that department, and enable Government to dispense with a great part, or the whole of the assessed and other taxes, which are so grievously burthensome to all classes of the community. But even farther than this, a full development of the subject would prove that the abrogation of this monopoly, and the establishment of a system of Free Trade to India and China, would be the most effectual mode of abolishing the horrid slavery of the West Indies, and of spreading the holy and purifying doctrines of Christianity over both the latter and the former countries.

If all this would result from a discontinuance of the Company's Charter, and the introduction of an unfettered system of trading, it must be the imperious duty of every Englishman to step forward, if in no other way, at least as a petitioner of Parliament—for his own sake, for the sake of his posterity, and for the good of the country, to do this act of long, far too long, neglected justice.

And be it remembered, that in asking Government not to renew the charter, it is not solicited to take any thing from the Company; but merely requested not to give it that to which it has no right, no claim, and which cannot be given to it, without manifest injustice, and extensive and permanent injury to twenty millions of Britons, and three hundred millions of Asiatics. And that the inhabitants of those countries are suffering many privations, while they are deriving no advantages from the charter, can be made most evident.

It can be demonstrated, that *two millions and a half* sterling are paid annually for tea alone by the people of Great Britain, more than the same quantity of tea could be had for, after paying the same duty as at present, if it were allowed to be bought of the *Hamburgh Merchants*; and the difference would be greater still, were our own merchants permitted to bring it from *China* to the various ports of

this country. The probability is, that the consumption of tea would then be doubled; and in exchange for this additional quantity, the Chinese would take a corresponding quantity of our manufactured goods; this would give a stimulus to all those branches which depend on the manufacturing interest, and these again to others, till all parties would eventually be benefited.

To follow out the foregoing positions to their legitimate consequences—to exhibit the leading particulars and bearings of the East India question—and to show that the Potting business, the Iron, the Silk, the Woollen and Cotton businesses, the Agricultural, the Landed and the Shipping Interests, the learned Professions, all kinds of mechanics, artisans, and labourers, and even pensioners and placemen, are deeply interested in the discontinuance of the Charter, will be the object of a future paper.

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*The Natural Growth of British Trade prevented by the East India Company's Monopoly.*

*From 'The Staffordshire Mercury,' Oct. 31.*

INCREASE a healthy, fast-growing youth of fifteen, so effectually with steel habitations, as to obstruct completely the further augmentation of his bulk and height, and he will very soon become sickly. If medicine be then administered, and the compression still continued, the patient daily gets worse, and a prolongation for some time of physicking and growth restraining, either kills him outright, or, at least, makes a cripple of him for the remainder of his days.

The trade of Great Britain is but too truly the growing youth; the East India Company's Monopoly, the case of steel fastened on it; and the various expedients had recourse to for bettering its sad condition, so much medicine administered to the sickly patient, not only without any permanently good effects, but, whilst the compression remains in all its force, with manifest injury to the unhappy sufferer. The skill, the capital, the machinery, and the commercial spirit of this country, are stamina of so energetic and expansive a nature, as would invigorate our trade, and accelerate its growth almost illimitably, had they room and freedom. But they are cramped and almost paralysed by that very Company which ought, and was designed to be, their defence and support. A plain statement of facts will clearly prove the truth of this assertion.

The Company's mode of carrying on business is not calculated to augment our exports to India and China, and give us back in return, on advantageous terms, the produce of those countries. Self-aggrandisement is the almost exclusive object of the Company; and it so happens, that an unshackled interchange of commodities, an unrestrained extension of trade between Great Britain and the Eastern World, is not compatible with that object; and therefore the latter is sacrificed to the former. There must be no more merchandize carried on between those two countries, than just suits the various domestic and foreign arrangements of the Company; and the selling prices must be exactly conformable to those arrangements. And, although private merchants have been allowed a partial communication with certain parts of India, from the year 1814, yet they are so completely bound hand and foot, by the Company's restrictive enactments, as to be unable to move an inch without special leave. So numerous and formidable are the impediments to the forwarding of those merchants' goods, from the coast to the interior; and so heavy, and so often repeated, are the custom imposts during the journey, that an expenditure of four months of time, and more than 100 per cent. of money, is incurred, in conveying such goods from Calcutta to Delhi, a distance of about one thousand miles. By such delays, and additions to the expence, the retail prices of articles are at last raised so high, as to place them quite beyond the reach of the great bulk of the natives, and to keep the consumption, amongst even the upper classes of the people, very considerably below what it otherwise would be. We are assured, on the very respectable authority of Bishop Heber, that the inhabitants of India evince a general desire to procure the various articles of British manufacture, but they are unable to do so. That inability evidently arises from

the wretched and oppressive system pursued by the Company. Here then are nearly one hundred millions of persons, who would gladly wear our cotton and woollen cloths, use our earthenware and hardware, and consume the many articles which we wish to sell, and pay us in money's worth a price that would amply remunerate manufacturer and merchant, if the latter could trade to India without the intervention of the Company.

With regard to China, the case is still worse. The British trade with that vast empire is wholly engrossed by the Company. Tea is the principal commodity brought therefrom; and to make the several parts of the system agree, the Company pays cash for nearly all the tea purchased; and this too, while the Chinese would prefer British manufactures to money. Yes, strange as the anomaly may seem, the Chinese want the very articles which we have to sell, and would gladly give us their tea for them, but are obliged to buy such articles of the Americans and other nations, while our warehouses are crammed, our manufactories are standing idle, and our workmen are out of employ for want of a market! And to make the matter, if possible, still worse, the tea is made to pay for the losses the Company sustains by its peculiar and defective mode of doing business; for the average price at the sales before the duty is laid on, is 3s. per lb. whilst at Hamburgh it is only 1s. 3½d. per lb. This makes a difference to the consumers of the thirty millions of pounds which are used annually in the United Kingdom, of two millions six hundred thousand pounds sterling! That is, in other words, two millions and a half extra must be paid yearly for tea, because our manufactured goods are not sent to China in exchange! But even this is not all. China has a population of perhaps nearly three hundred millions, and they, like the inhabitants of India, evince a desire for our cottons, woollens, hardwares, and other articles. These we could supply them with cheaper than they could obtain similar articles from other nations, or manufacture such themselves. By the establishment of a free trade, therefore, they would probably take, for many years to come, as many of those goods as we could make.

On the other hand, if tea were sold at nearly 2s. per lb. less than it is at present, (as we see would be the case, were the tea trade opened to private merchants,) the quantity consumed would be correspondingly augmented. The present consumption may be taken at about two pounds per head annually for each adult in the United Kingdom; but it is unquestionably true, that most persons would use at least four pounds per year each, if they could easily obtain it. An increase of trade, and so great a reduction in the price of tea, would render it easy to be obtained, and then double the present quantity would be wanted from China; and this again would benefit that country, and enable it to extend still farther its commerce with this.

Here, then, are India and China, which together contain one third of the whole population of the globe, offering markets for the advantageous sale of as large a quantity as we could produce of those goods, the want of sale for which causes nearly all the miseries in which this nation is involved.

Yet these markets are at present comparatively useless to this manufacturing country, solely in consequence of the East India Company's monopoly. Much is often said about the importance of a free trade to the continent, to North or South America; that is, to some ten, twenty, or fifty millions of people; whereas a free trade to India and China would extend to between three and four hundred millions. It is evident that the difference in results would be commensurate with the difference in population; viz. seven, eighteen, or thirty fold.

No argument can, after this, be necessary to show that this great increase in our exports, and in the consumption of tea, and other articles brought in exchange for our manufactures, must augment the revenue, raise the value of land and other property, and English produce of every description, and advance this country to a higher point of prosperity than it has hitherto attained. It is, then, necessary, for the good of the nation, that the East India Company's Charter should be discontinued. And that it would be as just as it is necessary not to renew it, will be shown in a future article.

# THE JUSTICE OF NOT GRANTING THE EAST INDIA COMPANY A RENEWAL OF ITS CHARTER.

From 'The Staffordshire Mercury,' Nov. 7.

No doubt the two principal reasons which have been heretofore assigned for the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, will be re-urged for another renewal, when the question shall again come before Parliament; they are these:—the Company is in debt, and must have its Charter renewed to enable it to liquidate that debt; and it would be an act of manifest injustice not to renew the Charter, because the numerous India Stock-holders would be thereby deprived of property which either they or their predecessors have actually purchased. These reasons deserve consideration, and by all means let them have it. To be just, is to obey a great fundamental law of nature; a law emanating from an essential attribute of the Deity, embodied in the golden rule, 'Do unto others as you would have others do unto you,' and required by the peace, the good, the very existence of society; therefore, *fiat justitia ruat cælum*; and let justice be done to the country at large—to every one, as well as to the Company and the holders of India Bonds. But it is a sad truth, that in order to do justice, possessions must sometimes be taken from those who happen to hold them, that they may be placed in the hands of the rightful owners. The country is the rightful owner of the advantages that may be derived from a free trade to India and China. The Charter operates to deprive it of those advantages; and to do justice to the country, the Charter must be allowed to expire. It is sorry logic, to say the country has from time to time given away its right to the Company, and that as the latter has calculated on a repetition by the former of the same thoughtless act, and has made arrangements accordingly, it would therefore be most cruelly unjust in the country to disappoint expectations so formed, by turning round and declaring 'We will not henceforth give away that right which it is of vital importance to retain in our own keeping.' Such *arguing* (for reasoning it is not) is as miserable as that of the knave, who had contrived to wheedle a little master out of his weekly pocket money for some years; and when the lad attained understanding to perceive that he had been wickedly cajoled, and refused to part with his money, said to the young gentleman, 'Oh, but you must continue to give it to me, for I have now received it so many years, and my expenditure has been so long arranged according to my income, that I cannot possibly do without it, and to withhold it now, would be most unjust.' And the conduct of this knave would be still more reprehensible, if an agreement had actually been entered into, that he should receive the money for seven years only, and yet, despite of that positive agreement, he demanded a renewal of the bargain, and a continuance of the payments.

The Company's present Charter expires in 1834; and when it was granted, there was no understanding, written or verbal, that it should be renewed; consequently, there could be nothing like injustice in Parliament's saying to the Company, 'Your chartered privileges will terminate in about four years, and as we are under no pledge to continue them by the grant of a new Charter, and as the vital interests of the country require that the rights vested in you, should, according to the spirit and letter of your Charter, revert to the people, they will be allowed to return it into their hands.' No one would be so ridiculous as to blame a landlord who should inform his tenant that the lease which expires four or five years hence, will not be renewed because he wants the land himself. Nor would the tenant have any right to claim a prolongation of his lease, should he have contrived to get deeply into debt. A ludicrous story, indeed, it would be for a lessee to tell the proprietor, that his affairs were much involved, and therefore he must have a new lease for another twenty-one years; and it would be still more ludicrous, if, at the expiration of that period, he came again, insisting that a renewal for another period of twenty-one years must be granted, because his debts were greater than before!

This is an exact portraiture of the conduct of the Company. The argument drawn from its debts for a renewal of the Charter, is as worthless as that of the supposed tenant, or of the fellow who coaxed little master out of his pocket money. When the Charter was renewed, the Company's debts amounted to about five millions

sterling. To enable it to liquidate those debts, the Charter was said to be renewed. But has it had this effect? Quite the reverse. The debts of the Company are now said to amount to twenty-five millions! At this rate, another twenty years' Charter will swell the debt to sixty millions. And, eventually, the grand conclusion from the Company's profound logical premises will be, that an everlasting Charter must be granted, that the debt may go on increasing without end. Here are pretty inconsistencies. The Company is in debt, and wishes to get out, because to be in debt is a bad thing. The Charter, instead of helping it out of this pitiable state, sinks it deeper in; and yet, not to renew this Charter would be most unjust! This is tantamount to asserting, that it is an act of injustice to take a bad bargain off a man's hands; or to release him from a losing contract, that he may get no farther into debt. Positively, it is sheer nonsense. Let justice be done, indeed! Well, let it be done, and then the country will have restored to it the right, too long given away, of trading freely to India and China, and of disposing of as many manufactured goods as possible.

But what is to become of the owners of India stock? Must they all—men, women, and children—be reduced to beggary or starvation? No. There is no necessity for injuring one of them in the slightest degree. There are surely persons to be found quite as honest as the East India Directors; and there are practicable methods of enabling some other persons to pay the dividends. If those dividends now come out of the East India trade, they can be more easily obtained from that trade when it is free. Let them be paid out of a duty laid on for that specific purpose. Should this be objected to, then let the demands of India Stock-holders be placed to the national account, and liquidated by the additional revenue which a free trade would produce. This would pay them all off in five years. The country would be glad to pay both interest and principal, if the Eastern trade were opened to every one who chose to embark in it; and the country would soon be a gainer of many hundred fold by the change. Private merchants would not employ useless hands on board their vessels, nor pay large salaries to worse than useless officers at home or abroad; and, consequently, goods would be transported from one country to another at considerably less expense. This must lower their selling prices, and augment the demand. If it be true that the expense of mere freightage of merchandize, conveyed on the Company's system of doing business, be more than three times that which would be incurred by the usual modes adopted by private merchants in transacting the same business, then it is most evident that this difference, added to the greater one between a free trade and the Company's close monopoly, must, if allowed to operate, soon increase our exports and imports beyond all the precedents with which we are acquainted.

If it would not be just, under all these circumstances, to let the Company's Charter expire without supplying its place by a new one, then it is not just for a youth to be free from his master at the expiration of his indenture; for a land-owner to take his land under his own care at the termination of the tenant's lease; or for a patent to become obsolete, after the period for which it has been granted has elapsed.

He would be silly indeed, who should maintain that the general introduction of the proposed rail-road and steam-carriage system will be an act of injustice, committed against all those who are concerned with canals and horses; and propose that a charter should be granted to the canal and coach companies, by which they might prevent passengers and goods going by steam. And he is not less silly who talks of the injustice of not renewing the East India Company's charter. Such a renewal would be a complete bar to improvement. The Company has no right, no claim, to that renewal, and can obtain it only by doing injustice, and the greatest injury, to the whole kingdom.

If the inhabitants of Great Britain are just to themselves, and just to their posterity, they will, as soon as Parliament shall assemble, come simultaneously forward to petition that the charter may not again be renewed; that the injurious monopoly may no longer be continued; and that the nation may no more be deprived of its right to the trade of India and China.

THE BALL AT NEWCASTLE—BURNING OF WIDOWS ALIVE—  
TO THE LADIES OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

MOTHERS, WIVES, and DAUGHTERS!—For in all these hallowed and endearing relations, would I ask for a moment's attention of that sex whose ear was never yet deaf to the calls of humanity—whose eye never yet refused the tear of sympathy for the helpless orphan and the widow; I have myself, the happiness to be a husband and a father; and feeling, therefore, the full force of the sacred relations in which we all stand towards parents, partners, and offspring, I believe that I shall not ask your attention in vain; more especially as I now address you, at the moment of my reaching home, after having been a participator in the gaieties to which you lent all your influence, and over which you spread all your blandishments, in the splendid Assembly-room of your chief city, surrounded by all the leading families of the county of Northumberland.

It would seem, at first sight, to be a doubtful eulogy to say, that the very excess of the delight which seemed to animate all hearts, and to diffuse an additional charm over every countenance, was itself the source of, to me at least, very deep and thrilling horrors. Yet, so it was. From the mazy labyrinth of the joyous dance, and from the full tide of harmony that poured its lengthened strain along, I was transported, in imagination, to the banks of the Ganges, where, at the very moment, perhaps, in which you were thus basking in the meridian splendour of enjoyment, the funeral pile was preparing, the flames were actually kindling, and discordant yells were drowning the cries of the murdered victims then expiring amid all the horrors of protracted torture on the altars of idolatrous immolation.

Whilst you read this sentence, I see your bosoms swell with sympathy; I see your eyes grow dim with pity; and I hear your anxious and quick-beating hearts ask, 'Who are these unhappy sufferers?' Shall I tell you? They are women—mothers—widows. Nay, they are among the highest born, the noblest, the most delicate, the most lovely, the most honourable, and most faithful of their sex.

The heraldic antiquity of the proudest house in England dwindles into insignificance before the venerable ancestry of the families of Hindoostan. The highest born among us can produce no roll of pedigree like theirs: The fairest form, the brightest eye, the softest lips that England may boast, do not surpass the splendid beauties which Asiatic courts contain.—Even those among you the most renowned for grace and elegance, might admit as your compeers, in all that constitute your attractions, the lovely daughters of the East, the offspring of Kings and Emperors, whose gorgeous halls and palaces were once as lustrous and as splendid as your own. Shall I add another claim to the long list already enumerated? They are our fellow-subjects, and as much the inhabitants of the King of England's dominions as if their baronial castles stood upon the banks of the Tyne and the Tees. Of these faithful wives, fond mothers, highly born, lovely, and nursed in the lap of tenderest delicacy, the appalling number of more than SEVEN THOUSAND have been put to death, by the most frightful of all tortures, in the brief space of ten years! The fires that scorch their delicate frames, that crack their sinews, burst their eye-balls, sear their brains, and burn their hearts to cinders, are never extinguished! Between the rising and setting sun, two victims, on an average, perish daily! The smoke is for ever blackening the surrounding atmosphere! Do you ask where this most gloomy of all horrors prevails? Let your flesh creep with terror; let your cheeks be alternately flushed with indignation, and grow pallid with shame; and let your lips tremble with fear, while you pronounce the words—IN BRITISH INDIA! Yes! where you perhaps have husbands, fathers, brothers; if not, where you at least have a voice; for, who, of any rank, is there in England, that is destitute of influence over those who sit in her councils? And who is there possessed of influence that does not bend before your powerful sway?

As ENGLISH LADIES, then, than whom none stand higher in the scale of excel-



lence, let me conjure you by every tie that you regard as sacred, to think of this. Pause for a moment in your bright and gay career, to ask how many young and lovely widows have perished in the devouring flame, since we met together for enjoyment last!!! Think while your happy lips are breathing forth the sounds of harmony and joy, how many Indian widows are giving forth their last faint shriek, in all the gasping agonies of death. Demand of your own hearts, whether, while they beat in bosoms formed for pity, as well as pleasure, they ought not to give one moment, at least, to think of those for whom the torture is preparing. And, whether the song, the dance, the pageant, or the revel, demand your attention next, let me beseech you to consider whether the song would not be sweeter, the dance more joyous, the pageant richer, and the revel gayer far, if you could cheer your hearts with the reflection, that before you abandoned yourselves to either, you had exerted that influence which you all possess, to extinguish the destroying flames that now wrap in their fiery embraces, SEVEN HUNDRED VICTIMS of your own sex and country, *every year*.

I know that this reflection would afford you a pleasure of the most exquisite kind. And, believing this, let me confess that, at the very moment of your retiring from the ball, I was strongly tempted (and *feeling* thus, why should I scruple to *avow* it) to appeal to your assembled influence there upon the spot before you repaired to rest. My heart was almost bursting with the thought, and the words hung impatiently upon my tongue. Strong in the purity of my motive, I know I should not have faltered; but the possibility that some misconstruction might have been placed on that motive, and that the end might therefore be protracted, made me pause for re-consideration. I now repent, as I have done a thousand times before, that I did not follow the first virtuous impulse of an enthusiastic, but I hope, an honourable zeal, instead of suffering the cold dictates of prudential fear to awe me from my purpose. The only way in which I can show the sincerity of my repentance, and atone for the omission, is to address you now, before I lay my own head upon my pillow, and send it through the channel of the press; as your dispersion to your various homes renders this the only probable medium through which I can now reach your ears, and when I have done this, I shall not sleep less sweetly, nor dream of less happy days.

The gentlemen of Newcastle—your fathers, husbands, brothers, are at the present moment appealed to, and invited to direct their regards to India, to encourage what they may there find worthy, to arrest the further progress of that which they think should be stayed. Need I say how you can quicken the lagging resolutions, and kindle the latent spark? Whose tongue is so persuasive, whose eye so encouraging, whose praise so cheering as that of those we love?

Oh! ne'er to man has pitying Heaven,  
A power so blest, so glorious given;  
Say but a single word, and save  
Ten thousand mothers from a flaming grave;  
And tens of thousands from the source of woe  
That ever must to orphan'd children flow;  
Save from the flame the infant's place of rest,  
The couch by nature given—the mother's breast.  
Oh! bid the mother live, the babe caress her,  
And, sweeter still, its lisping accents bless her.  
INDIA, with tearful eye, and bended knee,  
LADIES of ENGLAND! pours her plaint to thee,  
Nor will Northumbria's DAUGHTER's bear the stain,  
That India poured her plaint to thee in vain.

#### MEETINGS RESPECTING THE EAST-INDIA MONOPOLY.

IN addition to the meetings which have taken place at Stockton and Darlington, on the subject of the East-India Monopoly, it appears Mr. Buckingham's Lectures at Sunderland, Shields, and Newcastle, have produced an equally powerful effect. At Newcastle, a public meeting, by requisition to the mayor, signed by nearly all

the leading merchants of the City, has been fixed for the 1st of December, to be closed by a public dinner to Mr. Buckingham, in testimony of the sense entertained of his services. At Sunderland, a similar public meeting has been fixed for the following day, December 2; and at Shields, an East-India Association had been already formed, according to the following report given of it in the papers:—

On Saturday evening, the 24th, Mr. Buckingham gave his last lecture at the Assembly Room of the Town, North Shields, on the evils of the East-India Monopoly, and more especially on the injury sustained by the shipping interests of the country generally, by the exclusion of all English ships from the ports of China, into which foreigners of every other nation enter freely.

This lecture was attended by an audience of more than two hundred ladies and gentlemen, including many from South Shields, and the neighbouring country. It was extremely animated throughout, and received with the strongest and most frequent marks of approbation.

At its close, the company present, deeply impressed with the necessity of some early demonstration of their interest in the subject, resolved themselves into a meeting for the purpose, and on the motion of Mr. Henry Metcalfe, Mr. Robert Spence was called to the chair. The object of this proceeding was then explained, as arising out of a general desire that this opportunity should be embraced of embodying the general sense of the company then present, as to the propriety of some immediate steps being taken by the towns of North and South Shields, relative to the approaching termination of the East India Company's Charter.

Mr. JOHN FINLEY then rose, and in a speech of great moderation, good sense, and gentlemanly feeling, prefaced the resolutions he was about to propose. These being read, expressed the sense of the meeting to be, that among the various causes of the depression of the shipping interests of the kingdom, there was none more powerful than the existing Monopoly of the East India Company, by which British subjects were excluded from the interior of India, and British ships from the ports of China, though foreigners were free to visit both without license or limitation. It further resolved, that an association should be immediately formed, to include the resident inhabitants of North and South Shields, to be called 'The Shields East-India Association,' and a list of about thirty names was read over, of the principal shipowners, merchants, and professional gentlemen of each town, who had already consented to form a Committee, with power to add to the numbers, or the purpose of organizing this association, corresponding with kindred bodies in other parts of the kingdom, and forwarding the general object. These resolutions were seconded respectively by Mr. Fenwick, and Mr. Henry Dale; and on being put to the vote from the chair, were carried by acclamation.

The Chairman then proposed, that the cordial thanks of the Meeting should be given to Mr. Buckingham, for the important and luminous details which he had given of the state of the Eastern World generally, and of India and China in particular. This was seconded by three or four gentlemen, who all rose at the same time; and on being put to the vote, was carried by the lifting up of every arm in the room.

Mr. Buckingham, evidently affected at this marked demonstration of sympathy and respect, returned thanks to the Meeting, in terms that sufficiently betokened the intense satisfaction at this happy close of his labours among them, where the great object of his desire—the formation of an association—had been effected, before he had even quitted the room. And after this closing address, such was the enthusiasm manifested, that scarcely an individual, man, woman, or child, —for the audience included several young gentlemen of twelve or fourteen years of age—who did not come to ask a parting shake of the hand, and express individually to Mr. Buckingham, the high gratification which his Lectures had afforded them.

The Meeting, which assembled at seven, did not terminate till nearly twelve o'clock.

The towns of Blackburn, Preston, and several others in the manufacturing districts, had given Mr. Buckingham invitations to visit them, for the purpose of delivering his Lectures.

## BENGAL REGIMENTAL PAY.

[In turning over the Bengal Newspapers, which, as was to be expected, are much occupied with the reduction of the allowances of the Army, we have been struck with the reasonings contained in a letter signed 'Probus,' addressed to the Editor of 'The Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle,' which, as it appears to put the matter in a different and stronger light than that in which most of the journals have regarded it, and, moreover, quotes *authorities* not known, or, perhaps, suspected, we think we shall do an acceptable service in giving it entire.—Ed.]

To the Editor of 'The Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle.'

SIR—In the tone of the several recent articles in the *Bombay Courier* upon the curtailment of Bengal Regimental Pay, there is something which seems to *innuendate* that the satisfaction expressed by the Editor is shared by the officers of that Presidency.

Mankind in general are sufficiently apt to rejoice in seeing their more prosperous fellows humbled to their own level; but military men are, or are supposed to be, more high minded and less prone to this little creditable feeling than most other classes. The Madras Army petitioned their Employers to raise their pay to equality with ours; I never heard that they tacked to that petition the *alternative* request that our *condition* might be reduced to the level of theirs! We may surely suppose, for the honor of the Company's Service, that the Bombay Editor's hardly concealed satisfaction at our misfortunes, is all his own?

It is notoriously vain to endeavour to convince a man against his will. That the Bombay Editor is not willing to be convinced, any one may satisfy himself by noting the care with which the argument is evaded on which rests the main strength of our case; namely, that the reduction of either pay or pension, as stipulated in 1796, is an infringement of the terms on which we stand engaged to render good service and allegiance due. Instead of this plain, simple, and universally intelligible position, the sophist of Bombay affects to believe that our complaints rest on no better foundation than that afforded by the defence of our higher pay, so zealously set forth in the Honourable Court's famous reply to the Madras memorial in 1810. But the cogent reasoning of that Epistle, (published by order at all the Presidencies,) was only adopted and adduced by us to shew that there was a time—and that not so very remote—when our Honorable Masters *did* think as we *do* think; and did stoutly maintain, moreover, the claims of their various classes of servants to the terms on which they severally engaged to serve, and to no better terms. Our cause would be weak indeed, compared with what it is, if it's only foundation were this *implied* acknowledgment in a letter, of our *title* to our allowances as they then stood.

If the reasonings in the *Bombay Courier* originate in ignorance of the *true* grounds, on which our claim, as servants, to undisturbed enjoyment of our wages, has been vindicated by five successive Governors General or Commanders in Chief, the Editor will perhaps feel thankful for an explanation of those grounds. If not, being convinced against his will, he may possibly be of the same opinion still!

To avoid delicate and still painful topics, though by this time they are become the legitimate province of history, I shall no further allude to the ferment of 1794, than to recommend that the Bombay Editor do borrow from some ancient Company's Officer who may be a dweller at that Presidency, a certain goodly printed quarto, yclept proceedings of the London Delegates in 1795, which book in all probability he will find well scribbled on the margins with curious notes and names, and other matters of contemporary history. He will find in that scarce volume tolerably full details of 'agitations' alluded to, and of the negotiations of a certain Lieutenant SALMOND and others, with the Honourable Court of Directors in the first instance, and subsequently, with two Personages called

WILLIAM PITT and HENRY DUNDAS, who thought fit to take the matter in their own hands, and to settle all disputes fully and finally; being somewhat stimulated thereto, by notices of an eventual motion in the House of Commons by General Joseph Smith, a Company's Officer, who was designed for the Chief Command in India by the Prince of Wales's Party, if they had come into power under the Regency of 1788.

The result of all this negotiation was a complete re-organization of the whole Indian army, in respect to Rank, Pay, and Pension; and the new scheme was promulgated to the army in Bengal, in the shape of a copious letter from the Honourable Court, dated 16th January, 1796, which is to be found in *Graces' Code*, or in the rare quarto above quoted.

This celebrated letter contained a stipulation that after 25 years' service including three years furlough on British pay, every Officer might retire on the British pay of his regimental rank. It also contained a table of Indian pay and allowances for every regimental Grade, and for Major Generals on the staff.

There were three classes of allowances according to position, for Regimental officers; the distinct principle being, 1st, that every one was entitled to British pay, and gratuity, and half batta, and quarters at the public charge, which included water and sweeping, &c.

2d. That where quarters were not supplied, additional half batta should be given, *in lieu*.

3d. That officers on foreign service, or out of the Honourable Company's own provinces (extending then from Midnapore and Chittagong to the Caramnassa) should receive double full batta.

Beside these provisions, Officers when ordered to move, were in all cases to be furnished with tents and the requisite cattle, and servants at the public expence, or with a proportionate fixed contract allowance to supply themselves. If ordered to move by water they were further provided with boats, or an allowance in lieu.

Whether the above stipulations as to rank—pay on retirement—pay on furlough—pay in India—were considered by the Hon. Court, and by His Majesty's Ministers, as of the nature of a fixed pact between master and servant—as the terms on which the former engaged to employ the latter for a term of not less than 22 years actual work, in a foreign, unhealthy, and far distant country, I leave the Editor of the *Bombay Courier* to judge, by the solemnity of the peroration contained in the following paragraph of the above quoted letter, 15th January, 1796:—

"Although the great and PERMANENT advantages which our officers must generally derive from this arrangement are obvious, we yet are aware that there may be some few whose immediate allowances may suffer TEMPORARY reduction by it. Such temporary reduction can be but of little consequence when compared to the far greater benefits in point of prospect; yet when the allowances drawn by any of our officers are materially reduced, and that you conceive they should have relief, we authorize you to give them that relief."

"We are aware that in a subject of so extensive and complicated a nature, notwithstanding all the pains we have bestowed on it, errors may have crept into the preceding arrangements, and if any such shall be stated to you, you will transmit them to us with your observations upon them. At the same time, as the subject has undergone some consideration, and the expenses of our military establishments will thereby be greatly increased, we trust you will not be harassed with unfounded applications. Our military servants, of every rank, will consider with candour the great and important variation which is now made in the service of our army in India; and if any one or more individuals should feel, that in any respect their own personal situations are not exactly what they might wish, they ought to balance the whole together, and recollect how much, not only each individual in other respects, but the whole service in general, has gained in point of credit, emoluments, and respectability, by the arrangements we have now made."

It is true, Sir, that sundry alterations have taken place in this Pay code since 1796: but only of these—the curtailment of general officers' pay by one third—

has been unaccompanied by some *quid pro quo*, approaching in appearance or reality to a compensation. Double full batta was abolished, but full batta extended; and the government barracks sold on stipulated terms to individuals: Colonels lost their table money, but gained in return off-reckonings for life in England. All and every one of these Reforms were *exceedingly* gainful to the State; but they were not without advantages to individuals.

The great principle of the Pay Code, however, was untouched, viz. that every Regimental Officer should have quarters *besides* half batta; or if without quarters, an *additional* half batta. Had the new order in taking away this extra half batta, provided for re-purchasing the sold quarters, and returning to the ancient Barrack system of 1795, no officer could have had the smallest pretext for complaint. The just pretext which is furnished, arises from this: that the extra half batta being taken away, the individual has *not* his quarters, water, and sweeping; but something considerably less than the equivalent under the name of House Rent to provide himself.

It has been said by some who profess to be learned in the law, that where no 'wrong' can be made out, there has been no 'Right' violated: but as no action could be maintained in any known British Court, for Pensions withheld, or Pay reduced, *ergo*,—no 'wrong' has been done, and no 'right' could have existed.—Certain it is, no action could lie; for there is no 'indenture'—no 'hand and seal'—no 'subscribing witness'—no 'stamping duty'—no 'memorandum of agreement' even, on which we may 'have our equity.' It is not in the Bond, we are not hired by treaty or 'capitulations' like the Swiss Regiments in France.

To minds of the stamp which this sort of reasoning and this jargon are calculated to satisfy, it would be vain were we to urge arguments founded on mere National and Corporate faith; or on the honourable interpretation—favourable to the weaker party—which sound policy, and public gratitude or generosity demand, in cases like ours. But we may surely hope that our Honourable Masters have been surprised into a mistaken or imperfect view of our real claims on them; and that at least the *retrospective* effect of the late Half Battal orders will be revoked. Hard as the service will be for future Cadets entering the army on reduced allowances, there cannot be a shadow of right to complain of broken faith, when the terms are mutually understood and previously agreed upon.

PROSUS.

We find, on reference to the curious volume, alluded to by our correspondent, Appendix X. that this concluding paragraph was the especial manufacture of the Right Honourable President of the Board of Control, in substitution for a *somewhat* less precise and solemn conclusion, proposed by the Honourable Court of Directors.

While on this subject, we may as well notice that p. 270 of the same Appendix X. irrevocably connects the Pay Table with the pledges and promises our correspondent has quoted, as will be seen by the following brief, but pithy paragraph:—

'The pay and allowances to the several officers included in this arrangement are to be fixed agreeably to the table transmitted herewith, subject to the following regulation:

'As the promotion in the whole of the Company's army will fully compensate for the diminution of certain allowances which have occasioned jealousies and discontents between the establishments at the different Presidencies, we have resolved, that double full batta to officers be abolished; that the half batta, as now allowed at Bengal, and at the same rates, be made general to all the King's and Company's officers under the other Presidencies, except to colonels, who are always to be allowed full batta, and that full batta be the highest allowance of that kind, to be granted in any situation whatever, except in the case of officers doing duty in the Vizier's dominions, who shall have such an additional allowance as the Bengal Government may deem adequate to defray the extra charges incurred by officers in that particular station.

'The allowance which has hitherto been made to field officers under the head of revenue money, commission on the revenues or dewannee, is to be discontinued both to the King and Company's officers.

'The allowances to colonels on your establishment, from the Bazar duties, are also to be abolished, together with every other extra allowance *not* specified in the tables.

'As we mean, that all the subalterns in our armies at the different Presidencies shall be on the same footing with respect to allowances, we direct, that the additional pay of one rupee per day to subalterns at your presidency, be discontinued to all subalterns promoted from cadets, *appointed subsequent to the date of this dispatch.*'—EDITOR HURKARU.

*Disposition of Effects of Deceased Soldiers.*—A General Order, of May 28th, publishes a recapitulation of Art. 4, Geo. IV. cap. 18, amending 58 Geo. III., cap. 78, by which it is enacted, That it shall be lawful for all officers and persons who may be employed, or required by or under the authority of the Articles of War, in force for the time being, either for the officers or soldiers in the service of his Majesty, or for the European officers or soldiers in the service of the said Company, to take care of, or collect, or superintend and direct the collection of the effects of officers or soldiers dying in service out of the united kingdom, to ask, demand, and receive any such effects, and to commence, prosecute, and carry on any actions or suits for the recovery thereof, without taking out any letters of administration, either with any will annexed or otherwise, in like manner in every respect as if such officers or persons had been appointed executors, or had taken out letters of administration of such effects; and no registers of any Court in the East Indies, or elsewhere, in any colonies or possessions of his Majesty abroad, shall in any manner interpose in relation to any such effects, unless required or authorized so to do by any such officers or persons under the provisions of this act; any act, or acts of Parliament, law, statute, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding. Effects or proceeds of effects, when remitted to any regimental agent, or other person, under any order or regulation of the Secretary at War in that behalf, or of the military Secretary to the Government, or any of the said Company's Presidencies respectively, shall not, by reason of coming into the hands of such agent or person, be deemed or taken to be assets or effects within the province in which such agent or person shall reside, so as to render it necessary that administration should be taken out in respect thereof in such province, unless administration of any other effects of the officer or soldier to whom the proceeds so remitted, shall have belonged, shall have been, or shall be taken out, in such province; and it shall be lawful for the Secretary at War, in all cases relating to the effects of any officer or soldier in his Majesty's service, and for the military Secretary to the Government of the Presidency, to which the deceased officer or soldier shall have belonged, in all cases relating to the effects of any European officer or soldier in the service of the said Company, in order that any such effects, or proceeds of any such effects, shall be remitted to any other place where the same can be more conveniently paid over to the person or persons entitled thereto; and the obedience to any such orders, by any agent or person to whose hands any such effects shall come, shall be a sufficient discharge to such agent or person; and no such agent or person shall be liable to any action or suit, by reason of any such effects, or proceeds of such effects, having been in his hands, and hereafter transmitted under the order of the Secretary at War or military Secretary, respectively, in their behalf. The Secretary, in the case of any officer or soldier in his Majesty's service, and for the military Secretary to the Government of the Presidency to which the deceased officer or soldier shall have belonged, in the case of any European officer or soldier in the service of the said Company, to order or direct the payment of any charges or expenses attending or relating to the illness or funeral of any such officer or soldier, out of any such effects, or proceeds of effects, or out of any arrears of pay or half-pay, and that such charges and expenses, together with all regimental debts and military payments, which may be allowed under the provisions of any act or acts of Parliament, or Articles of War, made in pursuance thereof, shall be made of such effects, or proceeds of effects, or arrears of pay or half-pay, and the surplus only, after such payment, shall be deemed the personal estate of the deceased.

**A STATEMENT**  
OF THE  
**RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE DIFFERENT MARITIME TOWNS**  
**OF THE UNITED KINGDOM,**

*As relates to their Gross Amount of Tonnage, and the average Size and Number of  
Ships belonging to each.*

CAREFULLY EXTRACTED FROM THE

Parliamentary Return, No. 2, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons,  
March 11th, 1828.

**ENGLAND.**

No.	PORTS.	Above 100 Tons.	Below 100 Tons.	Total Amount of Tonnage.	Average.
1	London - -	1,829	1,699	606,859	172
2	Newcastle - -	793	135	194,712	210
3	Liverpool - -	532	217	149,070	199
4	Sunderland - -	525	81	102,456	169
5	Hull - -	248	328	73,504	127
6	Whitehaven - -	363	140	73,227	145
7	Whitby - -	176	103	46,086	164
8	Yarmouth - -	158	405	42,931	76
9	Bristol - -	133	149	41,686	148
10	Scarborough - -	122	51	28,322	164
11	Dartmouth - -	85	263	24,874	72
12	Plymouth - -	67	209	23,918	87
13	Beaumaris - -	48	334	21,803	57
14	Exeter - -	72	130	17,965	89
15	Poole - -	83	81	16,984	103
16	Lynn - -	81	31	13,604	121
17	Cardigan - -	35	226	13,521	52
18	Gloucester - -	12	218	12,426	54
19	Rochester - -	—	243	10,282	42
20	Bideford - -	27	72	8,816	90
21	Ipswich - -	17	112	8,108	63
22	Milford - -	30	91	8,095	67
23	Boston - -	8	141	8,064	54
24	Southampton - -	16	163	8,019	45
25	Portsmouth - -	20	146	7,733	46
26	Maldon - -	8	190	7,717	39
27	Bridlington - -	29	19	7,448	155
28	Weymouth - -	28	64	7,212	78
29	Falmouth - -	27	51	7,204	92
30	Faversham - -	13	189	7,129	35
31	Swansea - -	24	87	6,950	63
32	Colchester - -	2	248	6,764	27
33	Aberystwith - -	7	114	6,488	54
34	Stockton - -	36	30	6,435	97
35	Fowey - -	12	74	5,961	72
36	Lancaster - -	12	39	5,760	113
37	Harwich - -	8	83	5,545	61

## ENGLAND,—continued.

No.	PORTS.	Above 100 Tons.	Below 100 Tons.	Total Amount of Tonnage.	Average.
38	Cowes - - -	4	143	5,282	34
39	Dover - - -	18	99	5,239	47
40	St. Ives - - -	7	77	5,032	60
41	Penzance - - -	18	76	4,973	53
42	Berwick - - -	18	36	4,861	90
43	Chester - - -	8	65	4,730	65
44	Chepstow - - -	16	44	4,693	78
45	Ramsgate - - -	18	56	4,493	61
46	Rye - - -	9	62	4,095	58
47	Ilfracombe - - -	8	55	4,053	64
48	Newport - - -	12	39	3,957	77
49	Padstow - - -	3	69	3,675	51
50	Wells - - -	11	54	3,617	55
51	Cardiff - - -	14	26	3,518	88
52	Lyme - - -	13	26	3,309	85
53	Llanelly - - -	3	68	3,287	46
54	Blakeney and Clay - -	9	41	3,254	65
55	Preston - - -	8	37	3,219	71
56	Arundel - - -	15	12	2,642	105
57	Bridgewater - - -	5	40	2,811	62
58	Southwold - - -	4	33	2,576	69
59	Carlisle - - -	3	35	2,561	67
60	Woodbridge - - -	5	28	2,477	75
61	Chichester - - -	5	55	2,442	40
62	Wisbeach - - -	4	38	2,406	57
63	Aldborough - - -	6	40	2,382	52
64	Barnstaple - - -	1	41	2,198	52
65	Grimsby - - -	1	48	1,872	38
66	Shorcham - - -	8	26	1,860	55
67	Looe - - -	2	24	1,670	44
68	Truro - - -	1	23	1,656	69
69	Newhaven - - -	1	15	1,025	64
70	Minehead - - -	—	18	889	79
71	Scilly - - -	—	19	743	39
72	Deal - - -	1	17	540	30
73	Gweek - - -	—	10	485	48
Total—England -		5,940	8,552	1,752,400	421

## SCOTLAND.

1	Aberdeen - - -	202	134	46,587	138
2	Greenock - - -	105	320	37,786	89
3	Glasgow - - -	111	113	36,220	162
4	Leith - - -	95	162	26,107	102
5	Grangemouth - - -	83	127	24,635	117
6	Dundee - - -	105	99	24,227	119
7	Montrose - - -	64	106	15,778	93
8	Irvine - - -	60	77	14,230	104
9	Dumfries - - -	17	158	12,283	70
10	Kirkcaldy - - -	46	58	11,540	111



## SCOTLAND,—continued.

No.	PORTS.	Above 100 Tons.	Below 100 Tons.	Total Amount of Tonnage.	Average.
11	Borrowstoness -	22	92	8,740	72
12	Port Glasgow -	19	31	7,155	143
13	Banff -	4	138	6,431	45
14	Inverness -	12	69	5,092	63
15	Anstruther -	9	87	4,130	43
16	Perth -	9	48	4,116	72
17	Kirkwall -	3	56	3,247	55
18	Stornoway -	7	65	3,133	43
19	Campbeltown -	5	64	3,088	44
20	Lerwick -	1	77	2,622	34
21	Thurso -	4	30	2,241	66
22	Stranraer -	—	42	1,448	34
Total,—Scotland -		983	2,160	300,836	95

## IRELAND.

1	Belfast -	70	178	23,371	94
2	Dublin -	74	208	22,965	81
3	Cork -	41	207	15,559	63
4	Newry -	10	179	9,811	52
5	Wexford -	8	135	6,937	48
6	Waterford -	24	37	6,261	102
7	Londonderry -	15	11	3,632	139
8	Drogheda -	8	24	2,487	78
9	Baltimore -	—	84	2,440	29
10	Limerick -	4	35	1,887	48
11	Sligo -	3	11	734	52
12	Galway -	—	18	630	35
13	Dundalk -	—	8	463	58
14	Coleraine -	—	5	128	25
15	Newport -	—	3	64	21
Total,—Ireland -		257	1,143	97,369	69
GRAND TOTAL		7,180	11,855	2,150,605	

## THE BRITISH NATURALIST.

Those who delight to revel amongst the beauties of Nature, could not take a more delightful companion with them than this little volume. It is written, indeed, with the feelings of a poet more than of a dry specimen-collecting naturalist; for it may be truly said, that the Author gazes on Nature 'with a poet's eye,' and writes his observations with a poet's pen. His very arrangement is poetical. He leads his readers first to the 'mountain,' and successively to the 'lake,' the 'river,' and the 'moor,' describing in each the various productions, animal, vegetable, and mineral. It is decidedly well written, and its being rather popular than profound, will form its chief recommendation to the class of readers for whom it is intended.

**CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND  
CHANGES IN INDIA.**

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—C. Calcutta.]

- ALCOCK, C. B. P., Lieut. Engin., placed at the disposal of the Mil. Board.—C. April 10.
- Armstrong, R. Capt., 2d Assist., to be 1st Assist. Mil. Audit.-Gen., v. Kennedy, prom.—C. April 10.
- Alexander, G. Mr., to be Head Assist. to Sudder board of reven.—C. May 12.
- Abbot, S. A., Ens., posted to 42d N. I.—C. June 3.
- Austen, G. P., Ens., posted to 18th N. I.—C. June 3.
- Ahmuty, J., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Affleck, R., Lieut. 16th N. I., appointed to 1st batt. Pioneers, v. Goold res.—M. June 9.
- Anderson, A. sen., Capt. Engineers to be Maj.—M. June 9.
- Andrews, (C. B.) A., Lieut. Col. Comm. to be Col.—M. June 9.
- Anderson, A., Maj. Engin. to be Superintend. Engin. in north div.—M. June 9.
- Aitchinson, A., Lieut.-Col. 23d N. I., to be Col. B.—June 13.
- Birdwood, W. I., Sen. 2d Lieut. Engin. to be 1st Lieut.—M. June 9.
- Blackburne, Wm., Lieut.-Col. Com. to be Col.—M. June 9.
- Boardman, E. Lieut.-Col. Com. to be Col.—M. June 9.
- Bishop, C. T. G., Lieut.-Col. Com. to be Col.—M. June 9.
- Brodie, (C. B.) James, Lieut. Col. Com. to be Col.—M. June 9.
- Best, S., Lieut., to be Assist. to Superintend. Engin. at Jaulnah.—M. June 9.
- Bowes, F., Lieut.-Col., 4th N. I. on furl., to Eur.—M. April 20.
- Baker, W. W., Capt. 32d N. I., on furl. to Eur.—M. June 2.
- Brockes, W., Lieut.-Col. Engin., to be Col.—B. June 13.
- Burnet, F. C., 2d Lieut. Artill., rem. from 1st comp. 7th batt.—C. March 16.
- Baldwin, R. H., 2d Lieut. Artill., posted to 5th comp. 7th batt.—C. March 14.
- Boswell, J. L., Ens. 19th N. I. to be Lieut., v. Murray, retired, v. Drummond, dec.—C. April 10.
- Boyd, F. T., Lieut. 65th N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Pearson, prom.—C. April 10.
- Bellew, H. M., Capt. 56th N. I., to officiate as Qu. Mas. Gen., v. Jones.—C. April 18.
- Buchanan, W. M., Assist.-Surg., app. to med. charge of 30th N. I.—C. March 29.
- Brewer, P., Capt., 64th N. I. to be Maj., v. Maling.—C. April 18.
- Bush, J. T., Ens., rem. 12th to 24th N. I.—C. April 12.
- Bury, C. Mr., to be Regis. of City Court at Dacca.—C. May 5.
- Bell, John, the Rev. Mr., to be District Chaplain at Mhow.—C. May 29.
- Barkhouse, F. G., Ens., posted to 68th N. I.—C. June 1.
- Becher, H. M., Ens., posted to 50th N. I.—C. June 3.
- Bristow, G. W. G., Ens., posted to 71st N. I.—C. June 3.
- Bristow, C. M., Ens., posted to 70th N. I.—C. June 3.
- Burton, C. E., Ens., posted to 8th N. I.—C. June 3.
- Battley, R. E., Lieut. 22d N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.
- Bridgeman, P., Cadet of Artill., prom. to Ens.—C. June 12.
- Bennett, J. W., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. June 5.
- Burnett, (C. B.) J., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Brown, (C. B.) C., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Brown, M. W., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Broughton, T. D., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.

- Boyd, M., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Byres, P., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Burgh, W., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Bowen, H., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Brookes, W., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Barton, E., Lieut.-Col., posted to 17th N. I.—C. May 14.  
 Bryant, J., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 65th to 40th N. I.—C. May 14.  
 Brooke, C. W., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 56th to 69th N. I.—C. May 14.
- Cameron, N. S., Esq., to be Collec. and Magis. of Trichinopoly.—M. May 22.  
 Cotton, A. T., Sen. 1st Lieut. Engineers, to be Capt.—M. June 9.  
 Currie, J., Lieut. 8th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. April 3.  
 Corsellis, T., Lieut.-Col. 9th, to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Cox, G. M., Lieut.-Col. 12th N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Cunningham, J., Lieut. Col. 17th N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Clelland, W. D., Lieut.-Col. 19th N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Crommelin, J. A., Lieut. Eng., perm. to res.—C. April 3.  
 Counsell, W., Lieut. and Brev. Capt. Artill., rem. from 3d comp. 6th batt. to 2d comp. 4th batt.—C. March 16.  
 Cardew, A., Lieut. Artill., rem. from 1st to 2d comp. 4th batt.—C. March 16.  
 Craig, W. M., 2d Lieut. Artill., posted to 1st comp. 7th batt.—C. March 14.  
 Cartwright, E., Lieut.-Col. Comm., rem. from 15th to 10th N. I.—C. March 15.  
 Cooke, W. P., Capt. 6th N. I., to be Major, v. Taylor, prom.—C. April 10.  
 Cumming, W. F., Assist.-Surg., placed under Super.-Surg. at Cawnpore.—C. March 29.  
 Campbell, A., Assist.-Surg., posted to 3d brig. Horse Artill.—C. March 29.  
 Candy, F., Lieut., 64th N. I., to be Capt., v. Brewer, prom.—C. April 18.  
 Conran, J. W., Ens. 64th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Candy, prom.—C. April 25.  
 Cunliffe, R. E., Mr., to be Assist. to Magis. and to Collec. of Land at Chittagong.—C. May 5.  
 Cooke, J. F. G., Mr., to be Judge of Zillah of Purneah.—C. May 29.  
 Crossman, C., Ens., posted to 2d Eur. reg.—C. June 3.  
 Capel, E. S., Ens., posted to 53d N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Colebrooke, W. H. E., Ens., posted to 63d N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Carlyon, C., Ens., posted to 73d N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Corfield, A. H., Ens., posted to 21st N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Craigie, John, Major 48th N. I., to be a Mem. of Mil. Finance Committee, v. Wilson, res.—C. June 12.  
 Casement, (C. B.), Lieut.-Col. Comm. to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Croxton, Wm., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Comyn, W., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Cock, J., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Cunliffe, R. H., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Cartwright, E., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Cumming, A., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Caldwell, (C. B.), A., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Doveton, John, Jun., Lieutenant.-Col. Com. Cav., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Deacon, Charles, (C. B.) Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Davenport, F. H. G., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. March 31.  
 Dyson, J. T., Lieut.-Col. 18th N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Delamotte, F., Lieut.-Col. 3d L. Cav., to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Dunbar, J. P., Lieut.-Col. 2d L. Cav., to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Dougan, R. F., Lieut. 10th L. Cav., to be Capt. of a troop, v. Waugh, dec.—C. April 3.  
 Deverell, R., Ens., posted to 47th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Doolan, R. W. E., Ens., posted to 12th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Davidson, W. W., Ens., posted to 32d N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Dennistown, A., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. June 5.  
 Dare, H., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.

Duncan, H., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Durant, J., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Denty, H. F., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 6th to 45th N. I.—C. May 14.

Egap, K., Lieut.-Col. 10th N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Erskine, J. C., the Hon., to be Assist. to Magis. and to Collec. of Land Rev. at Shahabad.—C. April 22.  
 Edwards, T., 2d Lieut. Artill., posted to 1st comp. 6th batt.—C. March 14.  
 Ewart, J. K., Mr., to be Assist. to Magis. and to Collec. of Land Rev. of central div. of Cuttack.—C. May 5.  
 Elliot, J. E., the Hon., to be Postmast.-Gen.—C. May 5.  
 Erskine, J. C., the Hon., to be Assist. to Magis. and to Collec. of Land Rev. at Dacca.—C. June 16.  
 Elton, R. W., Ens., posted to 16th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Elliott, J., Lieut.-Col., posted to 73d N. I.—C. May 14.

Forbes, R., the Hon., to be Assist. Collec. at Bareilly.—C. April 22.  
 Fraser, H., Mr., to be Register of Zillah Court of Bareilly, and Joint Magis. stationed at Shapjehanpore.—C. April 9.  
 Fitzgerald, G. F. C., 2d Lieut. Artill., rem. from 3d comp. 6th batt., to 2d comp. 3d batt.—C. March 16.  
 Fraser, Hugh, Lieut. Engin., placed at the disp. of Mil. Board.—C. April 10.  
 Ferris, J. H., Ens., re-app. to 7th N. I.—C. April 11.  
 Fast, J. W., Lieut.-Col. Comm., rem. from 42d to 33d N. I.—C. April 13.  
 Fuller, C. W., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 16th Foot.—C. April 13.  
 Forbes, Geo., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. April 18.  
 Fraser, A., Ens., posted to 4th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Flyter, James, Ens., posted to 64th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Fletcher, F. P., Ens., posted to 67th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Forbes, A., Ens., posted to 59th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Fitzgerald, M., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Fagan, C., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Fagan, (C. B.), C. S., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Fast, J. W., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Forsyth, W. A., Mr., to be Assistant to principal Collector of Coimbatore.—M. May 22.  
 Foulis, D., Lieut.-Col. Com. Cav., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Farquhar, Wm., Lieut.-Col. Com. Engineers, to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Farran, Charles, Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Fair, (C. B.) Alex., Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Fraser, W. C., Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Fletcher, R., Cadet prom. to Ens.—M. June 9.

Gordon, Geo., Ens. 15th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Johnson, prom.—C. April 3.  
 Grant, C. E., Ens., to act as Interp. and Qu. Mast. to 62d N. I. v. Cox.—C. March 14.  
 Gough, T., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 10th to 15th N. I.—C. March 18.  
 Greene, G. J., Lieut. Engin., to be Exper. Eng. of 8th or Rohilcund div. of public works.—C. April 10.  
 Graham, W. H., Lieut. Engin., placed at the disp. of Mil. Board.—C. April 10.  
 Garbett, C., Assist.-Surg., placed under Super. Surg. at Cawnpore.—C. March 29.  
 Griffiths, C., Assist.-Surg., placed under Super. Surg. at Cawnpore.—C. March 29.  
 Gullan, D., Assist.-Surg., to assume med. char. of 5 comps. 18th N. I.—C. April 13.  
 Grant, J. P., Mr., to be Assist. to Magis. and Collec. of Land Rev. at Bareilly.—C. May 19.  
 Gibb, John, Ens., posted to 43d N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Grange, R., Ens., posted to 10th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Gifford, J., Ens., posted to 2d N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Gardner, S. W., Ens., posted to 28th N. I.—C. June 3.

- Glegg, H. A., Lieut. 32d N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Stacey, prom.—C. June 12.
- Greenstreet, J., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Garner, T., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Garrow, G. Esq., to be 1st Judge of Prov. Court of Appeal and Circuit for northern division.—M. May 22.
- Grant, (C. B.) A., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—M. June 9.
- Greenhill, Jas., D. Lieut. Col., to be Col.—M. June 2.
- Gibb, J. R., Assist.-Surg., to be Med. Officer, to Judicial Estab. at Masulipatam, v. Geddes, prom.—M. June 9.
- Groves, E., Lieut. 47th N. I. on furl., to Ens.—M. April 7.
- Goodfellow, S., Lieut.-Col. Engin., to be Col.—B. June 13.
- Gilbert, W. Lieut.-Col. 21st N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.
- Home, D., Mr., to be Assist. Collec. of Agra.—C. April 22.
- Hailes, M. H., Cornet 10th L. Cav., to be Lieut., v. Doughan, prom.—C. April 3.
- Heyland, Arthur, Ens. 12th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Lermitt, prom.—C. April 3.
- Heard, St., J., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 15th to 10th N. I.—C. March 18.
- Hogg, R. W., Lieut. 8th L. Cav., rem. from his app. as Interp.—C. April 14.
- Hewitt, F., Lieut. 33d N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. April 21.
- Harvey, J. J., Mr., to be Magis. of Zillah of Midnapore.—C. May 29.
- Harris, J. S., Ens., posted to 18th N. I.—C. June 3.
- Horne, W. G., Ens., posted to 55th N. I.—C. June 3.
- Hartt, F., adm. as an Assist.-Surg.—C. June 12.
- Houston, R., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Hetzler, (C. B.), R., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Hopper, W., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Heathcote, W. S., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Hampton, R., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Harriot, J. S., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Hunter, (C. B.), G., Lieut.-Col., posted to 43d N. I.—C. May 14.
- Hallewell, the Rev. J. (A. M.) to be Chaplain at Cuddalore.—M. April 7.
- Hammond, G., Lieut. 51st N. I. to act as Assist.-Qu.-Mast.-Gen. of Army.—M. June 9.
- Harwood, J., Capt. 48th N. I. on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. April 3.
- Hessman, H., Lieut.-Col. Artil., to be Col.—B. June 13.
- Hogg, A., Lieut.-Col. 11th N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.
- Hodgson, C., Lieut.-Col. Artil., to be Col.—B. June 13.
- Hull, W., Lieut.-Col. 1st Gren. N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.
- Impey, H. R., Capt., app. to perform duties of Interp. and Qu. Mas. to 50th N. I.—C. March 16.
- Innes, J., 2d Lieut. Artill., posted to 3d batt.—C. March 14.
- Imlarh, H., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Innes, (C. B.), W., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Irving, J., Surg. on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. April 20.
- Johnson, R. C., Lieut. 50th N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Body, dec.—C. April 3.
- Jones, John, Capt. 46th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. April 18.
- Johnson, J. M., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Johnston, F. J. T., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Jessop, E., Assist.-Surg. rem. from 32d to 9th N. I.—M. June 1.
- Kenny, D. C., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—M. June 9.
- Kelly, H. R., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—M. June 9.
- Kützleben, Mag. 44th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—M. June 2.
- Kennedy, M., Lieut.-Col. 15th N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.
- Kennet, B., Lieut.-Col. 22d N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.
- Kemp, G. R. Lieut. Col. 13th N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.

Kennedy, Wm., Major, 1st Assist., to be Dep. Assist. Mil. Audit.-Gen., v. Macgregor.—C. April 10.

Kendall, B., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. June 5.

Knox, W. D. H., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.

Lermit, Alfred, Lieut. 12th N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Moore, promoted.—C. April 3.

Lewin, W. J. C., Lieut. H. Artil., rem. from 2d troop 2d brig., to 1st troop 1st brig.—C. March 16.

Louis, Thos., Mr., to be Assist. to Magis. and to Collect. of Land Rev. at Moradabad.—C. May 5.

La Touche, C., Mr., to be Assist. to Magis. at Mirzapore.—C. May 19.

Legard, W. B., Ens., posted to 31st N. I.—C. June 3.

Leicester, C. B., Lieut. 34th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.

Lawrence, M. J., Ens. 30th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Manning, dismissed.—C. June 12.

Lumley, W. B., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. June 5.

Littlejohn, P., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.

Lumley, J. R., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.

Latter, R. J., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.

Lockett, H., Lieut.-Col., posted to 19th N. I.—C. May 14.

Lushington, (C. B.) James Law, Lieut.-Col. Com. Cav., to be Col.—M. June 9.

Limond, James, Lieut.-Col. Com. Artil., to be Col.—M. June 9.

Limond, A., Lieut. Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.

Lushington, J. S., Sen. Lieut. 6th L. Cav., to be Capt., v. Logan deceased.—M. June 12.

Leavortke, G., Lieut. 51st N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. April 14.

Leighton, D., Lieut.-Col. 7th N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.

Middlecoat, G., Lieutenant, rem. from 2d to 3d bat. Artil.—M. June 1.

Mortimer, H. H., Lieut., rem. from 3d to 2d N. I.—M. June 1.

Marshall, Josiah, Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.

Molesworth, A., Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.

Munro, W., Lieut. Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.

Munro, John, Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.

Mackenzie, (C. B.) John, Lieut.-Col. Com. to be Col.—M. June 9.

MacLeod, (C. B.) C., Lieut.-Col. Com. to be Col.—M. June 9.

Monin, A., Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.

Macfarland, J., Assist.-Surg., on furl., to Eur. for health.—M. June 12.

Mayne, J., Lieut.-Col. 26th N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.

Moore, W. W., Capt. 12th N. I., to be Major, v. Macleod, dec.—C. April 3.

Mackenzie, H., Lieut., to act as Adj. to Mundlaiser Loc. Bat., v. Lermit.—C. March 14.

Manning, F. E., Lieut. 16th N. I., to officiate as Station Staff at Sangor, v. James.—C. March 16.

Murray, A., Assist.-Surg., posted to 6th N. I.—C. March 14.

Milner, E. T., Lieut., to act as Interp. and Qu. Mas. to 31st N. I.—C. March 18.

Maxwell, C., Assist.-Surg., 18th N. I., to offic. as Garr. Surg. at Agra.—C. March 24.

Moffat, J. D., Cadet of Cav., prom. to Ens.—C. April 18.

Malang, Irwin, Maj. 64th N. I., transf. to Inv. Estab.—C. April 18.

Mackinnon, K., Assist.-Surg., placed under orders of Superin. Surg. at Berham-pore.—C. April 13.

Minto, W., Lieut., to act as Adj. to left wing of 18th N. I.—C. April 13.

Macleod, D. F., Mr., to be Assist. to Polit. Resid. at Nagpore.—C. May 19.

Morrison, D. R., Mr., to be Regist. at Juanpore, and Joint Magis. stationed at Azeemghur.—C. May 5.

Mainwaring, H. G., Ens., posted to 13th N. I.—C. June 3.

Macdonald, A., Ens., posted to 40th N. I.—C. June 3.

Montgomery, G. J., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. June 5.

- Mouat, C., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 M'Leod, (C. B.), D., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Maxwell, (G. B.), W. G., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Macleod, (C. B.), Sir Alex., Lieut.-Col., Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Macgregor, J. A. P., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 M'Pherson, D., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Mouat, (Bart.), Sir James, Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Mac Innes, J., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Murray, T., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 69th to 55th N. I.—C. May 14.
- Neave, John, Mr., to be Judge and Magis. of Allyghur.—C. April 9.  
 Nation, S., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. April 10—posted to 23d N. I., C. June 3.  
 Newmarrh, H., Assist.-Surg., to be Surg., v. Gibb, dec.—C. June 5.  
 Nuthall, J., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Nicol, J., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Oliver, Thomas, Capt. 3d N. I., v. Sumock, ret.—C. April 10.  
 O'Halloran, J. N., Ens., posted to 19th N. I.—C. June 1.  
 O'Halloran, (C. B.), J., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Pollock, M. B., Assis.-Surg., posted to 32d N. I.—M. June 1.  
 Padmore, R., Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Pereira, M. L., Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Pollok, (C. B.) Thomas, Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Pendergast, Jeffery, Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Pierre, F. H., Lieut.-Col. Artil. to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Proll, G. N., Lieut. 3d N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Oliver, prom.—C. April 10.  
 Pearson, James, Capt. 65th N. I., to be Major, v. Walker, prom.—C. April 10.  
 Pasmore, W., Capt., Dep. Assist. Adj.-Gen., posted to Presid. Divis.—C. April 11.  
 Palmer, W. P., Mr., to be Collec. of Stamp Dut. in Calcutta.—C. May 19.  
 Patton, J. H., Mr., to be Magis. of Zillah of Burdwan.—C. May 29.  
 Plowden, T. J. C., Mr., to be Jun. Assist. to Magis. and to Collec. of Zillah, Scharunpore.—C. June 9.  
 Pond, J. R., Ens., rem. from 67th N. I. to 2d Eur. Reg.—C. June 3.  
 Fatterson, J. F., Ens., posted to 4th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Parker, R., Ens., posted to 48th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Phayre, A. P., Ens., posted to 7th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Penson, Thos., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Pennington, G., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Patton, (C. B.), R., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Perkins, W. H., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Penny, G. R., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Pitman, R., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Price, W. C., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.
- Ruspine, the Rev., W. G., to be Dis. Chap. at Dinapore.—C. April 14.  
 Robinson, David, Ens. 65th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Boyd, prom.—C. April 10.  
 Rice, J. G. A., Ens. 6th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Stewart, prom.—C. April 10.  
 Rowcroft, F., Lieut. and Adj. 1st N. I., to offic. as Station Staff at Muttra, v. Thompson.—C. March 29.  
 Reid, C. S., 2d Lieut. Artil., to be 1st Lieut., v. Wade.—C. April 25.  
 Rainey, A. C., Ens., posted to 25th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Ramsay, P. R., Ens., posted to 26th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Reynolds, H. C., Ens. 32d N. I., to be Lieut., v. Tierney, dec.—C. June 12.  
 Richardson, J. L., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Richards, G., Lieut.-Col. Comm. to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Robertson, T., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Rose, J., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.

Ramsay, Sir Thomas, (Bart.), Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Richards, (C. B.), W., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Richards, (C. B.), A., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Russell, James, (C. B.) Lieut.-Col. Com. Cav., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Roope, W., Lieut.-Col 24th N. I. to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Roome, H. Lieut. Col. 16th N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.

Stokes, S., Assist.-Surg., rem. from 29th N. I., to 3d L. Cav.—M. June 1,  
 Smith, (C. B.) H. F. Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Stewart, Thos., Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Snow, (C. B.) Edw. W., Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Smith, J. T., Lieut., to be Superintend. Engin. at Jaulnah.—M. June 9.  
 Smith, J., Lieut. Col. 8th N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Sealy, B. W. D. Lieut.-Col. 3d N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Shuldham, E., Lieut.-Col. 25th N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Sandwith, W., Lieut.-Col. 1st reg., to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Salter, J., Lieut.-Col. 5th N. I., to be Col.—B. June 13.  
 Spiers, A., Mr., to be Head Assist. to Collec. of North. Div. of Bundelcund.—C.

April 22.

Smyth, E., Mr., to be Assist. Collec. at Allahabad.—C. April 22.  
 Scott, G. D., Lieut. Artill., rem. from 2d comp. 4th batt. to 6th comp. 7th batt.  
 C. March 16.  
 Shakspear, R. C., 2d Lieut. Artil., posted to 3d comp. 6th batt.—C. March 14.  
 Shuldham, T., Maj.-Gen., rem. from 10th to 15th N. I.—C. March 18.  
 Smyth, W. M., Lieut. Eng., placed at the disp. of Mil. Board.—C. April 10.  
 Sully, B. C., Assist.-Surg., app. to med. dut. at station of Sen. Commis., and  
 Salt Agent at Arracan.—C. April 10.  
 Stewart, R., Lieut. 6th N. I., to be Capt., v. Cooke, prom.—C. April 10.  
 Sandeman, J., Ens., rem. from 47th to 38d N. I.—C. April 12.  
 Saunders, R., Mr., to be Superintend. of Stamps.—C. May 19.  
 Stamford, F., Mr., to be Assist. to Magis. and to Collec. of Land Rev. at  
 Benares.—C. May 19.  
 Stockwell, G., Mr., to be Commis. of Rev. and circuit, for Cuttack div.—C.  
 May 12.  
 Stewart, W., Lieut. Eur. Inv., to be Adj. and Qu. Mas., v. Beatson.—C. June 1.  
 Showers, E. H., Ens., posted to 72d N. I.—C. June 1.  
 Steward, R., Ens., posted to 30th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Steel, C. E., Ens., posted to 57th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Stephen, H. V., Ens., posted to 19th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Stein, R., Ens., posted to 49th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Stacey, L. R., Capt. 32d N. I., to be Major, v. Lodor, dec.—C. June 12.  
 Scott, C. C. J., Ens. 32d N. I., to be Lieut., v. Gregg, prom.—C. June 12.  
 Smith, J. N., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Sherwood, J. D., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Stevenson, (C. B.), R., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Shapland, (C. B.), J., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Sargent, G., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.

Thomson, the Rev. T., to be Dis. Chap. at Delhi.—C. April 14.  
 Tucker, the Rev. J. J., to be Dis. Chap. at Sangor.—C. April 14.  
 Tombs, John, Lieut.-Col. 6th L. Cav., to be a Brigadier, v. Duncan.—C.  
 April 10.  
 Turner, Wm., Capt. 54th N. I., to be Brig. Maj. of Fort Station at Agra.—C.  
 April 10.  
 Taylor, Thos., Maj. Inf., to be Lieut.-Col., v. Stoneham, ret.—C. April 14.  
 Tweddell, H. M., Assist. Surg., placed at disp. of Com.-in-Chief.—C. April 18.  
 Trotter, R., Mr., to be Assist. to Magis. at Mirzapore.—C. May 19.  
 Trower, C. T., Ens., rem. from 48th to 25th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Templer, Geo., Lieut. 22d N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. May 30.  
 Taylor, T. Lieut.-Col., posted to 6th N. I.—C. May 14.



Tapp, J. H., Ens., rem. from 39th, and posted to 15th N. I.—M. June 3.  
 Taylor, H. G. A., Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Taylor, Capt. 39th N. I., to act as Paymas. in Mysore.—M. June 9.  
 Turner, W., Lieut.-Col. 1st L. Cav., to be Col.—B. June 13.

Voeux, T. D., Lieut. 44th N. I., to be Capt. by Brev.—C. April 10.  
 Venables, G. H., Ens., posted to 29th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Verner, J. E., Ens., posted to 50th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Vaughan, J., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Vicq, John, Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.

Wilson, A., Lieut. Artil., rem. from 2d comp. 4th batt., to 7th comp. 2d batt.—C. March 16.  
 Watts, E. R., Lieut. Artil., rem. from 6th comp. 7th batt., to 1st comp. 4th batt.—C. March 16.  
 Wall, F., 2d Lieut. Artil., posted to 3d comp. 6th batt.—C. March 14.  
 Walker, F., Maj. Inf., to be Lieut.-Col., v. Peach, ret.—C. April 10.  
 Wallace, Thomas, Ens. 3d N. I., to be Lieut., v. Prohl, prom.—C. April 10.  
 Williamson, F. A., Ens. 63d N. I., to be Lieut., v. Carte, res.—v. Isaac, prom.—C. April 10.  
 Wade, E. S. A. W. W., 1st Lieut. Artil., transf. to pen. list.—C. April 18.  
 Willis, P. W., Lieut. Eng., to be Exep. Eng., at Mhow.—C. April 18.  
 Wilson, E. P., Lieut.-Col. Comm., rem. from 33d to 42d N. I.—C. April 13.  
 Wynch, P. M., Mr., to be Civ. Audit.—C. May 19.  
 Woodrock, T. P., Mr., to be Assist. to Magis. and to Collec. of Land Rev. of Patna.—C. May 29.  
 Wardlaw, D. B., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. May 15.  
 White, M., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Wilson, E. P., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Whitehead, (C. B.), Thos., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Watson, A., Lieut.-Col. Comm., to be Col.—C. June 5.  
 Watson, (C. B.) W. L., Lieut., rem. from 43d to 53d N. I.—C. May 14.  
 Walker, F., Lieut.-Col., posted to 65th N. I.—C. May 14.  
 White, H. P., Ens. rem. from 17th, and posted to 47th N. I.—M. May 30.  
 Welsh, James, Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Whale, George, Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—M. June 9.  
 Whistler, G. W., Sen., Sub.-Assist. Com.-Gen.-Lieut. 19th N. I. to be Dep.-Assist.-Com.-Gen. v. Manners, prom.—M. June 9.  
 Whistler, J., Super.-Lieut. 6th L. Cav. adm. on estate.—M. June 12.  
 Wyllie, John, Surg. Canton, Surg. at Nagpore, on furl. to Eur.—M. April 7.  
 Whitcombe, T. D., Lieut.-Artil., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. May 26.  
 Whish, R., Lieut.-Col. Artil., to be Col.—B. June 13.

Yates, R. H., Lieut.-Col. Com.—June 9.  
 Younghusband, O. J. Ens. posted to 60th N. I.—C. June 3.  
 Yule, (C. B.) C. Lieut.-Col. Com., to be Col.—C. June 5.

#### • BIRTHS.

Bagle, the lady of Lieut. Arch., Comm. Arracan Prov. Batt., of a son, at Akyab, June 4.  
 Blake, the lady of Captain B., 45th N. I., of a son, at Kolapore, May 6.  
 Bainbridge, the lady of J., Esqr., of a son, at Madras, June 2.  
 Craster, the lady of Captain, 30th N. I., of a son, at Masulipatam, May 7.  
 Cator, the lady of P., Esq., of a son, at Bangalore, May 19.

- Chalmers, the lady of Lieutenant Fred., 22nd Regt., of a daughter, at St. Thomas's Mount, June 19.
- Elphinstone, the lady of Lieutenant Col. Charles, of a daughter, at Belgaum, May 27.
- Fitzgerald, the lady of Lieutenant James, 42nd N. I., of a daughter still-born, at Ghooty, June 22.
- Garnault, the lady of Captain G., 47th N. I., of a daughter, at Kamptee, May 5.
- Gahagan, the lady of T., Esq., of a son, at Calicut, May 7.
- Godfrey, the lady of Capt. Dep. Assist. Quar. Mas. Gen., of a son, at Bellary, May 11.
- Gardiner, the lady of Hen., Esq., of a son, at Vizagapatam, May 31.
- Hunt, the lady of Lieutenant, 3d Buffs, of a daughter, at Chinsurrah, May 19.
- Howes, the lady of W., Esq., of a daughter, at Bagulperc, June 5.
- Hunter, lady of Capt. Assist. Commis.-Gen., of a daughter, at Bangalore, May 28.
- Ingram, the lady of Captain G. W., of a son, at Bareilly, May 15.
- James, the lady of Edward, Esq., Lieut. and Pay-master, 32d Regt., of a daughter, still-born, Madras, June 16.
- Kerr, the lady of Lieutenant J., 2d Eur. Regt., of a daughter, at Masulipatam, May 11.
- Lacroix, the lady of the Rev. A. F., of a son, at Chinsurreth, May 27.
- Lawrence, the lady of A. W., Esq., Lieutenant of M. L. Cav., of a son, at Bellary, June 24.
- Macdonald, the lady of C. Esq. Mad. Civ. Serv., of a son, at Salem, May 11.
- Mitchell, the lady of W. S., Esq., 22d N. I., of a daughter, at Samulcotah, May 15.
- More, the lady of Brev. Capt., 39th Foot, of a son, at Trichinopoly, May 19.
- O'Connor, the lady of Lieut. H. E. C., Staff Officer to the Eur. Ben. Depot, of a daughter, at Cuddalore, June 12.
- Oaks, the lady of T. A. Esq., of a daughter, at Palmanair, June 18.
- Proby, the lady of the Rev. J. C., of a son, at Meerut, May 24.
- Prior, the lady of Lieut., 23d L. Inf., of a son, at Palaverain, June 19.
- Smith, the lady of G. H. Esq., Civ. Serv., of a daughter, at Jessore, June 11.
- Smith, the lady of Capt., of a daughter, at Tranquebar, May 23.
- Strettell, the lady of D., Esq., 20th N. I., of a daughter, at Quilon, June 12.
- Wegulan, the lady G. C., Esq., of a son, at Dacca, May 26.
- Williams, the lady of Capt., 3d L. Cav., of a son, at Kamptee, May 11.
- Wright, the lady of Lieut. George, 10th N. I., of a son, at Cuddalore, May 15.

#### MARRIAGES.

- Brunton, Major, to Mrs. Wallace, Madras, June 30.
- Codrington, R. Lient. 46th N. I., to Maria, fourth daughter of H. Fleetwood, Esq., of York-street, Dublin, Madras, May 1.
- Dennison, G. H., Esq., to Susan Caroline, only daughter to Ens. and Adj. Jones, Carn. Eur. Vet. Batt., at Vizagapatam, June 11.
- Fisher, the Rev. H. S., to Charlotte Eliza, youngest daughter of J. Money, Esq., at Cossimbazar, June 6.
- Gough, George, Esq., to Charlotte Margaret, third daughter of Charles Becher, Esq., Calcutta, June 11.
- Innes, R. W. Esq., Solicitor, to Selina Rosanna, second daughter of A. Flower, Esq., Madras, May 18.
- Keir, George, Capt. 3d Nizam Cav., to Margaret, eldest daughter of Campbell Mackintosh, Esq. of Dalmigavie, N. B. at Hyderabad, June 20.

- Leighton, H. G. Esq., to Harriet, daughter of the late Robert Blake, Esq., formerly Mint Master at Futtchgurh, Calcutta, June 13.  
 Rutter, William, Esq., to Ann Matilda, second daughter of the late John Shaw, Esq., Madras, May 20.  
 Skinner, J., Lieutenant, Adjutant 1st Loc. Horse, to Miss S. A. Barlow, at Hansie, May 25.  
 Wakeman, Henry, Lieutenant, 42d N. I., to Miss Anne Fraser, at Ballary, June 1.

## DEATHS.

- Alexander, B. Lieutenant and Brev. Capt., 16th Foot, aged 33, Fort William, May 9.  
 Adams, H. Capt., 5th N. I., at Satarah, June 4.  
 Blewett, W. H. Lieutenant, 45th Regt., at Saugor, May 6.  
 Boyce, J. Lieutenant. 41st Foot, at Arnee, May 28.  
 Bilderbechr, C., Esq., at Pondicherry, June 6.  
 Bainbridge, wife of J., Esq., aged 31, Madras, June 11.  
 Campbell, Eliza Jane, wife of Captain Ivie, second daughter of Col. P. Littlejohn, Bengal Army, at Hyderabad, May 5.  
 Crisp, wife of the Rev. Henry, at Salem, May 6.  
 Dowling, Mrs. Sophia, wife of John, Esq., aged 47, at Calcutta, June 11.  
 Daniel, the lady of Capt. Daniel, 89th Foot, at Trichinopoly, May 14.  
 Dodd, R. Lieutenant, 54th Foot, at Cannanore, May 20.  
 Darnton, Mrs. C., relict of the late Cuthbert, Esq., at St. Thomé, June 5.  
 Grant, John, Esq. Paymaster, 38th Foot, at Gazipoor, May 25.  
 Gibb, Alex. Esq. senior member of Medical Board, aged 68, Calcutta, June 4.  
 Gray, R. Capt., 3d Nat. Vet. Batt., aged 44, at Vizagapatam, June 7.  
 Jones, J., Esq., Surgeon, 3d L. Cav., aged 46, at Kamptee, May 16.  
 Jervis, Adolphus, only son of Capt. George, at Byculla, June 7.  
 Logan, J. Capt., 6th L. Cav., at Thomé, May 6.  
 Levery, J. B. F. Lieut. N. I., at Kaire, May 31.  
 Robertson, W. S. Ens. 39th N. I., at Bangalore, May 18.  
 Rowland, John, Assistant-Surgeon, at Arnee, June 6.  
 Spears, Capt. Mad. Estab. Loc. Agent, at Bopawur, at Banswara, May 4.  
 Toulman, W. M. Esq., aged 35, at Serampore, May 9.  
 Tierney, John, Lieutenant, 30th N. I. at Mhou, May 24.  
 Traill, J. Esq., Assistant-Surgeon, at Hoonsoor, May 15.  
 Wroughton, Ellen, wife of J. C. Esq., Civ. Ser., at Palæmcottah, June 1.

## GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

*Per Hippomenes* from Padang. Major-Gen. Halbzman : Colonel Schenk ; Mr. Vanremsbreck.

*Per Gen. Palmer* from Madras. Major the Baron de Rutzlebon ; Capts. Mandilton, 54th foot ; Glasgow, 41st foot ; and Crokat, N. I., (died at sea) ; Lieut. Whitcombe ; Ensigns Dewes and Moore ; Veter. Surg. Schroelden, 13th L. Drag. ; Assist.-Surg. Orr, 89th reg. ; Messrs. Brecoft and Hargrave ; Masters C. Weston, H. Weston, and E. Schroiden ; the Baroness de Rutzlebon ; Messdames Pawlin, Crokat, Smith, Taggart, and Schroiden ; Misses Teed, Lambe, Clemens, and Smith.

*Per Eliza* from Bombay. Capt. South ; Lieuts. M'Caffrays and Crond ; Dr. Walbham ; Mr. Harrison, and two Servants.

*Per David Clark* from Bengal. Dr. Forbes.

*Per Henry.* Capts. Gaznat and Tuit ; Lieuts. Bland and Daniel ; Adj. Hollingsworth ; Mr. Thomas Tennent ; Messdames Tuit, Myleres, and Child.

## SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

## ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1829.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date 1829.
Nov 2	Falmouth ..	Royal George ..	Wilson ..	Bengal ..	April 29
Nov 2	Downs ..	Prince of Orange	Jameson ..	Bombay ..	May 28
Nov 4	Portsmouth	David Clarke ..	Viles ..	Bengal ..	June 9
Nov 9	Liverpool ..	Mary ..	Turcan ..	Australia..	July 7
Nov 11	Portsmouth	George & Wm.	Nicholson	Cape ..	Sept. 2
Nov 14	Bristol ..	Ellen ..	Patterson	Cape ..	Aug. 29
Nov 16	Portsmouth	Borneo ..	Whichelo	Batavia ..	June 10
Nov 16	Holyhead ..	Spartan ..	Lumsden	Bengal ..	June 10
Nov 18	Plymouth ..	Gen. Palmer ..	Thomas ..	Madras ..	July 12
Nov 18	Hastings ..	Eliza ..	Dixon ..	Bombay ..	
Nov 18	Portsmouth	Hippomenes ..	—	Padang ..	July 7
Nov 18	Hastings ..	Fletcher ..	Foster ..	Bombay ..	July 3
Nov 18	Dartmouth	Mountaineer ..	Sheal ..	Cape ..	Sept 18
Nov 19	Downs ..	Feegee ..	Macgowan	Singapore	July 2
Nov 20	Falmouth ..	Anna Robertson	Davis ..	Bengal ..	April 9
Nov 21	Dartmouth	Alice ..	Poditch ..	Singapore	June 21
Nov 21	Cork ..	Eagle ..	Batty ..	Cape ..	Aug 23
Nov 23	Torbay ..	Felicity ..	Thompson	Batavia ..	

## ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1829	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
May 8	Singapore ..	Arethusa ..	Johnson ..	London
July 3	Bombay ..	Atlas ..	Hine ..	London
June 25	Bengal ..	Royal Admiral ..	Wilson ..	London
June 21	Singapore ..	Thomas Parsons	Jones ..	Liverpool

## DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date. 1829.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Oct 31	Portsmouth ..	Onyx ..	Boteler ..	Madeira
Nov 10	Liverpool ..	Irt ..	Hoodless ..	Bengal
Nov 10	Liverpool ..	Mary Hope	Bisset ..	Singapore
Nov 15	Downs ..	Bencoolen	Martin ..	Bombay
Nov 16	Liverpool ..	Malvina	Pearson ..	Bombay
Nov 17	Downs ..	Pero ..	Rutter ..	St. Helena
Nov 17	Gravesend	Flinn ..	Phillipson	Cape ..
Nov 18	Liverpool ..	Norval	Harrison ..	Cape ..
Nov 22	Downs ..	Hopeful	Matters ..	Cape ..
Nov 22	Gravesend	Lonach	Cotgrave ..	Bombay
Nov 23	Downs ..	Cæsar ..	Watt ..	Madras
Nov 23	Sheerness	Mermaid	Henneker ..	N. S. Wales
Nov 25	Gravesend	Moir	Bugg ..	Madras
Nov 25	Gravesend	Australia	Sleight ..	N. S. Wales

## POSTSCRIPT.

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IN closing this Series of THE ORIENTAL HERALD, which has now existed for six years, and extended to twenty-three Volumes, the Editor has the satisfaction of believing, that it has contributed, more than any similar work ever published, to awaken intense and universal attention to the interests of the Asiatic World generally, and of British India in particular. It is this conviction which consoles him for the imputations which some designing and disappointed individuals have so studiously laboured to cast both upon him and his writings; representing his character as every thing base and unworthy, and his productions as having no other end than to fill his purse, and extend his own reputation. He is now, however, too experienced in the history of political controversy, to be moved from his purpose, or to suffer his equanimity to be disturbed by any such arts as these. Both his character and his writings have now been so long before the world, that they must be judged of on their own merits, and not according to the detractive misrepresentations of others. If throughout these last there should now and then have appeared an undue proportion of the record of events in which he himself was an actor, his justification is in this, that the events themselves were important to be recorded, and would have been recorded, *whoever* had been instrumental in bringing them about; but this task being left to him alone, *that* circumstance has never deterred him from giving the record, for the sake of the *facts themselves*, and not for the sake of the organ of their agitation.

In this spirit, he has never omitted *any* opportunity that presented itself, for calling the public attention to India; whether it were a masonic procession, or a public feast—as was the case at Glasgow; a Bible Meeting, or a public dinner—as was the case at Whitby; a grave lecture, or a gala ball—as was the case at Newcastle. Whenever, and wherever, in short, the interest of the subject could be made to weave itself with passing events, there has been thought to be the best time and place for adverting to it. And as these scattered parts find no permanent record in any other work, it is well that they are embodied here, since, without this, the people of England would not be aware of the universal feeling existing in places remote from their own; nor would the people of India know—as they now will through this channel—how powerful is the sympathy in British bosoms towards them in their remote abode. In this he finds his justification; and leaves the rest to fate.

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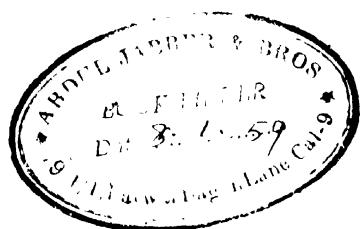
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